





























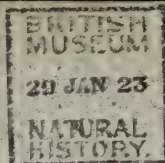




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# ABERYSTWYTH STUDIES

BY

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF WALES

*Nid byd, byd heb wybodaeth*

VOLUME ONE

ABERYSTWYTH  
PUBLISHED AT THE COLLEGE  
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THIS volume of Studies is issued under the auspices of the Senate of the University College of Wales, and with the cordial assent of the Council. It is proposed to issue new volumes at least once a session. They will embody the fruit of research carried out by members of the Teaching Staff and Graduates of the College.

THE ANGLO-SAXON RIDDLES

BY

GEORGE A. WOOD. M.A.





## PREFACE

HITHERTO discussions of the Anglo-Saxon riddles have dealt exclusively with some one aspect of them, or with the specialised problems presented by individual riddles. The majority of the contributions which have been made to the critical literature dealing with the riddles have appeared in the literary and philological journals of Germany, though in recent years the riddles have received considerable attention from American scholars. Up to April 1909, however (when this thesis was written), no complete review of the subject had appeared.

It is the purpose of the present essay :—

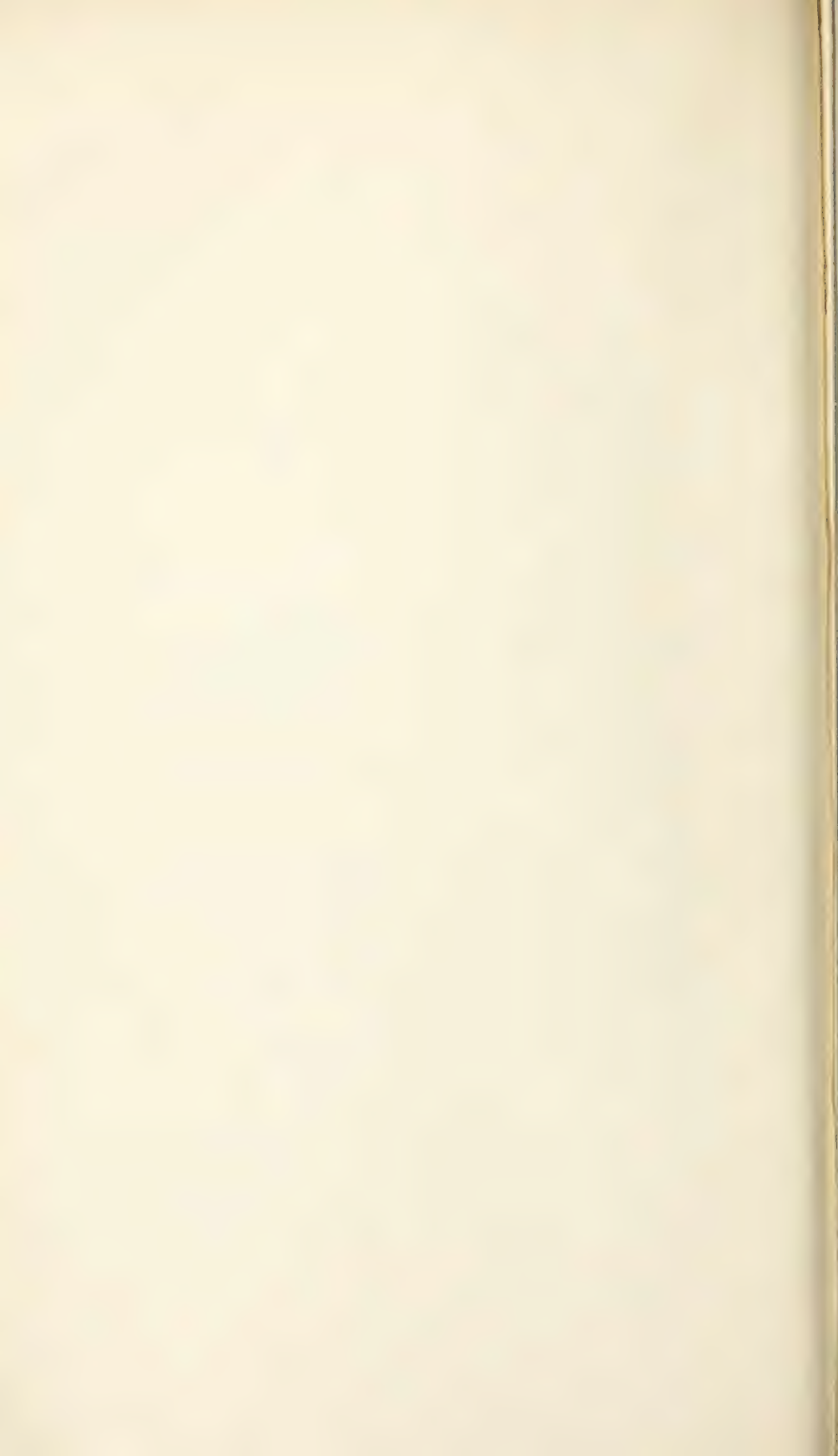
- (a) To consider the chief characteristics of the riddles as a whole, and their relation to the circumstances of the times in which they were produced.
- (b) To present a critical commentary which shall deal with questions arising out of individual riddles, and with the various solutions which, from time to time, have been proposed.
- (c) To give some account of the progress of 'riddle' scholarship.

The whole treatment is intended to be mainly literary in spirit, and only concerns itself with philological considerations in so far as they are helpful in dealing with questions of age and origin.

Generally speaking, criticism may be said to have gradually dissociated the riddles from the name and personality of Cynewulf, to whom they were so long ascribed. If, however, mention of the Cynewulfian theory of authorship should seem in Section V. to obtrude itself overmuch, it may be urged in excuse that for a long time this theory entirely dominated all discussions of the subject. Since the 'first riddle' was to a great extent responsible for this, some account of it and of the speculations it has called forth is included in the following pages, notwithstanding the fact that it has now been conclusively proved not to be a riddle at all.

G. A. W.

ABERYSTWYTH, *March* 1912.





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## THE ANGLO-SAXON RIDDLES

### I

THE discussion of the origin and early history of the riddle belongs to the domain of folklore rather than to that of literature. The statement of certain qualities in peculiar and sometimes paradoxical combination, and the challenge to discover the object which possesses these qualities, would seem to have been a very common form of amusement among early peoples. The riddle is essentially of popular origin. Herder<sup>1</sup> in an oft-quoted passage has remarked how 'alle Völker auf den ersten Stufen der Bildung sind Liebhaber von Rätseln; die Kinder sind es auch und aus demselben Grund . . . und der Preis den der Erfinder sowohl als der Errater eines guten Rätsels in seinem Kreise davon trägt ist ihnen gleichsam Kampfpfeis, die unschädlichste Siegeskrone.' Since the riddle embodies both strife and challenge, it is therefore likely to be a natural and congenial transition to intellectual interests for peoples just emerging from a barbarous period of feud and warfare into the dawnlight of civilisation.

Along with the heroic lay and the early ballad, it belonged to that mass of floating material, sustained and developed by oral tradition, out of which, in the fullness of time, the beginnings of literature were to come. Undoubtedly its importance to literature was not destined to be so great as that of the heroic lay; yet in so far as the riddle, even in its cruder forms, demands skill of words to hide its theme, it is an elementary form of art, and literature may claim it for her own.

Sometimes, however, this humble amusement, so strictly an affair of the people, has emerged from its lowly state, subjected itself to limitations of form, decked itself in verse, adorned itself with scholarly ornaments, and for a time has risen to dignity as an approved and recognised form of literature. It is precisely at this point—when the riddle has attracted the attention of the

<sup>1</sup> From Herder's *Vom Geiste der Ebräischen Poesie*, quoted by Petsch; *Palæstra*, iv., 'Neue Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Volksrätsel' (1899); also by Ohlert in his 'Rätsel und Gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen' (1886).

writer and the interest of the scholar—that literary history takes up the theme. Sometimes riddle collections show that little more than a selective function has been exercised by the writer, and so riddles have been transmitted to us in very much the same forms as those in which they passed from mouth to mouth among the people; at other times, however, the writers elaborated, extended, and embroidered riddles already current, treated old themes afresh, and often made entirely new riddles upon themes of their own choice.

The Exeter-book riddles display both types. Some are obviously the naïve results of unlettered effort to disguise in homely terms some simple theme; they are generally brief, not unfrequently pungent, and may fittingly be termed ‘*Volksrätsel*.’ Of this type there are in the Exeter-book such examples as 69 (‘Jack Frost’); 66 (the onion); 43 (cock and hen); 46, 63, 37 (the pregnant sow). Others, however, by reason of their imaginative qualities, their scholarly character, their lengthy form, are obviously of a more ambitious order, and may, in contradistinction to their simpler companions, be called ‘*Kunsträtsel*.’ Of *Kunsträtsel* the Anglo-Saxon riddles supply such extremely fine examples as 2, 3, 4 (the ‘storm’ riddles); 21 (the sword); 6 (the shield).

By reason of their variety, the term ‘*Kunsträtsel*’ is a generic rather than a specific term. Sometimes the point of the riddle lies in some play upon the words used, or in some arrangement of letters within the riddle itself, *e.g.* the ‘*Rune*’ riddles seem to be an approach to the Acrostic form. Often the solution to the problem proposed is only to be obtained by recognising the theme or object which reconciles best the terms of a metaphorical description, or which satisfies some seeming paradox: *e.g.* riddle 13 demands the identity of one who is ‘a plunderer during life and a servant after death’; riddle 40 asks for that which has ‘neither foot, hand, limb, nor soul, and yet lives’; while riddle 23 describes one who takes a journey, ‘though neither flying, nor walking, nor riding.’ Sometimes the element of purposeful mystery is less obtrusive, and then the riddle approaches what is now usually known as the epigram, for in it attention is so centred upon grace and truth of description that the theme is often but thinly veiled, and identification comparatively easy; the Exeter riddles contain several in which much of the mystery is lost in the joy of imaginative delineation: *e.g.* riddle 22 (the plough) is in this way more



poem than puzzle, in riddle 16 the badger is unmistakably described with verve and passion, and riddle 57 (shuttle, etc.), though highly metaphorical, is yet somewhat transparent.

## II

THE Anglo-Saxon riddles are contained in a book of miscellaneous content, presented by Leofric, first Bishop of Exeter, to his Cathedral library. With the exception of short periods it has remained there ever since, and has thus survived the drums and trappings of eight centuries. That its existence has not been uneventful is shown by Schipper,<sup>1</sup> who examined it during the winter of 1870 and 1871, and thus wrote: 'Ein glimmendes Stück Holz scheint auf das Buch gefallen zu sein und sich allmählich durch jene 12 Blätter hindurch gebrannt zu haben bis es abkühlte oder entfernt wurde.' The codex and its riddle-contents were first noted by Humfrey Wanley<sup>2</sup> in 1705. It is mentioned in his catalogue of 'Codices MSS. Anglo-Saxonici Ecclesiæ Exoniensis.' Wanley describes it as consisting of two portions: (1) 'diversis temporibus et a diversis librariis calamo scripta.' This refers to the early pages, which contain lists of benefactions and legal deeds referring to bequests and purchases of land. (2) 'laudatum opus Poeticum Saxonice elegantioribus characteribus.' This refers to the whole of the poetic contents of the codex, which were conceived by Wanley as being arranged 'in plures libros sive tomos.' The ninth book is described: 'fere totus est in Ænigmatibus'; and the tenth similarly, with the addition, 'quorum nonnulla characteribus Runicis insigniuntur.' Conybeare<sup>3</sup> mentioned the riddles in 1826, and described them as 'so extremely obscure that they might well suffice to damp the ardour of a Saxon Œdipus'; he pointed out, too, that Wanley was curiously wrong in describing the ninth book as 'fere totus in ænigmatibus,' for there is no riddle whatever in the portion referred to.

In 1835 Müller<sup>4</sup> published riddles 6 and 27, and offered the generally accepted solutions, 'scutum' and 'liber' respectively;

<sup>1</sup> Schipper, 'Zum Codex Exoniensis,' *Germania*, xix. pp. 327-8.

<sup>2</sup> H. Wanley in Hickes's '*Catalogus . . . librorum veterum septentrionalium*.' Oxford (1705).

<sup>3</sup> Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (1826).

<sup>4</sup> Müller, *Collectanea Anglo-Saxonica* (1835), pp. 63, 64.

while in 1842 Wright<sup>1</sup> brought three others (14, 29, 47) out of their obscurity, and offered as solutions: 'That doughty hero—John Barleycorn,' 'the Aurelia of the butterfly and its transformations,' and 'the patriarch Lot and his two daughters and their two sons.' In the same year (1842) Thorpe published for the first time in his *Codex Exoniensis* what is practically the whole collection. Subsequent editions have been edited by Grein<sup>2</sup> in 1858, and Wülker<sup>2</sup> in 1896—the latter including as riddles some half-dozen fragments which Thorpe and Grein had left unnoticed in 1842 and 1858.

The MS. is in the WS. dialect, and was at first supposed to belong to the tenth century, though Schipper,<sup>3</sup> basing his argument upon 'gewisse alterthümlichen Formen einzelner Buchstaben z. b. des y,' is inclined to think that it belongs to the commencement of the eleventh; if this be so, it is quite conceivable that Leofric himself might have supervised the writing and compilation of it. The original writing seems to have been revised by another scribe, and corrected with a fainter ink, while in several instances either alterations have been made by scraping the surface of the parchment, or else the peculiar appearance of certain letters is due to inequalities in its consistency and surface. Though the manuscript may belong to the eleventh century, the riddles betray evidences—mainly phonological—of an earlier form. The scribe who copied them into WS. allowed, through momentary lapses of attention, forms quite alien to WS. to escape into his transcript. The following are some of the evidences which point to the fact that the riddles were copied from Northumbrian originals:—

1. The forms *ehtu we* (37.4) and *eðða* (44.17) are distinctively Northumbrian. Cf. Sievers,<sup>4</sup> §325, note 8, and §317.
2. The presence of unsyncopated endings in the past participles of weak verbs of Class I. e.g. *sended* (2-11); *læded* (29-6); *wilted*, *wended* (60-19). Cf. Sievers, §402 (2).
3. The phenomenon of a palatal mutation by which *ea* > *æ* instead of 'e' as in WS., e.g. *bæg* (5-8); and *pæh* (72-8). Cf. Sievers, §162.

<sup>1</sup> Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria* (1842), pp. 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Grein's *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie*, and Wülker's edition of same (completed 1896).

<sup>3</sup> *Germania*, xix.

<sup>4</sup> All references to Sievers are to Cook's English edition.

4. The occurrence of unbroken 'a' before 'l'+consonant, e.g. *hals* (both singly and in composition) (16-1), (32-21), (5-4), (41-80); *wald-end* (7-1), (21-4), (24-6), (41-89). Cf. Sievers, §151(3).
5. The occurrence of this unbroken 'a' mutated to 'æ,' e.g. *ældum* (4-34), (6-6), (81-6); *mældan* (19-2); *ælda* (95-10), (84-31). Cf. Sievers, §159(3).
6. The interchange of 'ea' and 'eo,' e.g. *earpan* (4-42); *heord* (4-5). Cf. Sievers, §150(3).
7. The occurrence of a palatal mutation whereby 'eo' > 'e' —sometimes with the omission of the mutating 'h'— e.g. *feorh* > *ferh* or *fer* in *wideferh* (40. ll 8 and 21); *ferðe* (27-21); *ferððum* (55-12), (60-3); *ferðum* (84-33). Cf. Sievers, §164(1).

Besides these irregularities of word form, the WS. transcript of the riddles displays other irregularities and inconsistencies which certainly suggest that the scribe but ill understood the material he was copying. There are several obvious omissions of entire half verses,<sup>1</sup> while others have been imperfectly transmitted.<sup>2</sup> The riddles occur in three quite separate groups. Riddles 43 and 44 are transcribed as one poem, similarly 48 and 49; riddle 33, though concluded with a 'Schluss-formel,' appears incorporated with riddle 34, and the last two lines of riddle 48, so obviously a relative enlargement of 'ic' in line 15, were conceived by the scribe as a separate poem, and set down as such. In riddles 21 and 41 we have incomplete poems; the 31st riddle is repeated some twenty-eight pages after its first occurrence, and immediately following riddle 61 is the fragment (since called 'The Husband's Message'), which the copyist evidently understood to be a riddle.

In addition to the runes of the rune riddles there is the curious occurrence of initial runes before riddles 7, 9, and 18, and rather uncertain marks which possibly are meant to be runes both at the beginning and end of each of riddles 14, 15, and 31. Whether these are intended to suggest the solutions to the riddles to which they are affixed seems doubtful. Grein has interpreted the rune before riddle 7 as 'sigel' = 'sun,' and that before riddle 18

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in 19-3, 41-23. The alliterative unity of the two subsequent half-verses shows that the half line in question remains unpaired.

<sup>2</sup> In 4-18 a word to alliterate with 'styrgan' is required. In 41-2 'wreð-estupum' is an imperfect half-verse, probably lacking a verb to match 'healdeþ.'



as 'beorc' = 'badger,' but, whatever their purpose was, they were certainly inserted by the first scribe, for in riddle 7 due space has been allowed for the mark by arranging the first line more to the right than would else have been the case.

It is idle, perhaps, to speculate whether the riddles were originally arranged in the order in which the Exeter-book presents them, or whether they were first recorded in some book of miscellaneous contents together with other material (as in the case of the sixteenth-century riddles of Randle Holme). The latter suggestion will at any rate allow us to suppose that after the Danes had ravaged Northumbria some WS. writer, being set to the task of transcribing from the rescued fragments of Northumbrian literature, failed to distinguish riddles from other poems, and so gave consecutively to posterity the scrap of saga so long mistaken for the first of the riddles, the 'Exile's Complaint,' the various other fragments, and the three distinct groups of riddles.

As is naturally to be expected, these textual confusions and uncertainties have resulted in the riddles being counted and arranged in various ways. Thorpe counted ninety-three riddles, Grein eighty-nine, while Wülker in his revision of Grein rearranged them as ninety-five. Trautmann,<sup>1</sup> too, reckons ninety-five, though his numbering does not agree with Wülker's. The relation of these different arrangements to one another is shown in the table (see Appendix I.).

### III

How the riddle rose into literary prominence in England is part of the story of the general rise of learning there. As a literary fashion it owes its existence to the peculiarly fortunate conditions under which Christianity and learning were introduced into Britain. Pope Gregory had banned secular learning, and, generally speaking, the study of humane letters declined with the rise of the Western Church. Not so, however, in Britain. In Ireland Christianity and secular learning had developed side by side, and the early Irish missionaries to Northumbria transferred something of their own keen enthusiasm for letters to their converts. The early school at Canterbury, too, had been especially fortunate in its founders, for both Theodore and Hadrian brought with them a deep and profound sense of the value of

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.



learning, and Canterbury became a flourishing centre of secular as well as of theological instruction. These generous traditions were upheld in the south by bishops such as Brihtwald and Tatwine and by scholars like Aldhelm, while in the north the eager, intellectual enthusiasm of Benedict Biscop and of Bede gave a stimulus to learning, and made Northumbria for a time the renowned home of European scholarship.

The period (600-800) was thus one of extremely rapid development, and, as frequently happens in periods of unwonted literary expansion, there arose, particularly during the eighth century, certain fashions and foibles of authorship which strike the sober judgment of later ages as strange, and sometimes even bizarre. Similar conditions produced the euphuism of the early Elizabethan age and, in this earlier renaissance, a new-found delight in expression often led authors to strain language in their endeavour to exploit its utmost possibilities of expression. As a result, much of the Latinity of the period exemplifies a tendency towards a wayward indulgence in exuberant phraseology. Even the grave fathers of the Church amused the dull, sad moments of monastic leisure in the composition of fantastic letters, in the manufacture of acrostics, enigmas, and all kinds of literary bric-a-brac. Aldhelm knew how 'to build the lofty rhyme,' and to force into service the strange contents of his extensive Latin learning. Even into the amenities of friendly correspondence cryptic and forced witticism would sometimes intrude, *e.g.* Alcuin,<sup>1</sup> when thanking a friend for the present of an ivory comb, chooses to refer to it in riddling terms as some strange living creature: 'Mirum animal duo habens capita et dentes LX. . . . non elephantinae magnitudinis sed eburneae pulchritudinis . . . nec ego hujus bestiae territus horrore sed delectatus aspectu . . . nec me frendentibus illa morderet dentibus timui sed blanda adulatione capitis mei placare capillos adrisi'; the fact that he cannot meet a dear friend face to face draws from him the fantastic remark: 'Scito quod litterae tantummodo non sufficiunt ad meum et tuum—si non aderunt ego et tu. Huc usque tres litterae in tristitia fuerunt (i.e. ego), duobus (tu) haec facientibus sed septem (Albinus) omnia afferunt.'<sup>2</sup> In the same series of letters there

<sup>1</sup> Alcuin, *Opera*, ed. Andrea Quercetano (Ratisbon, 1777), *Epistola xli.*, 'Ad Daemum.'

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Ebert in *Berichte über die k.s. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* u.s.w., xxix. p. 20.

are many superscribed : 'Epistola initio aenigmatica,' or 'epistola penitus aenigmatica.'

This same love of wordy efflorescence is seen in the verbose and catechetical style which the very forms of instruction assumed '... ja die Angelsachsen verwandten das Räthsel selbst zum Jugend Unterricht als eine Art Denkübung.'<sup>1</sup> In the 'Disputatio regalis et nobilissimi juvenis Pippini cum Albino scholastico'<sup>2</sup> there is a strange medley of wordy amplifications on themes suggested by simple queries—periphrases which describe indirectly rather than define, *e.g.* :—

*Pippinus.* Quid est mors ?    *Albinus.* Inevitabilis eventus,  
incerta peregrinatio,  
testamenti firmamentum,  
latro hominis.

*Pippinus.* Quid est gelu ?    *Albinus.* Persecutio herbarum,  
perditio foliorum,  
vinculum terrae,  
fons aquarum.

A ship Albinus defines thus : 'Navis est domus erratica, ubilibet hospitium, viator sine vestigiis, vicina arenæ.' The dialogue of Salomon and Saturn displays like characteristics, and in both 'dialogue' and 'disputatio,' not only are the answers to the questions required, but also sufficient rhetorical skill to wrap them round with folds of cunning phraseology.

Now the riddle by its very nature affords excellent scope for such art as this, and nowhere does this pronounced delight in profuse and epithetical description show itself in a more sustained and intense form than in the very considerable output of 'Kunsträtsel' which marked this era of Northumbrian learning. The English 'offenbar eine besondere Neigung und Begabung für diese Spiele des Witzes und der Phantasie besaßen';<sup>3</sup> and hence it may be imagined with what curious interest and delight they would scan puzzles similar to those they loved so well, raised to literary dignity, trimmed and polished in the riddling triplets of Symposius. To the early English riddle-writers of the seventh and eighth centuries Symposius was the great original whose art they admired and imitated. Between the years 600 and 800 the riddle was a thing so much in fashion that

<sup>1</sup> Ebert, *Berichte* . . . u.s.w., xxix. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Alcuin, *Opera*, ed. Quercetano. Ratisbon, 1777.

<sup>3</sup> *Allg. Gesch.*, u.s.w., i. Leipzig, 1889.

most writers paid court to it, and considered it as a literary form which claimed attention. If they did not, on old themes, or on new ones suggested by their learning, fashion a series entirely their own, they at least bequeathed to posterity their own collection of the *aenigmata* of others.<sup>1</sup> Bede<sup>2</sup> is reputed to have left 'a book of epigrams in heroic metre,' now unfortunately lost; Alcuin, among his *Carmina*, devotes a section entirely to 'Epigrammata et Aenigmata';<sup>3</sup> but by far the most prolific writers of the riddle were the four ecclesiastics, Aldhelm, Eusebius, Tatwine, and Bonifacius; and just as Symposius gave the stimulus to these, so they, in turn, inspired—and by some critics their riddles are said to have guided—the writer or writers of the Exeter riddles. They wrote their riddles in Latin, and all four writers belong to the period 680-800.

Symposius had riddled about things well known to all men—various plants, and well-known animals, the utensils of the household, weapons, tools, ships, bridges, the various phases of the weather. Aldhelm extended and developed this cycle of subjects, and included riddles upon sun, moon, constellations, the elements—air, earth, fire, and water; moreover, as befitted a child of the Church, he introduced riddles upon scriptural themes, *e.g.* the dove, Lucifer, the fig-tree, the Fall of man, and did not forget when opportunity arose (*e.g.* in 'de luna et sole') to strike a blow at the superstitions of heathendom. Aldhelm was an Englishman, and the alliteration of the verse of his native land sometimes makes an appearance in his Latin. At Malmesbury he had come into contact with Celtic learning, and as a result his vocabulary is somewhat profuse and unusual, and his style more grandiloquent than that of other writers of the period: 'An die Stelle der antiken Kürze tritt die romantische Ausführlichkeit, ein Gemälde an die Stelle der Federzeichnung.' Of all the Latin riddles, those of Aldhelm approach most nearly in style the Anglo-Saxon riddles.

Tatwine, who died Archbishop of Canterbury in 734, was probably of Mercian origin. In his forty riddles the scholar and ecclesiastic stand revealed; there is a predominance of themes suggested by Christian life and worship; he deals with virtues, vices, and other abstract subjects drawn from the theology of the time.

<sup>1</sup> As in those printed by Giles in vol. vii. Caxton Society's Publications, *Anecdota Bedae, Lanfranci et aliorum*.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, E.E.T.S., Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's *Eccles. Hist.*

<sup>3</sup> Alcuin, *Opera*, p. 237, ed. Quereetano.



Eusebius was the Latin name by which Hwætberht of Wearmouth and Jarrow was known. It is usually supposed that the sixty riddles which he composed were intended as the complement of Tatwine's forty. Like Tatwine, he wrote for the learned ; he chose scientific material, and made riddles upon strange mythological beasts like the hydra, chimera, and dragon. Particularly characteristic of Eusebius is his treatment of pairs of subjects which are opposites, *e.g.* earth and sea, right and wrong, humility and pride, life and death.

Boniface, too, in much the same learned manner produced a small collection of twenty riddles, ten of which deal with the chief vices, and ten with the chief virtues. In his verse, too, as in the case of that of Aldhelm, alliterative effect sometimes makes a curious appearance.

It was amid a literary atmosphere of this kind, and under the stimulus of these fashions, that the Anglo-Saxon riddles were collected, and, no doubt, the Latin riddle was the quickening spirit which brought many of them into being.

On turning, however, to the Anglo-Saxon collection, it is at once evident that they contain much poetry that is wonderfully vigorous and fresh, marked by emotional and imaginative qualities quite unparalleled in the Latin riddles—a poetry in the making of which heart has played a greater share than head. Undoubtedly to some extent this contrast is due to the inherent differences in the nature of the two languages, the Anglo-Saxon deriving a greater vigour from the preponderance of epithet and substantive in its diction, and a greater freshness and vividness from the 'concrete' character and elemental simplicity of its vocabulary. Considered as imitations of the Latin riddles the Anglo-Saxon riddles are poor ; they lack brilliance, and sometimes are without definiteness and logical unity, for instance in the riddle on the 'bow' there are introduced, as main ideas, thoughts about the arrows and the quiver, and a similar confusion marks that on the 'draw-well.'<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, most of the Latin riddles (especially those of Symposius) insert characteristics and qualities barely and tersely, with an eye strictly fixed upon the riddle and that witty evasiveness which a riddle should attempt to achieve ; but in the best of the Anglo-Saxon riddles there is a marked continuity and development of description, and a tendency to dwell

<sup>1</sup> If this be the subject of riddle 53. The point is referred to again in comment on that riddle.



upon all that is pictorial or poetically suggestive in the theme. To the Anglo-Saxon writers the riddle was no mere *jeu d'esprit*; the Latin writers might treat their subjects merely as offering opportunities for elegant versification and for the display of learning and preciosity, but the Anglo-Saxon poets took their riddling seriously, and often with rare depth of feeling wrote of their themes imaginatively, breathed human personality into them, and made them speak of their origins, their fortunes, their joys and sorrows. In the best of the Anglo-Saxon riddles we are in touch with the poetry of a young and virile race, we feel something of 'the freshness of the early world'; but in the Latin riddles we have to do with the play of the scholar, and the atmosphere of learning and of the cloister clings about them.

## IV

IN the extant body of Anglo-Saxon poetry the riddles hold a unique place because of the many and various points at which they touch the lives of Englishmen during these eighth-century days of settlement and changing manners. They reflect to a remarkable degree the circumstances and conditions of life amid which they were collected and perhaps made. The old life of roving and marauding had given place to a new one, and here and there in the riddles we get glimpses of a people living in secluded hamlets pursuing a pastoral and settled life upon reclaimed moorland or amid forest clearings (22). This people ground corn (5), and used a plough (22), which was drawn by the ox (35), and guided by him who had cut down the trees and made the ploughland; there were still great 'filthy' marshlands (41, 31) near to the seashore, which were far from the dwellings of men, and covered with tangled and decaying seaweed (61 and 41); and there were, too, wild woodlands in which the swine and wild boar roved (41). The settlers practised the art of weaving (26), and there is a pronounced note of settled domesticity in the mention of the watch-dog, gentle to its mistress, and of the water-pails. The dark-visaged Celt ('swearte Wealas') who performed menial labours for his Saxon conqueror appears no less than four times (13, 50, 53, 72); in (50) a 'dark-faced thane' carries books to and fro in the monastery; in (53) he is a drawer of water; and in (72) a herdsman. In (9) we have a pleasant hint of evening leisure amid the little woodland community, which is charmed

with the mellow note of the nightingale's (or wood dove's)  
song :—

. . . stille on wicum  
sittað (h)nigende.

In some riddles, religion and the monastic atmosphere are strongly in evidence. The religious element appears most directly in those which deal with the appurtenances of ritual, *e.g.* the riddles on the chalice (60) and (49); scholarly interests are represented by the riddles which speak of wisdom (42), pen and fingers (52), creation (41 and 67), soul and body (44), and also by those dealing with the book (27), the book-chest (50), the inkhorn (93), the book-moth (48), and letters of the alphabet (14). In some of these, and also in some others, the religious colouring is very definite *e.g.* the book (27) is a 'holy' one, which will make those who peruse it 'sunder, more steadfast, stronger in heart'; (41) celebrates 'the mighty Lord who stirs through all its parts, this earth, with His power'; (60) speaks of the wounds of Christ and the efficacy of prayer; in (56) the sword in its sheath recalls to the poet 'the cross of Him who reared for mortals a ladder up to heaven'; in (7) the sun goes forth at the behest of 'Christ, the good ruler of men,' and in (39) 'the defender of beings' in His providence sends 'four wells' to spurt forth for the young one's sustenance.

But religion and learning had other and deeper effects. They both sank with something of a beneficent and softening influence into the rugged and sad deeps of the Anglo-Saxon temperament—perhaps, too, the comparatively gay and volatile temperament of the early Celtic teachers and missionaries contributed something to this effect. Certainly images of a gentler and more genial order begin to find a place in poetry, and opportunity is found to celebrate the joyousness of green fields and sunshine. Sometimes it enters through an analogy or metaphor or through some word or phrase which bears a gracious suggestion. The riddles are especially rich in these touches of delight in brighter and more kindly themes than those of storm and strife and wintry farings over ice-cold seas. (54), in describing the battering-ram—a dire monster of warfare—commences with a buoyant reference to the greenery of trees in springtime; (71) which speaks of the flowers as 'the bright-visaged ones'; (35) telling how the rake spares the firm stalks so that they might continue to 'gleam and blow' in the sunshine—all betray a poetic sympathy with plants

and flowers ; while the riddles on the swan (8), whose wings murmur in its flight ; on the mead (28), describing the bees bearing honey through the air 'from denes and from downs,' ; on the swallows (58) as they skim over the hilltops ; on the 'nightingale' (9) all strike notes in our early poetry unusually happy and fresh. Riddle 67 expresses the very essence of this newer spirit :—

. . . sæs me sind ealle  
 flodas on fæðmum ȝ þes foldan bearm,  
 grene wongas.

This expansion of sympathy is also illustrated by those riddles which betray the awakening of primitive minds to the contrasts and strange transformations of nature, and to the glory and the wonder of the world. It does not seem hard to divine why, of all Aldhelm's riddles, the Anglo-Saxon writer should choose the 41st for literal translation, for it is the crude and reiterated expression of a naïve wonder startled at surveying the extremes of nature's powers and manifestations. Riddles 32, 33, and 40 all contain praises for 'this wondrous world,' while running through those on themes so diverse as the 'forge-bellows,' the 'iceberg,' the 'onion,' there is a suggestion of pleased surprise at the cyclic continuity of life which those things display :—the onion sprouted aforesometimes, yet it once again will come forth ; the iceberg is both a mother and a daughter of water ; and the bellows, though ever breathing out life, will continue to renew it. The runes are conceived as half-mysterious symbols able to answer the very puzzle which they are used to propound, and 61 expresses wonder at how a thing of wild nature when craftily prepared by the knife of a man, can convey a message. No doubt to some extent this presentation of the subject as an object of wonder suits the riddler's purpose, but it does not seem to have been entirely due to convention. It reflects a certain animation of mind and the stir of new interests, and it proves that new points of view made things of quite ordinary and humble experience yield a curious delight.

Such, then, were some of the ways in which new influences and changed conditions of life are reflected in the riddle poetry of a people whose instincts had hitherto been predatory and vagrant.

But in spite of Christianity, and the mellowing influence of books and learning, much of the stern heathen temper remained.



Many of the riddles, in tone and spirit, closely approach the heroic lays of an earlier and more warlike age. The analogies by which the riddle subjects are described, and the imagery of many of the poems are to a great extent distinctively such as belong to Northern paganism and its 'unchristened chivalry.' The wistful melancholy and the eager zest for battle which invest the 'old unhappy far-off things' of Beowulf appear not infrequently in the riddle, and serve to give high seriousness and heroic temper to the 'more humble lay—familiar matter of to-day'—which thus entered for the first time into the body of our recorded poetry. It is to this persistence of the old spirit that Prehn<sup>1</sup> refers when he describes how the new material 'vielfach mit Anklangen an die geschwundene Herrlichkeit des heidnischen Zeitalters durchsetzt ist, deren frischer Hauch noch nicht von der durch jene grossartige Gedankenumwälzung erzeugten Schwüle erstickt war.' This pagan temperament sometimes displays itself as a childish delight in bright things, as when Beowulf sent Wiglaf to bring into view the hoard of gold and bright cunning gems that he might see it ere he died : and in the riddles barbaric adornment, bright colour, fantastic wirebands of precious metal, glitter again and again ; the horn (15), the sword (21), the book-cover (27), the goblet (64), are either bedecked with wire, or are 'gloriously adorned' with gold and silver ; the subject of (68) is 'ornamented with gold and with treasure of silver' ; the wine (12) is 'bright red and clear' ; the book is 'stained with red-dye.'

Among the most vivid and passionate poems of the whole collection are those which treat of weapons and the ways of warriors, or which poetically ascribe the attributes of warriors to inanimate objects. The poet or poets who wrote the riddles on the shield (6), the spear (73), the helmet (81), the bow (24), the sword (21), enshrined in them the very soul of Teutonic heathendom, with all its unrelenting hatred, its lust for strife, its joy in 'battlework.' Other objects, too, are inspired with the same spirit ; the bow (24) spits forth its poisoned shafts and grimly promises death to those who are but touched with them ; the badger (16) bears 'battle weapons,' and will use them when the enemy presses, 'dealing strokes with its war-darts upon the hateful foe' ; the 'iceberg' exults in the destruction it can work, it is 'bitter in battle-work' and 'grim in hate' ; the warp

<sup>1</sup> Prehn, *Komposition und Quellen der Rätsel des Exeterbuchs*. Münster (1883), introduction.



(57) is 'wounded with woeful spears,' and its life is one of forlorn strife; like a warrior with 'hleahtor gryrelie' leaping upon a foe, the ship sends out shrill yells as it strikes against the shore; even the quill-pen (52), symbol of learning and peace, is imbued with the joy of conflict, and, like a 'struggling warrior,' restlessly urges its way over the parchment.

The faithfulness of the fighter who does the will of his lord is an idea which enters very extensively into the riddles and contributes in no small degree to their poetry. No ethical influence had greater power over the Teutonic warrior than that relationship of thegn to lord which called forth implicit obedience and loyal service. The riddles upon the utensils of ordinary life no less than those upon the implements of warfare draw much of their appeal and strength from this 'Unterthanenverhältniss.' To these humble objects all the service they yield to man is a part of their thegnhood; the millstone (5) knows its duty:—

'ic sceal þragbysig þegne minum . . . hyran georne';

the key (91) has a 'lord' who must be obeyed; the pail in (59)

life ne gielpeð,  
hlaforðes gifum, hyreð swa þeana  
þeodne sinum;

the baker's oven, if such be the subject of (18), has a 'lord' who has set him to protect a hoard; the soul in (44) is one whom:—

. . . se grimma ne mæg  
hungor sceððan ne se hata þurst  
gif him arlice esne þenað.

There is often, however, a conscious subjection of self to the claims of duty, nor is this subjection achieved without spiritual strife. In the case of the storm spirit and indeed 'in vielen ähnlichen Fällen zeigt der Untergebene ein gewisses Schwanken zwischen Pflichtgefühl und Unzufriedenheit mit seinem Lose' . . .<sup>1</sup> but duty conquers. Nowhere is the fine flower of this early chivalry displayed to better advantage or used with greater poetic effect than in the riddle on the sword (21). The sword is sent forth to do battle, it is greedy of praise, experiences the weariness of warfare, yet loyalty to its lord is a stronger motive than even the love of women, and so it is led to a sad though willing self-renunciation and submission to fate.

<sup>1</sup> Prehn, *Komposition und Quellen*.

Closely allied with these warlike conceptions, and to some extent the counterpart of them, we have a brooding melancholy and an elegiac tone. This combination of apparent opposites is only natural to a people in whom the emotional nature is full and deep, and so, in common with other Anglo-Saxon poetry, the riddles do not fail to 'bring the eternal note of sadness in,' with the result that these small poems of a type nowadays usually associated with happy leisure and sparkling wit often have a mournful tone and sombre earnestness little to be expected in such compositions.

For the Anglo-Saxon mind the harsh and dark manifestations of nature had still a strange fascination, and out of the contemplation of these they sucked melancholy. The stag (93) shakes the hoarfrost from its hair; the helmet (81) is covered with hoar-frost, and the rain streams and hard hail beat upon it; even time is reckoned in 'winters' (83). In (2, 3, 4), so full of the imagery of nature in tumult, there is perhaps something of the old joy in the storm—in the onset of mighty breakers upon stony cliffs, and in the wail of the troubled waters; but more often instead of being contemplated with joy, 'blown seas and storming showers' are represented as a part of the inevitable fate which heroes must endure.

But the riddle hero becomes most wistful as he contemplates the vicissitudes of things; in many instances the heyday of life and the joy of youth have been left far behind. The metal of which the helmet is made once lay under the flowers; since now it has passed through the fire, and is now but the 'leaving of the fiends.' The spear (73), once nourished by earth and heaven's clouds, is now indeed fallen in estate, for it is set to do a murderer's will; the battering ram has exchanged the pleasant hillside for strife; the horn (93), which once adorned the head of a stag, and was joyously borne over steep heights and deep dales, has endured sad change; it is 'hard bitten by steel,' and since it is helpless in misfortune, must continue miserably to suffer. Thus our forefathers, even in the poetry of little things, introduced the old sad thoughts of war and *wyrð*; new influences had produced expanding sympathies, expanding sympathies had drawn into the realm of poetry much new material, but neither settled life nor religion nor learning could dispel the profound essential melancholy of the Teutonic temperament.

## V

APART from the critical interest which has been awakened by suggested solutions to the riddles, nearly all criticism has concerned itself with the problem of origin, and, more particularly, with the much discussed hypothesis which ascribed the whole collection to Cynewulf.

So long as the theory of single authorship found favour it gave probability to certain subsidiary theories. It was held, for instance, that the Anglo-Saxon riddles show that a consistent use had been made of the Latin riddle collections of Aldhelm, Symposius, Tatwine, and Eusebius, for after a dependence had been established in a few cases, any variation which Latin and Saxon riddles on the same or similar subjects displayed was read as a conscious and intentional divergence of the Anglo-Saxon poet from his originals. Again, the diverse and manifold interests which the riddles display were accounted for by the supposition that the author wished to appeal to all sorts and conditions of men, and therefore purposely framed his riddle series so as to reflect in all its variety, from the humble to the heroic, the complete cycle of Saxon life and manners.

When, however, the so-called 'first riddle' yielded up its secret, the strongest evidence supporting the Cynewulfian theory of authorship was gone, and the fabric of supposition which that ill-founded hypothesis had been made to support showed signs of serious weakness. Though some few of the riddles are undoubtedly directly indebted to Latin originals, the almost complete dependence which was once reputed to exist can be no longer accepted. Moreover, the wide differences of the Anglo-Saxon riddles in length, manner, and poetic quality, which Cynewulf's width of sympathy and audience were used to explain, have now to be considered one of the strongest arguments against any supposition that the riddles were intended to form a collection carefully conceived to appeal to varied tastes and varied audiences.

The discussion of these problems of authorship, of the unity of the collection, and of the supposed relation of the riddles to Latin sources, is developed in greater detail in the sections immediately following.

## (a)

The idea that Cynewulf wrote the riddles naturally arose



with Leo's announcement that the first riddle contained the name 'Cynewulf' in charade form. Kemble and Grimm<sup>1</sup> had previously discovered the meaning of the runes in the *Christ*, *Juliana*, and *Elene*, and this manner of cunning signature which Cynewulf had been proved to use made the supposition likely that he had hidden the secret of his authorship in other poems too. When in 1859 Dietrich<sup>2</sup> solved the 95th riddle as 'the wandering singer,' and suggested that the repeated occurrence of 'lupus' in the Latin riddle was an intended reference to Cynewulf, the theory that he was the author of the riddles seemed to be quite well authenticated. It was supposed that the poet had described his wandering gay youth in the last riddle, signed his name in the first, and darkly suggested it in the 90th.

It was in 1883 that Trautmann,<sup>3</sup> though with equally erroneous solutions, struck the first blow at this theory of Cynewulfian authorship, yet among some critics it was favoured until the mystery of the first riddle was dispelled in 1902. In 1891 Herzfeld<sup>4</sup> attempted to support it by a 'stylistische Untersuchung,' and, after an investigation of the vocabulary and phraseology of the riddles, concluded that they differed so little from Cynewulf's authentic work that 'nach meiner Ansicht ist es zwar nicht unbedingt sicher aber doch in hohem Grade wahrscheinlich, dass die Räthsel in ihrem vollen Umfange den Dichter Cynewulf zum Verfasser haben.'<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, among all the phrases and expressions which Herzfeld brings as evidence, there is no one which appears exclusively in the riddles and in the authentic Cynewulfian poems, while of poetic synonyms occurring in the riddles for such ideas as God, Hell, Earth, Sea, Ships, Weapons, etc., there are considerably more correspondences<sup>6</sup> outside Cynewulf's authentic works than within. As a method of investigating authorship the 'stylistische Untersuchung' is fallacious and inconclusive, for, in Old English, epithet, imagery, and style are, to a great extent, formal and conventional, and similarities may be due to the force of literary tradition.

Philological investigation is, however, far more fruitful, and

<sup>1</sup> Grimm in preface to *Andreas und Elene*; Kemble in Essay on Anglo-Saxon Runes in *Archæologia*.

<sup>2</sup> Haupt, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xi., afterwards referred to by 'Z. f. d. A.'

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, vi. Heft 4.

<sup>4</sup> Herzfeld, *Die Rätsel des Exeterbuches und ihr Verfasser*. Berlin, 1890.

<sup>5</sup> Herzfeld, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> As Madert has shown in *Die Cynewulffrage*. Marburg, 1900.



as a result of Sievers's research<sup>1</sup> at least some of the riddles must be ascribed to a period before the time of Cynewulf. The field of investigation is necessarily restricted; for, since the riddles are only extant in the form of an eleventh-century West-Saxon transcript, philological considerations can be brought to bear successfully only upon those words which must originally have been manifestly different from the form now given (*e.g.* 'agof'<sup>2</sup> must originally have been 'agob'), or which the transcriber would be constrained to preserve in their original form (*e.g.* the rune words in the rune-riddles); the Leyden riddle, too, is of some value as philological evidence in so far as it is a Northumbrian fragment of which (36) is a copy in West Saxon.

The following are the main considerations which seem to suggest that the riddles must be ascribed to a pre-Cynewulfian period:—

1. All poems known to be of Cynewulfian origin fall in the period when unstressed 'e' had taken the place of unstressed 'i.' Since in the Leyden riddle there are found forms displaying this unstressed 'i,' it is to be supposed that this riddle, at any rate, belongs to a period before 'e' usurped its place. Presuming that this change came about in Northumbria about the same time as in Mercia and the south, this riddle must be ascribed to a pre-Cynewulfian date.<sup>3</sup>
2. The occurrence of 'agof' as the inverted form of 'boga' must suggest the existence of a previous form 'agob.' Now the use of a final b to represent a sound like English v declined before 750,<sup>4</sup> and the 'b,' which by the copyist was evidently taken to bear this sound, was transliterated by the later and more usual f (see also Sievers, *Gr.*, § 191). Undoubtedly, therefore, riddle 24 in its original form belongs to the first half of the eighth century, and 'wahrscheinlich eher nach dem Anfange als nach dem Ende dieses Zeitraumes.'
3. From the runes of riddle 43 the answer 'hana,' 'hæn' is ob-

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia*, xiii. p. 1 ff.—E. Sievers, 'Zu Cynewulf.'

<sup>2</sup> Riddle 24, line 1.

<sup>3</sup> 'Der Übergang von i zu e aber ist im Süden- und Mittellande etwa um die Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts eingetreten' (Sievers, *Anglia*, xiii.).

<sup>4</sup> Sievers, *Anglia*, xiii. 1 ff.: 'Silbenauslautendes b für germanic ð geht aber nicht, im allgemeinen, über die Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts hinaus.'

tained. The form æ as the mutated form of 'a' in hæn, and the 'a' before 'n' in place of the customary 'o' suggest the beginning of the eighth century as the latest period in which this riddle could have been originally framed.

Sievers pithily summarises this evidence thus : 'Das Gesamtergebnis dieser sich gegenseitig stützenden Erwägungen ist also, dass die erste Aufzeichnung der Rätsel in die Periode des i und die noch früher zu Ende gehende Periode des auslautenden b, des 'a' vor nasalen und des unumgelauteten 'a' vor 'u' fällt ; also auch vermutlich in die Zeit vor Cynewulf der seinen Namen selbst mit 'e' schreibt.'

The theory, however, is not without its difficulties. In riddle 20 the runes transliterated give *hæfoc* and *mon*. Unless these forms be conveniently accounted for by carelessness on the part of the scribe, the first is curious and quite *sui generis* ; while the second must be considered as nullifying any probability based on the occurrence of the 'a' in 'hana.' With respect to *haofoc*, the mark which would distinguish the 'æ' rune from the 'a' rune is uncertain, so that the form intended may really be 'hæofoc', but unfortunately, 'wir haben allen Grund . . . auch die Form haeofoc ebenso zu verwerfen wie die Form haofoc . . . die erste Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts konnte nur die Form *hafoc* oder *haboc* von rechtswegen zukommen.'<sup>1</sup> In case of the form 'mon' it is scarcely necessary to suppose any mistake on the part of the copyist, though the 'a' rune could easily be mistaken for the 'o' rune by a writer familiar with the 'mon' form of the word. The difficulty vanishes, however, if, in accordance with the evidence, we consider the riddle as having been originally composed later than the 43rd.<sup>2</sup>

Conclusions based upon such scanty evidence drawn from so few riddles must be guardedly used—especially as there is no ground for supposing that the riddles were composed by one writer, or even during the same period. There is happily much corroborative evidence<sup>3</sup> drawn from a much larger number of riddles which supports the view that, generally speaking, the whole series is of early date, *e.g.* :—

<sup>1</sup> Sievers, *Anglia*, xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Lichtenheld's theory. *Z. f. d. A.*, xvi. 325—percentages taken from Madert, *Die Cynewulffrage*.

<sup>3</sup> Based on Madert's *Cynewulffrage*.

1. Since the article is used with a demonstrative force to a much greater extent in the earlier poems than in the later, it therefore occurs much less frequently in the earlier poems. In *Beowulf* it occurs in nine and a half per cent. of the verses; in the *Andreas* (a Cynewulfian poem), in thirteen per cent.; in the *Genesis* twelve per cent.; in a late poem, such as the *Death of Bryhtnoth* twenty-six per cent. In the riddles, however, it is only met with in nine per cent. of the verses.
2. In early writings comparison is more often expressed by the dative than by þonne with the nominative. In those riddles in which comparative statements occur we have almost invariably the dative,<sup>1</sup> e.g. :—

(a) hyrre ic eom heofone (41, 38).

(b) ic eorðan eom æghwaer brædre (41, 50).

(c) hnescre ic eom micle halsrefeðre (41, 80).

(d) hrusan biþ heardra, hæle þum frodra,  
geofum biþ gearora, gimum deorra (84. ll. 35  
and 36).

3. The use of þurh in its primary sense is a sign of early origin. In the recognised works of Cynewulf this only occurs twice, both examples in the *Crist*, and one instance is manifestly due to an attempt to render literally *per saecula saeculorum* ' (þurh worold worulda (l. 778)).

Though of themselves not sufficient to base generalisations upon, the following points may not be entirely without significance when considered with the conclusion which previous considerations suggest :—

1. In the riddles only the form '*folgian*' is used, whereas Cynewulf invariably uses *fylgian*.
2. In the riddles '*sin*,' as well as *his*, *hyre*, *hyra*, etc., is used to express possession; in the riddles, too, the idea of possession is occasionally strengthened by the addition of '*agen*' to the possessive pronoun (e.g. *hire agen bearn* (10-6)). Neither mode of expressing possession appears in the Cynewulfian poems.

Thus Sievers's conclusions, though based upon phonological phenomena to be found only in two or three riddles, are reinforced

<sup>1</sup> Some exceptions occur in the translated riddle, No. 41.

by considerations of syntactical constructions drawn from a much wider field, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the riddles are not of Cynewulfian origin, but were originally written in a pre-Cynewulfian period—perhaps during the first thirty years of the eighth century.

## (b)

Though Cynewulf in all probability was not their author, the question whether the riddles were produced by any one writer still remains for consideration.

Dietrich<sup>1</sup> based a conjecture that all could not be by the same author on the ground that the riddles display repetitions both of theme and method, and that they occur in scattered groups: 'Ein Bedenken dagegen dass die ganze Masse von einem Verfasser sei, entsteht daraus, dass sie in der einzigen hds, der von Exeter, nicht als ein fortlaufendes Ganze vorliegt.'

In his later treatment Dietrich divides the riddles into two distinct groups, an A group and a B group. The A group, consisting of the first sixty riddles, he ascribes to one author on the ground of a similar use of Latin originals, certain correspondences in treatment and modes of expression and 'der Zusammenhang in Gedanken,' and this author, on considerations of style and language, he identifies as Cynewulf. The B group he does not consider as Cynewulf's, for there are none of Cynewulf's favourite expressions used; the riddles in this group are 'künstlicher in der Ausführung' than those in A.<sup>2</sup>

Prehn (1883), impressed by the extensive area over which the themes range, and accepting the current theory relating the riddles to Cynewulf, boldly and unreservedly proclaimed them a complete whole, consciously compiled and purposely varied to appeal to all the different interests which a wandering singer who sang to both high and low could be expected to meet with in his audiences; duplicate workings of the same theme were included so that different tastes might be satisfied. 'Nach dem vorher Gesagten erscheint es unzweifelhaft, dass die Rätsel des Exeterbuches ein beabsichtigtes Ganze bilden.'<sup>3</sup>

Curiously enough, what deterred Dietrich from postulating a single author, Prehn makes the mainstay of his theory, and while Dietrich divided his riddles into two distinct groups, Prehn

<sup>1</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xii. p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xii.

<sup>3</sup> Prehn, *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 150.



divided his audience: 'Wenn Dietrich anfangs geneigt war, aus dieser Thatsache auf das Vorhandensein mehrerer Verfasser zu schliessen, weil sich ein guter Dichter nicht wiederholt, so übersieht er erstlich die in unserer Einleitung geschilderte Art und Weise, in welcher die Rätsel dem Publikum vermittelt wurden, und ferner dass Cynewulfs Zuhörer sich nach ihrem Bildungsgrade in zwei Gruppen spalteten, welche beide vom Dichter berücksichtigt werden mussten und eine verschiedene Darstellung bedingten.'<sup>1</sup> Herzfeld, too, thought the riddles must be ascribed to one author on account of 'die zahlreiche Übereinstimmung der Rätsel unter einander, sowohl was die Wahl der Gegenstände als was einzelne Wendungen betrifft.'<sup>2</sup> He sees throughout the riddles 'eine ziemlich gleichartige Benutzung der lateinischen Rätsel,' and, like Prehn, he does not consider the fact that there are double treatments of the same subject prohibitive to the theory of single authorship, though he accounts for the phenomenon differently: 'Denn thatsächlich haben zu allen Zeiten Dichter denselben Gegenstand wiederholt behandelt, indem sie ihn ihrer fortgeschrittenen Technik oder ihren wechselnden Anschauungen und Erfahrungen anpassten.'

Holthaus (1884), however, in his review of Prehn's *Komposition*, attacked the theory that there was any inner unity binding the series together: 'Aber so schön auch diese Verknüpfung der ausgesuchten Rätsel sein mag, so kann sie uns doch nicht von einem innern Zusammenhange der Gegenstände überzeugen . . . von einer einheitlichen Idee haben wir nichts merken können.'<sup>3</sup>

Bulbring (1891), in his review of Herzfeld,<sup>4</sup> claims that the Anglo-Saxon collection might very probably be as miscellaneous in origin and authorship as some of the Latin collections of the eighth and ninth centuries. To collect riddles, whatever their source might be, would seem to have been as fashionable in the world of scholarship as to compose them, and consequently: 'Ohne vollkommenen Gegenbeweis sollte man lieber annehmen dass die Angelsachsen wie mehr als einen lateinischen Rätsel so auch mehrere altenglische gehabt haben. Wie man bei einer Sammlung von Volksliedern schwerlich an einen einzigen Verfasser denken wird, so darf man es meines Erachtens ebensowenig bei

<sup>1</sup> Prehn, *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Rätsel und ihr Verfasser* (Berlin, 1891), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, Anzeiger vii,

<sup>4</sup> *Literaturbl. f. germ. und röm. Philol.*, pp. 155-8 (1891).

diesen Rätseln, die mit geringen Ausnahmen doch auch ein Produkt der Volkspoesie sind.'

When, after the appearance of Sievers's article, the fortunes of the Cynewulfian theory of authorship began to decline, there is a distinct tendency noticeable to discard any notion of single authorship or essential unity. Herzfeld<sup>1</sup> has recanted his former faith, and now says: 'Ich gehe sogar noch weiter als Madert und glaube auch nicht dass die Rätsel das Werk eines Dichters sind'; while Trautmann<sup>2</sup> is more emphatic still, and declares: 'Diese (die Rätsel) entstammen von verschiedenen Zeiten und Dichtern.'

In reality, now that the obsessing idea that Cynewulf wrote the riddles is dispelled, there are no grounds left which can in any way suggest that the riddles are the work of one author, or that they form a preconceived whole.

Herzfeld's argument for unity, based on the occurrence of similar phrases and epithets, as has been already shown, proves nothing. Anglo-Saxon is a language marked by considerable constancy in these matters, and the powerful influence of literary tradition excluded from the body of its poetry any very marked individuality of diction.

The most powerful and incontestable argument against the theory is to be found in the extremely varied form, content, and poetic qualities of the riddles. There are the coarse and vulgar riddles 43, 63, 55, in marked contrast with the noble and exalted poetry of riddles 2, 3, 4, 16, 21, 88, 93; there are plain, artless folk-puzzles, like riddles 78, 75, 86, 66, in company with the pretty and artistically pleasing poems 35, 8, 9, 22, 57. Then, again, the occurrence of the riddles in broken sequence, the fact that there is considerable repetition of what is practically the same riddle in slightly different form, all support the view that they are as miscellaneous in origin as they are in form and manner. Some are the work of poets of a high order, while others appear in a form very little altered, if any, from that in which they were used in the feast-hall for the entertainment of rough but simple-minded men.

(c)

The discussion of the precise relationship existing between the Latin riddles and the Anglo-Saxon riddles was first opened

<sup>1</sup> *Archiv f. d. Studium*, u.s.w., cvi. (N.S. vi.), p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> Trautmann, *Kynewulf—Bischof und Dichter*. Bonn, 1898,

by Thorpe when, in the course of the preface to his *Codex Exoniensis*, he spoke of the Exeter riddles as 'too essentially Anglo-Saxon to justify the belief that they are other than original productions,'<sup>1</sup> though at the same time he lays it down as a possibility that the Aenigmata of Symposius, Aldhelm, and Bede may 'occasionally have suggested a subject to our scôp whereon to exercise his skill.'

Dietrich, however, in 1859 led the way with the theory that many of the riddles had a direct dependence upon Latin originals, that some were dependent upon Aldhelm and some on Symposius, and that the author sometimes followed his originals very closely and sometimes used them more freely—extending and elaborating the material he had selected.

Respecting Thorpe, Dietrich<sup>2</sup> said: 'Die Originalität der Form erkenne ich bei den meisten mit ihm, aber die Meinung, dass dies auch vom Inhalte gilt kann nur so lange bestehen, als man nicht untersucht hat.' Besides the actual correspondences between the Latin riddles and the Anglo-Saxon riddles, there is evidence, so Dietrich thought, in the riddles themselves that the material was of bookish origin: 'Der Dichter verrät vielmehr selbst zuweilen dass er schriftliche Quellen benutzte.' As examples of these evidences he mentions the learned Latin words in 41; the reference to a writer in 39, l. 5; the references to books and those who know books in 40 and 43. Besides Symposius and Aldhelm, Dietrich<sup>3</sup> suspects the existence of a third source: 'Eine dritte lateinische Quelle kann ich nur vermuten, aber nicht selbst nachweisen.'

In 1877 Ebert<sup>4</sup> suggested the collections of Tatwine and Eusebius as further sources to which the Anglo-Saxon riddles are indebted: 'Wie meine Anmerkungen zeigen, ist es sehr wahrscheinlich dass Cynewulf den Tatwine, unzweifelhaft aber dass er den Eusebius, benutzt hat.' This theory of direct dependence has had no more strenuous advocate than Prehn, the greater part of whose monograph deals with 'Quellen.' Dietrich and Ebert had given a certain degree of probability to their suggestion by citing examples of more or less close resemblances. Prehn takes their work 'nur als eine Anregung zu einer systematischen Untersuchung der

<sup>1</sup> *Codex Exoniensis*, preface, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi. p. 450.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 457.

<sup>4</sup> Ebert in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen*, u.s.w., vol. xxix. on 'Die Rätsel-Poesie der Angelsachsen.'



Quellenverhältnisse der Exeter-rätsel,' and proceeds to ascribe to Cynewulf, their supposed author, an altogether curious ingenuity in fitting together motives and ideas presumed to have been taken exclusively from Symposius, Aldhelm, Tatwine, and Eusebius.

As representative of Prehn's method, his treatment<sup>1</sup> of riddle 27 may be cited: 'Das vorliegende Rätsel mochte wegen seines Quellenreichtums als die unselbständigste Leistung Cynewulf's erscheinen, da sich jeder Gedanke desselben bald bei diesem bald bei jenem unserer lateinischen Gewährsmänner wiederfindet.' Aldhelm's riddles, 'de pugillaribus' and 'de penna scriptoria'; Tatwine, 'de membranis' and 'de penna'; Eusebius, 'de cera' and 'de penna' are all supposed to have suggested details which the Saxon poet has fused together and adorned in this riddle on 'the book.'

According to Prehn, both Tatwine and Eusebius suggest, in ways quite unlike, the living beast from whose hide parchment is made:—

Eusebius:—Antea per nos vox resonabat verba nequaquam.

Tatwine:—Efferus exuviis populator me spoliavit.

The suggestion of the stiff boards and hide covering mentioned in 'de pugillaribus,' and in Tatwine, 'de membranis':—

Aldhelm:—Sed pars exterior crescebat caetera silvis.

Calceamenta mihi tradebant tergora dura.

Tatwine:—In planum me iterum campum sed verterat auctor,

is, according to Prehn, incorporated and developed in:—

Dyfde on wætre, dyde eft þonan,  
sette on sunnan, þær ic swiðe beleas  
herum, þam þe ic hæfde. Heard mec siððan  
snað seaxes ecg sindrum begrunden,  
fingras feoldan . . .  
. . . Mec siððan wraha.  
hæleð hleobordum, hyde beþenede,  
gierede mec mid golde.

In the mention of the writing in the book, Prehn would have us see a direct relation to Aldhelm's 'De penna scriptoria' and Eusebius 'de penna':—

Aldhelm:—Candentique viae vestigia caerula linquo

Lucida nigratis fuscans anfractibus arva.

Eusebius:—Candida conspicio, vestigia taetra relinquens.

<sup>1</sup> *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 190.



These, says Prehn, the Saxon poet, after speaking of the 'fugles wyn' decorating the edges, represents by the two lines :—

streames dæle, stop eft on mec,  
siðade sweartlast. . . .

Similarly, in more than twenty other cases is an Anglo-Saxon riddle ingeniously related by Prehn<sup>1</sup> to more than one Latin source. 'Cynewulf in einer Anzahl von Fällen sich nicht mit der Benutzung einer einzigen Quelle begnügt sondern aus mehreren zu gleicher Zeit geschöpft habe.' '. . . die verschiedene Auffassung mehrerer Autoren eine grössere Auswahl von wesentlichen Merkmalen bot.' Even the twenty-three riddles, 'welche unter dem mittelbaren Einflusse lateinischer Quellen stehen,' he almost fears may be taken for 'unabhängige Leistungen,' and hastens to assure us that their independence is limited to the choice of material, for the old motives which have been used in other riddles are used again in different combinations. Precisely the same attitude characterised Ebert's attitude to riddle problems.<sup>2</sup> Speaking of the author of one of the Lorsch riddles he points out that the poet 'aus drei Rätseln seiner Vorgänger eines viertes zusammengebracht hat.' This theory of fastidious choice from literary riddles followed by careful adjustment to suit an unlearned people was severely criticised in 1884 by Holthaus :<sup>3</sup> 'Die grosse Abhängigkeit welche Prehn für den Dichter beweisen will, scheint uns doch nicht so einleuchtend und ausgemacht zu sein. Offenbar erfreuten sich die Rätsel einer grossen Beliebtheit bei den nordischen Völkern jener Zeit.'

In order to justify the theory of a widespread riddle tradition he quotes what Ten Brink<sup>4</sup> has said of the epic and applies it to the riddle also : 'Was aber jene Zeit wesentlich von der unseren unterscheidet : das Produkt der dichterischen Tätigkeit war nicht das Eigentum, die Leistung eines einzelnen Sängers dauerte so lange als der Vortrag währte. Das Bleibende an dem, was er vortrug, der Stoff, die Ideen, ja Stil und Versmass waren gegeben.'

And it was, according to Holthaus, out of all the variety of this tradition that the Anglo-Saxon riddles derive both subject and manner : 'Besonders in den Fällen wo Prehn Ähnlichkeit der englischen Rätsel mit zwei oder drei lateinischen Dichtern nachweist, waren wir geneigt nicht an unmittelbare Entlehnung zu

<sup>1</sup> *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xxiii., p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, Anzeiger vii. p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Literaturgeschichte*, s. 17.

denken, sondern zu glauben dass sowol die Gegenstände wie auch die Art der Betrachtung Gemeingut des Volkes geworden war und somit der Dichter nur bekanntes aufgenommen hatte, aber es doch eigenartig wiedergab.'

Herzfeld,<sup>1</sup> though not immediately concerned with the question of origins, thought that 'die Mehrzahl wohl in der volkstümlichen Tradition ihre Würzel hat aus der die Dichter der latein. wie der a.e. Rätsel (unabhängig von einander) geschöpft haben können.'

During the last decade, however, Prehn's position has been rendered less and less tenable by investigators who have called to their aid the various collection of 'Volksrätsel' and 'Kunst-rätsel' which are available for study and comparison, as well as such books of early lore as Pliny's *Natural History*. This comparative method of riddle study has done much to establish solutions of Anglo-Saxon riddles already suggested, and to discredit others hitherto commonly accepted, while at the same time it has proved beyond doubt that the very attenuated relation which Prehn claimed to exist between the Latin and the Saxon riddlers was due in most cases to common sources rather than to any direct transference. It is with this belief that F. Tupper<sup>2</sup> speaks of Prehn's 'far too fruitful source hunt,' of 'the unsound and perverted attempt of Prehn to find for every Exeter Book riddle a contemporary Latin source,' and of the unfair exaggeration which has been made of the indebtedness of the Exeter Book riddles to the Latin problems so well known in the eighth century.

The value of this wider outlook in helping to solve the problems presented by the Anglo-Saxon collection is well illustrated by the hitherto obscure 14th riddle. The solution of this has been the subject of much conjecture. T. Wright<sup>3</sup> thought the subject to be 'the aurelia of the butterfly and its transformations'; while Dietrich,<sup>4</sup> basing his conjecture on a certain riddle in Aldhelm, gave as his solution 'the letters of the alphabet.' Prehn<sup>5</sup> concurred, and supported Dietrich's solution by pointing out that the poet had also used Tatwine and Eusebius. Tupper<sup>6</sup> has, however, detected in it elements of a widespread folk-riddle, and surmises that the subject is 'Pen (or style) hand and glove.'

<sup>1</sup> *Die Rätsel und ihr Verfasser*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xviii. Nos. 1 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographia Brit. Literaria*, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi. p. 463.

<sup>5</sup> *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 177.

<sup>6</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xviii. 4 and xxi. 4.

That this latter was a popular theme is evident from its occurrence, in varied form, in different collections. In these the glove is usually represented as 'hanging on the wall,' and the fingers as travelling over the dark surface of the parchment.

Bede<sup>1</sup> in the *Flores* gives a riddle on the theme, in which 'the skin hangs on the wall':—

'Vidi filium cum matre manducantem eufus pellis pendebat in pariete,'

while in St. Gall MS.,<sup>2</sup> 196, there are two other versions:—

'Vidi hominem ambulantem cum matre sua et pellis ei pendebat in pariete';

'Vidi mulierem flentem et cum quinque filiis currentem eufus semita erat via et pergebat valde plana campestria.'

These at least suggest striking analogues to the phrases so difficult to account for in the Anglo-Saxon riddle:—

- (1) . . . fell hongedon  
Sweotol ond gesyne, on seles wæge (lines 3 and 4).
- (2) turf tredan (line 1).
- (3) lond tredan (line 11).

The riddle thus very probably signifies the ten fingers resting on the surface of the parchment on which one hand is writing. The six brothers are possibly the six long fingers, and the four sisters the two small fingers together with the thumbs. The gloves (*i.e.* the 'skins' of the various fingers) are removed and are hung on the wall, while the fingers, none the worse for the loss of their 'skins,' proceed:—

. . . Muðum slitan  
haswe blede. . . . (lines 8 and 9).

(*muþ* apparently in sense of *snout*, *i.e.* the projecting pen or style; *haswe blede* the MS. on which the hands are 'browsing'). After the writing is done (*i.e.* after they have left ornaments in their track, 'Hrægl biþ geniwad'—the gloves are put on.

Trautmann<sup>3</sup> replied to Tupper's suggestion, and reaffirmed his own solution, 'ten young chickens.' According to him, the 'skin on the wall' is the membrane lining the egg. The chicken

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xciv. col. 539.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Tupper in *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

<sup>3</sup> Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, xix. p. 177.



breaks the eggshell with its bill (*mupum slitan*), and comes forth unfledged (*reafe birofene*). Soon afterwards its feathers provide it with a new covering. Besides this, 'Die Mittelzahl des Küchleins, die das Haushuhn auf ein Mal ausbrutet, ist zehn.' Trautmann's justification of his own suggestion is most ingeniously complete, but still the knowledge that there *was* a popular riddle current in which the fingers 'ranged over the land,' while the glove or skin 'hung on the wall' seems to give strong probability to the fact that any other containing these elements in combination must be intended either as a copy of a re-worked version of the same fundamental problem. Hence, both Dietrich's 'twenty-two letters,' with its slender relations to Aldhelm's 'de elementis,' Trautmann's 'chickens,' and Wright's 'butterfly' are less probable solutions, however ingeniously supported, than the 'pen, hands and gloves' suggested by Tupper.

Undoubtedly, in a general sense, the debt which the Anglo-Saxon riddles owes to the Latin collections is great. The position may be stated as follows :—

1. The collection of Anglo-Saxon riddles was made under the stimulus of one of the prevailing hobbies of monastic leisure, and in imitation of the various Latin collections.
2. The occasional references to books and writers, noted by Dietrich, are of too general and casual a nature to prove any definite direct debt, and they need not be interpreted as referring to any immediate and particular sources.
3. In the case of the 41st riddle it is beyond doubt that the writer went directly to Aldhelm's 'de creatura.' This is the only instance of a total and complete parallelism between a Latin and an Anglo-Saxon riddle that the whole collection affords.
4. In many of the riddles there are phrases and ideals for which parallels can be found in the Latin enigmas on the same or allied themes, but the similarity exists in very varying degrees.
  - (a) In some few cases (*e.g.* 36, 48, 61,) the riddle seems to be in such intimate relation with a Latin riddle as to suggest that one is derived from the other.



(b) In other cases (*e.g.* 9, 35, 54, 10, 17, 33), the Anglo-Saxon riddle has only one or two motives in common with those found in Latin riddles. The resemblance is slight, and often such as can scarcely be avoided when the same theme happens to be chosen by different writers.

5. In over twenty cases there are Anglo-Saxon riddles which are entirely lacking in any similarity to the Latin riddles either in theme, manner, or motive (*e.g.* 8, 22, 23, 32, 46, 47, 56, 69, 95).

The great objection to Prehn's theory lies in the ever-present necessity of supposing a conscious and fastidious choice and rejection, an extensive adjustment and curtailment, the frequent transference of motive from one subject to another. The variation of Anglo-Saxon and Latin riddles is much more naturally and therefore convincingly accounted for by supposing that in most instances they are developments of the same common kernels taken from folk-material or the usual lore of the time.

What Gummere<sup>1</sup> has asked concerning the ballad might also be asked of the riddle: 'Is there no real dualism in generative poetics—a dualism of chorus and solo, of throng and poet, of community and artist?' If there be such a dualism—if it be allowed that both Saxon and Latin riddles are often independent 'solos' on themes suggested by the common 'chorus' of folk-riddle or by a widespread and common fund of learned material, it is then easily understood why it is that only at certain points the Latin and Anglo-Saxon riddles correspond; why the Latin sources appear to be handled with great independence, for independent treatments of the same material will inevitably result in divergent versions in which only a few traits are to be found in common in quite alien settings, and even then perhaps in altered form.

(The question is further considered as far as it affects individual riddles in the comments upon the individual riddles.)

## VI

### RIDDLES 2, 3, AND 4

CONSIDERED as pieces of natural description these three riddles are the most remarkable in the whole collection. All the longer

<sup>1</sup> *Harvard Studies*, v., 'The Ballad and Communal Poetry,' p. 41.

Anglo-Saxon poems frequently, though quite incidentally, show that the turbulence of the storm and of the sea deeply affected the Anglo-Saxon imagination, but nowhere else are found passages of such length inspired by and devoted so exclusively to nature in tumult. All three poems exhibit unusual zest and vividness of phrase, and riddle 4 seems to stand quite unique in a literature not elsewhere greatly characterised by such qualities, by reason of its proportioned structure, the ordered progress of its imagery, and the satisfying sense of rounded finality produced by the revisionary character of lines 67-73. Herzfeld <sup>1</sup> has rightly termed this trio 'den Abschluss und eigentlichen Höhepunkt der Rätseldichtung,' the 4th riddle especially meriting his notice because of 'das Übersichtliche der Komposition, die Kraft und Anschaulichkeit der Darstellung und den Reichtum an Bildern.' Conybeare, <sup>2</sup> who was the first critic to give special notice to this riddle, said: 'One of the longest of these (aenigmata) appears to relate to the "sun."' In 1858 Grein <sup>3</sup> gave as the solution of the 3rd riddle 'anchor,' and of the 4th, 'hurricane.' In the following year, however, Dietrich <sup>4</sup> perceived the unity of conception underlying the three poems, and concluded: 'Es zieht sich im Grunde nur ein einziges Rätsel durch No. 2, 3, 4 hin,' and he suggested 'the storm' in its various aspects as its solution. Wülker has printed the three as separate poems, though Trautmann <sup>5</sup> in his numbering of the riddles groups them together to form the 2nd riddle. The occurrence of three 'Schluss-formeln' seems to give all the justification there is for considering this storm description to be composed of three separate poems. On the other hand, there are very definite considerations which point to a more intimate unity of the three portions than that given by mere similarity of subject.

1. There is an identity of root conception underlying all three poems. The storm-fiend bears a burden on his back—sometimes of earth (II.), sometimes of sea (III.), at other times of cloud (IV.).
2. The *hwilum* of III. 1, IV. 1, 36, 17 seems to be repeated to sustain the continuity of the description commenced in II. The MS. shows no division <sup>6</sup> between III. and IV., and it is noteworthy that *hwilum* of IV. 1 has no initial capital.

<sup>1</sup> *Rätsel des Exeterbuches und ihr Verfasser.* Berlin, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 1826.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie.*

<sup>4</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi. p. 459.

<sup>5</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

<sup>6</sup> Wülker's *Bibliothek*, Band iii. p. 185, note.

3. In spite of its imaginative qualities, the poem seems to have a didactic intention. It is possible that the riddle poet is exploiting the poetic appeal of storm to the heathen imagination to point the moral and adorn the tale of God's omnipotence. The purpose of the poem appears to be to suggest the greatness of that power which can command the storm giant, by portraying the mighty revels of the giant himself whom the hearers in their heathendom had battled with and bowed before.

All the poems agree in demanding the name of him who can thus check or order forth a nature so stormy :—

- (1) Saga hwa mec þecce (II.).
- (2) Hwa mec on sið wræce (II. 2).
- (3) . . . Saga, þoncol mon,  
Hwa mec bregde of brimes fæðmum (III.).
- (4) Hwa gestillð þæt (IV.).
- (5) Saga . . . hwa mec rare, þonne ic restan ne mot  
Oððe hwa mec stæððe þonne ic stille beom (IV.).

If such be the theme, the three 'Schluss-formeln' may well be considered as repetitions, marking the close of distinct sections of a single poem, and used, more rhetorically than interrogatively, to bring back the mind of the reader from its excursions into the rough realm of elemental strife, and to focus attention upon him who is mightier than the storm, and who rules over it as a master over a slave. Even, however, if we put aside any didactic purpose, the 'Schluss-formeln' may still be considered more as recurrent exclamatory expressions which break the progress of the narrative to express the naïve wonder and awed reverence with which the early English beheld the dread workings of nature than as formal challenges to exercise of wit.

The precise relation of this riddle group to the Latin riddles is difficult to determine. Prehn<sup>1</sup> suggested as the poet's sources Aldhelm's 'de vento,' together with the aenigmata of Eusebius, 'De terra et mari' and 'De Æquore.' In Aldhelm's first line :—

Cernere me nulli possunt nec prendere palmis,

Prehn sees the kernel of the fourth riddle, and marvels that out of so little should come forth so much. The remaining three lines :—

<sup>1</sup> *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 159.



Argutum vocis crepitum cito pando per orbem,  
 Viribus horrisonis valeo confringere quercus,  
 Nam superos ego pulso polos et rura peragro,

he takes as the source of riddle 2, while in Eusebius 21, 'De terra et mari,' eked out with one line from 23, 'De Æquore,' he finds the germ of riddle 3.

Later research has, however, revealed other passages much more nearly related to the thought of the 3rd and 4th riddles than those cited by Prehn. Riddle 3 is strangely reminiscent in its detail and motif of Pliny (*Natural History*, xxxi. 1)—a passage, moreover, whose suitability as riddle material has certainly been utilised by one of Reusner's riddlers.<sup>1</sup> The passage<sup>2</sup> is introductory to the discussion of 'water,' and translated runs thus :—

Amid waves and billows, and tides of rivers for ever on the ebb and flow she (*i.e.* Nature) still unceasingly exerts her powers ; and nowhere, if we must confess the truth, does she display herself in greater might, for it is this among the elements that holds sway over all the rest. It is water that swallows up dry land, that extinguishes flame, that ascends aloft, and challenges possession of the very heaven ; it is water that, spreading clouds as it does, far and wide, intercepts the vital air we breathe ; and through their collision gives rise to thunder and lightnings as the elements of the universe meet in conflict. What can be more marvellous than waters suspended aloft in the heavens ? And yet, as though it were not enough to reach so high an elevation as this, they sweep along with them whole shoals of fishes, and often stones as well, thus lading themselves with ponderous masses which belong to other elements, and bearing them on high.<sup>3</sup>

Again, in the *Flores*<sup>3</sup> of Bede we have an enigma which might represent quite as well as Aldhelm's first line the germ thought of riddle 4 :—

Dic mihi quae est illa res quae caelum totamque terram replevit—  
 silvas et surculos confringit omniaque fundamenta concutit sed nec  
 oculis videri aut manibus tangi potest. (Solution.—Ventus.)

Another analogue is to be found in the 'wind' riddle of Vienna MS. 67 :—<sup>4</sup>

Cernere (nec) quisquam vinclis (potest) neque tenere.

Perhaps, however, one of the closest and most interesting

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Tupper, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xviii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Bostock and Riley's translation, v. p. 471.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xc. 539 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Tupper, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xviii. 4.



parallels is that pointed out by Erlemann.<sup>1</sup> The portion of Bede's 'De natura rerum' dealing with earthquakes on land and in the sea contains many of the most forceful ideas which these riddles display; one phrase in particular Erlemann marks out as containing the Anglo-Saxon riddles 2, 3, and 4 'in nuce.' It therefore seems possible that the riddles are intended to describe the great unrest of nature which accompanies earthquake and tidal wave.

1. The line *swa ne wenað men* suggests 'das plötzliche unerwartete Auftreten der Naturerscheinung malen.'
2. The giant is ever represented as being 'under the land,' or 'under the ocean,' though sometimes disturbing the upper air.
3. The description of thunder and lightning and how they are generated (riddle 4) is very like Bede's account of the thunder and lightning which accompanies earth disturbances: 'Tonitrua dicunt ex fragore nubium generari, fulmina nubium attritu nasci in modum silicium collisorum.'

Despite the close resemblance of thought between Bede and the riddles, no very direct rendering of Bede's Latin can be pointed out, and Erlemann offers an interesting suggestion: 'Bedas naturwissenschaftliche Schriften aber lagen damals dem Unterricht in den Realien in fast allen Klosterschulen Englands zugrunde, als Lehrer hatte Beda sie ja auch verfasst. Hier in der Schule mag dann auch bei einer rekapitulierenden Frage, was alles der Sturm bewirke jene Zusammenfassung, wie sie der Dichter am Schlusse seines Rätsels selbst gibt, vorgekommen sein. Sie mag sich in dieser Form leicht in seinem Gedächtnis bewahrt und den Anstoss zu dem Rätsel gegeben haben.'

#### RIDDLE 5

OWING to the very obscure lines with which this riddle concludes it presents certain difficulties of interpretation. Dietrich<sup>2</sup> thought the answer to be 'millstones'—the 'ic' referring to one stone, and the 'servant' to the other, perhaps the lower one. On the other hand, Prehn<sup>3</sup> prefers to interpret the 'servant'

<sup>1</sup> 'Zu altenglischen Rätseln' (*Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*), cxi. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>3</sup> Prehn, *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 163.

not as a 'millstone,' but as 'ein Knecht . . . welcher die Handmühle treibt.' In accordance with this Prehn interprets

. . . ic him gromheortum  
winterceald oneweðe . . .

as meaning that the one who turns the mill 'dem eiskalten Steine ein warmes Glied gegenübergestellt.' Does it not, however, refer to the starting of the mill by the grinder? The grating of the stone upon the uncrushed corn, just as it starts turning, might be conceived as a 'wintercold answer' returned in surly mood to one who has rudely broken its rest (it is 'sleepweary') and called it to its labours.

It seems scarcely likely that the poet has extracted the single idea 'pragbysig' from Aldhelm's 'dispar fortuna' and 'Symposius's' 'Hic manet immotus, non desinit ille moveri'; still less does it seem probable that the 'min bed brecan' is derived from a line in Symposius's 'meal' riddle, 'Inter saxa fui quae me contrita premebant,' and Aldhelm's phrase, 'ex nostro labore.' With respect to this latter phrase, Prehn himself confesses that it stands to the Anglo-Saxon only 'in einer sehr entfernten Ähnlichkeit.' In so far as *three* different sources are claimed, and that in each case the similarity to the Anglo-Saxon phrases is only small, the claim that these form the origin of the Anglo-Saxon riddle is hardly warranted; it seems much more reasonable to suppose that both Latin writers and the Anglo-Saxon poet were elaborating ideas suggested by folk-riddle material.

In support of this we have the fact that in the sixteenth century there certainly was in England a folk-riddle<sup>1</sup> on 'the millstones,' which contains one element in common with the Anglo-Saxon riddle, but *not* contained in either of the Latin enigmas:—

Downe in a meadowe I have two swine;  
The more meat I give them the louder they cry;  
The less meat I give them the stiller they lie.

The second line seems to contain the idea expressed by the Anglo-Saxon:—

. . . breahtme cyðan  
pæt me halswriðan hlaford sealde.

<sup>1</sup> *Booke of Merry Riddles* (1629), reprinted by Halliwell in his *Literature of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*.

## RIDDLE 6

Two solutions have been offered, one by L. C. Müller,<sup>1</sup> 'scutum,' and the other by Trautmann,<sup>2</sup> 'chopping-block.' Because the former is more dignified as a theme, and more poetically suggestive than the latter, it seems more in keeping with the serious temper and sober earnestness of Anglo-Saxon poetry that 'shield' rather than 'chopping-block' should be the solution. Apart from this consideration, there seems nothing in the riddle itself to give one solution any advantage over the other.

The riddle is no idle fancy—it is full of human feeling and a sense of sad submission to a dreary fate. The poet makes the shield speak like a hacked and ragged veteran who must still fight on, even though sad *wyrd* oppresses it, and even though it knows full well it must continue to suffer without hope of respite.

Prehn connects this riddle with Aldhelm's 'Clypeus.' In so far as the cruel wounds which the shield bears are mentioned in both riddles there is certainly some similarity, but whether Aldhelm's enigma can be cited as in any sense the 'source' of the Saxon riddle is doubtful. The shield of Aldhelm's riddle is a soldier proud of his scars :—

Quis tantos casus aut quis tam plurima leti  
Suscipit in bello crudelis vulnera miles ;

but the shield in the Anglo-Saxon riddle is battle-weary :—

beadoweorca sæd—ecgum werig.

Again, had Aldhelm's riddle been the Anglo-Saxon poet's source, the line—

Semper ego proprio gestantis corpore corpus  
Conservabo,

so suggestive of the bond of fidelity binding servant to lord—a fidelity which the Anglo-Saxon riddle writers loved to portray—would scarcely have been left unrepresented.

## RIDDLE 7

A SHORT poem, quite independent of the Latin riddles, and treating its subject (the sun) as both the friend and enemy of mankind. Sometimes it shines gently and gladdens the hearts of men—at other times it burns fiercely and prostrates men to earth.

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Collectanea Anglo-Saxonica* (1835).

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

The mingling of old and new, of heathen and Christian, is well illustrated by lines 1 and 2, in which the sun is conceived as being a warrior in the service of Christ.

## RIDDLE 8

A POEM of delicate fancy quite distinct in tone from the other riddles, in which there is so often heard the stronger and sterner note of the heroic lays. The subject is evidently some large bird whose wings make a perceptible noise as they beat the air—Dietrich suggested ‘swan.’ Such poems as this well illustrate that increased sensibility to the poetry latent in ordinary sights and sounds which was the joint result of the influence of letters and of contact with the Celtic mind upon the Anglo-Saxons in Northumbria.

To dwell with such evident pleasure upon the tuneful garments and the musical whirl of the feathers, to liken a bird to a ‘spirit,’ faring over flood and field and above the dwellings of men are more in keeping with nineteenth-century poetry than with the poetry of our nation’s infancy.

## RIDDLE 9

OF the two answers which have been proposed for this riddle (nightingale<sup>1</sup> and ringdove<sup>2</sup>), the former seems the more probable, in so far as the nightingale’s song is more likely to captivate the burg dwellers than that of the more familiar dove.

In its opening lines the poem bears considerable likeness to Aldhelm’s ‘*de lusciniā*,’ which praises, no less than the Anglo-Saxon riddle, the ‘winding bouts of linked sweetness’ so characteristic of the bird’s song; the Anglo-Saxon riddle, unlike that of Aldhelm, makes no reference to the bird’s exile during foggy winter.

Trautmann’s ‘bell,’<sup>3</sup> if accepted, banishes much of the poetry from the poem, and destroys entirely the beauty of what Prehn has felicitously called ‘*die kleine Frühlingsscene*,’ which the picturesque imagery of the poem suggests.

## RIDDLE 10

‘CUCKOO’<sup>4</sup> is the solution of this riddle. The pathos arising out of the cuckoo’s loveless parentage, the self-sacrifice of the foster-

<sup>1</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xii.<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xi.



mother in her devotion to the foundling until it grows strong enough to fly away, are the main notes of the poem.

In a riddle of Symposius we find a reference to 'another mother' hatching the eggs deserted by the cuckoos and rearing the young birds. Though the present riddle is undoubtedly an expansion of this same idea, it is doubtful whether it was suggested to the Anglo-Saxon riddle writer by Symposius's Latin riddle, or whether both are not independent treatments of the same well-known fact.

### RIDDLE 11

THIS provides an excellent example of how popular tradition and the common beliefs of the time can provide material for the making of riddles; it also illustrates how a riddle can be erroneously accounted for by reference to a casual phrase or idea culled from one or more of the various contemporary Latin riddles. For a long time it was supposed that the bubbles left in the wake of a ship formed the theme of this riddle, and it was thought to owe its origin to material suggested by Aldhelm's 'De famfaluca.' It is, however, almost certainly based upon the old idea of the origin of the 'Barnacle goose.' This was first suggested by Mr. Stopford Brooke,<sup>1</sup> and supported by a quotation from Gerard's 'Herball.' Giraldus Cambrensis has, as Tupper has pointed out, a passage in which the whole of the riddle material seems perfectly explained. 'Barnacle geese,' says Giraldus,<sup>2</sup> 'are produced from fir-timber tossed along the sea, and are at first like gum. Afterwards they hang down by their beaks as if from a seaweed attached to the timber, surrounded by shells in order to grow more freely. Having thus in process of time been clothed with a strong coat of feathers they either fall into the water, or fly freely away into the air.'

The 'neb in the narrow place' is thus the bill stuck into the log; the 'tree in dark raiment' and 'the wandering wood' both refer to the floating fir-wood; the geese literally do come 'out of the embrace of the sea and of the wood'; they are clothed in a dun raiment of feathers, then the wind bears them aloft, and they fly over the 'seal-bath'; the 'certain white adorn-

<sup>1</sup> *History of Early English Literature*, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Tupper from *Topographia Hiberniae*, I. xv. (Rolls Series, 1867), v. 47.

ments' might refer to feathers of lighter colour than the rest, or to the bill and legs of the bird.

Trautmann, by unwarrantably altering *on sunde awox* (line 3) into *on sande grof* has ingeniously interpreted the riddle to refer to an anchor with its mainshaft painted white.

#### RIDDLE 12

As the solutions of this riddle 'night,'<sup>1</sup> 'wine,'<sup>2</sup> and 'gold,'<sup>3</sup> have been proposed—its most remarkable characteristic is the strong note of moral warning it contains.

The language is more than usually obscure, *e.g.* the *heah* of line 9 has been variously dealt with. Trautmann, because of its difficulty has suggested *hearm*<sup>4</sup> as the word really intended; Dietrich translated it literally; while Walz thinks it should be understood as 'the High one,' *i.e.* God.

The reputed connection of the riddle with Aldhelm's 'de nocte' is not supported by anything further than that there is in both a mention of bright adornments and dun colour. Night certainly is dun-coloured, and its sky is spangled with the bright adornments of the stars; it may be considered as a seductive mistress tempting weak ones into evil if they venture forth; line 9 might refer to the coming of the sun (*horda deorast*). Though, however, evil and darkness often are found together the homiletic outburst of lines 5-10 seems too strongly conceived to apply to one who plays such a passive part in the working of evil as the darkness.

The chief objection to the solution 'gold' lies in the extremely awkward way in which it satisfies the first two lines.

'Wine' seems by far the best answer. The garment or dress of the wine is the beaker it is contained in, and wine often leads men into foolishness which calls forth from friends moralising words. Unless we accept *hearm*,<sup>4</sup> *heah* is certainly a difficulty, and, taken literally, seems with this solution to have no meaning; the profitable or useful journeying (*nyttre fore*) of line 5 is also obscure—Trautmann suggests 'der Gang zum Abendmahl.' The resemblance of this riddle to the 28th (mead) both in phrase and sentiment gives a probability to the idea that it is upon a kindred subject and thus supports 'wine.'

<sup>1</sup> Z. f. d. A. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, xix.

<sup>3</sup> Walz, *Harvard Studies*, v.

<sup>4</sup> Trautmann's emendation—*Bonner Beiträge*, xix.

## RIDDLE 13

THE subject of this riddle is treated in a way which is reminiscent of the horn riddle (15) and of the tree riddle (31).

As in those riddles, all the various forms which the subject may assume are given so that we have the hide of the ox speaking as :—

- (a) the skin of a living animal (lines 1 and 2) ;
- (b) the thong which binds a captive (lines 3 and 4) ;
- (c) a leather jack or other drinking vessel (lines 5 and 6) ;
- (d) a shoe or rug (lines 6b and 7a).

Lines 7b to 13 are exceedingly obscure—they seem to refer to some kind of treatment or preparation which the skin receives. It is spoken of as being ‘pressed’ and ‘shaken’ by a man, and afterwards handed on to a woman, who completes the process by ‘wetting’ and ‘warming.’ If this be the explanation, lines 11b-13, which Prehn understands to refer to ‘glove,’ are really descriptive of a part of this preparation—the skin is spoken of as being turned about and manipulated with the hand. Lines 7b-11 Prehn curiously explains as describing a practical joke played by a high-spirited woman. A man’s coat or hat is stolen, wetted, and then, in order to appease the victim, afterwards dried and warmed by the fire ! Surely, however, this adventure is scarcely so characteristic of the fate of a leather jerkin as to make a mention of it intelligible in a riddle !

The mention of the ‘Swart Welshman’ is noteworthy—the subordinate standing of the Celt in the Saxon community is well illustrated by the comparison implied in the last lines :—

Gif me feorh losað, fæste binde  
Swearte wealas, *hwilum sellan men.*

## RIDDLE 16

IN Anglo-Saxon poetry kindred and children are often mentioned with a tender note of love and devotion. In the riddles it is heard in the ‘horn’ poems (88 and 93) as a brother’s sorrow ; in 10 (‘cuckoo’) as a motherly devotion even to the deserted young of others ; and here as an animal’s passionate attachment to its young in time of threatened danger ; when it is molested it conducts its young to a place of safety, and then returns like a doughty warrior to face the foe fearlessly.

Precisely what animal is referred to seems doubtful; Dietrich suggested 'badger,' but this has been questioned by Trautmann and also by Walz. Walz objects on the ground that the animal has *not* a whitish neck, nor is it swift-footed; he suggests 'porcupine'<sup>1</sup> as more likely, and claims that this animal has a white stripe on the neck, and that it literally does use war-darts (arrows) in strife; the *hildepilum* (line 28) he takes to be the spines from its tail, which it uses in defending itself against its enemies—the spines become detached, and stick into whatever is attacked.

This is an ingenious theory, but based upon facts which are doubtful. Both porcupine and badger are clumsy and ungainly—neither is specially noted for its speed (see lines 1, 2). The badger is characterised by black and white stripes on head and neck, and by sharp claws which it uses for digging. Again, the exceedingly long quills of the porcupine render it unlikely that it can live in the tunnelled passages which the riddle seems to imply. On the whole, then, therefore 'badger' is the most suitable solution.

How Prehn<sup>2</sup> can state that 'das vorliegende Rätselpaar' (Anglo-Saxon riddle and Symposius 'talpa') 'weist eine nahe Verwandtschaft auf,' is difficult to understand; a blind underground existence is all that is ascribed to the 'mole' by Symposius—there is no suggestion whatever of the love of its own kind or a brave battle to protect its young. These are, however, the sole elements of the Anglo-Saxon poem.

### RIDDLE 17

AN imaginative little poem about the anchor<sup>3</sup>—the first line certainly bears a strong resemblance to the first line of Symposius's 'ancora':—

Cum vento luctor, cum gurgite pugno profundo.

The riddle is concerned with describing the constant pull of wind and wave in their endeavour to drag the anchor from its hold. There are both vigorous and vivid touches; the anchor holds itself to the stones with its iron 'tail,' and its devastating track when it is conquered is well portrayed in:—

gif me þæs tosæleð, hi beoð swiðran þonne ic  
 ȝ mec slitende, sona flymað.

<sup>1</sup> *Harvard Studies*, v.

<sup>2</sup> *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Dietrich in *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.



The riddles in the Hervara Saga<sup>1</sup> also contain one on the 'anchor,' which, as in the Anglo-Saxon riddle, is described as a striver and a warrior.

## RIDDLE 18

THREE solutions have been suggested: 'catapult,'<sup>2</sup> 'fortified enclosure,'<sup>3</sup> 'baking oven.'<sup>4</sup> The latter certainly can be ingeniously supported. The 'frea' of line 5 is the baker; the treasure the loaves; the 'spear-terrors' which are shot forth are the spear-shaped flames which emerge from the fire; the dark things which are swallowed are logs used as fuel. It is difficult, however, to understand why, if fuel be meant, it should be particularly referred to as 'battle weapons—bitter points—destructive spears.'

The riddle bears a great resemblance to that on the bow, and very probably its subject is that greater and more powerful bow—the catapult. Out of the belly of each fly battle darts; the cords which bind up the bow (24) correspond with the 'wires' which this riddle mentions. The missiles which the catapult shot were of the greatest variety, and included stones and rocks, spears, bolts, and beams of all sorts; it may thus well be described as 'swallowing' these things only to vomit them forth again.

HWILUM IC SWEARTUM SWELGAN ONGINNE  
BRUNUM BEADOWÆPNUM, BITRUM ORDUM,  
EGLUM ATTORSPERUM.

This solution is also supported by the fact that over the riddle in the MS. are two runes, L and B, which may, as Tupper suggests, refer to *lipre* (the Anglo-Saxon equivalent of the Latin *Ballista*) and *Ballista* itself.

## RIDDLE 19

THE solution 'slaught' suggested by Dietrich seems much more specific than the terms of the riddle warrant. Any vessel for holding liquid (cask, jug, bottle) would satisfy equally well, though perhaps the phrase *mines cnosles ma* would exclude the probability of the 'water cask' as a possible solution, which, on small ships, is usually bedecked and given a place of honour even to-day.

<sup>1</sup> A. Heusler, 'Die altnordischen Rätsel,' in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xi. (1901).

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xii.

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

## RIDDLE 69

TRAUTMANN<sup>1</sup> considers the first two lines and the third to be merely the beginnings of riddles. The supposition seems quite unnecessary, for Grein's 'winter,'<sup>2</sup> and Maccallum's 'Jack Frost'<sup>3</sup> both satisfy the riddle as it is recorded. The being who goes forth, wondrously bedecked, making water hard, is quite reasonably 'winter' with its hoar-frost and its ice.

The use of *ban* (bone) to connote hardness and smoothness seems to suggest that this element of the puzzle is derived from very primitive times. This, along with its brevity and the simplicity of its terms, marks it as a riddle essentially of popular origin. Thorpe curiously marred the whole point of the puzzle by his translation of 'to *bane*' as 'to poison.'

## THE RUNE RIDDLES 20, 65, 75, 43

THE rune riddles are interesting because they seem to point to an oral use of the riddles. The unadorned simplicity of their form, and the fact that only when orally proposed would these riddles provide any puzzle at all, seem to mark them as of folk-origin (as 65, and 75), or as being suggested by such folk-riddles. In early times not only were the runes letters, but also charms and secret symbols, and in the riddles they seem intended to bear some suggestion of their earlier magical power. Here in the riddles they guard mysteries, and, if they are rightly interpreted and placed together, they can loose the bands of the riddle and reveal its secret—even as in ancient times they sometimes unfettered captives and set them free.

Undoubtedly these runic symbols were intended to bear a word value, and the puzzle really consisted in detecting, during the recital of the riddle, those words to which a rune value could be assigned, and then in forming out of the runic symbols the word suggested by the context.

Similar puzzles are to be met with long after runes had passed out of popular knowledge and memory. In the *Booke of Merry Riddles*, the following is found :—

L. and V. ; C. and I. ;  
So hight my lady at the font-stone.

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliothek* (1858).

<sup>3</sup> *Studies in Low and High German Literature*, by M. W. Maccallum.

The answer ('Lucy') is obvious to the *eye* of the reader, but to a *hearer* the riddle would be presented thus :—

*Fifty and five ; a hundred and one ;  
So hight my lady at the font-stone.*

Just as the numbers in the above riddle have a letter symbol, so in the Anglo-Saxon riddles certain words had rune symbols which yielded the solutions.

## RIDDLE 20

BELONGS to a type of popular riddle which has been termed the 'monster' riddle. Instead of referring to *one* object or being as its theme, it refers to several, which are often found in close contact and relationship to one another. In the riddle before us the runes as interpreted by Grein<sup>1</sup> give, when their order is reversed, *Hors, Mon, Wega, Haofoc*. Ettmüller read the last word of line 5 as *rad*, and connected it with the next runic word, which he transliterated as *NGEW*. The compound would thus give *rad-wegn*(='road wagon'), which it is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the context.

Grein<sup>1</sup> suggested that the fifth line should be emended thus :—

NOM nægledne RAG.

There seems, however, no justification for this except that the '*gar*' is not unsuitable for combination with 'warrior,' and horse and hawk. Trautmann<sup>1</sup> and Hicketier<sup>1</sup> both agree in transliterating the third runic word as *WOE*. Whichever way this be taken there is little difficulty in deciphering the general character of the 'monster.' The 'ic' of the *Schluss-formel* refers to the very composite being—'Man on horseback accompanied by servant, hawk, and perhaps spear.'

It is interesting to note that a similar theme, 'a man on horseback with hawk on his fist,' forms the theme of at least two popular riddles<sup>2</sup> of the sixteenth century. Both are 'monster' riddles, and the problem is to discover what strange being fulfils the condition given.

<sup>1</sup> Notes on riddle 20 in Grein's *Bibliothek. der ags. Poesie*.

<sup>2</sup> The twenty-eighth riddle of Randle Holme MS.; the seventieth riddle of *The Booke of Merry Riddles*.

## RIDDLE 21

THE best solution is 'sword,'<sup>1</sup> though Trautmann has suggested 'hawk.'<sup>2</sup> The former is supported by the fact that

1. 'Sword' was a favourite riddle theme. Aldhelm wrote 'De pugione vel spatica,' Eusebius 'De gladio,' and Tatwine 'De ense et vagina.'
2. Nothing in the riddle is unsuitable to 'sword,' the solution fits at all points.
3. The riddle repeats the same conception as that of Eusebius, viz., the sword as the servant of a master.

The 'sword' of the Anglo-Saxon riddle is one of those of old time, which heroes valued, invested with personality and name. At the mead-drinking it is often brought out before heroes, and its master

ne wyrneð word lofes, wisan mænað  
mine for mengo, þær hy meodu drincað (lines 11 and 12).

It does bold fierce deeds to satisfy its lord—its duty is destruction ; yet an inherent humanity prompts a passing regret for its solitude ; it is hated among weapons, and no one will care to avenge its death, nor can it ever have children :—

nymðe ic hlafordleas hweorfan mote  
from þam healdende, þe me hringas geaf (lines 21 and 22).

But this desertion must not be ; to be faithful to its lord is its imperative duty :—

. . . forðon ic brucan sceal  
on hagostealde, hælepa gestreona (lines 30 and 31).

Stopford Brooke's idea that the last half line is in direct speech—an angered woman's actual words—gives an exceedingly dramatic close to the riddle. The woman, whose dear ones the sword has slaughtered, fiercely upbraids him with revilings and blasphemy :—

floceð hyre folmum, firenað mec wordum  
ungod gæleð ; ic ne gyme þæs compes. . . .

The likeness to the Latin riddles is but slight, the most noticeable point of similarity being that noted in (3) above. Both Aldhelm

<sup>1</sup> Dietrich in *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.



and Tatwine give most attention to the description of the sword (and sheath) and of its manufacture. The sword does deadly work, not, however, to glut a greed for slaughter, as in the Anglo-Saxon riddle, but in order to protect its owner.

## RIDDLE 22

ONE of the riddles for which no Latin parallel or origin has yet been suggested. The credit for its solution belongs to Thorpe :<sup>1</sup> 'By this no doubt a plough is intended.' Prehn sees in the poem 'ein Gegenstück zu der Seefurche.'

Its pleasant images of the ploughman—'Woh færeð weard æt steorte'—of the newly turned earth.

me bið gongendre grene on healfe  
 ȝ min swæð sweetol sweart on oþre—

and the metaphor so suggestive of the conquest of rude uncultivated forest by early settlers—'har holtes feond'—are all of the earth, earthy, and give to the poem considerable poetic merit. Though much more subdued than in other riddles, the old imagery of the earlier lays is not entirely absent. The plough is a warrior who carries cunningly shaped weapons; he is a thegn who dutifully obeys his lord; his labour is a fierce warfare, for he 'tears with his teeth.'

## RIDDLE 23

DIETRICH'S solution,<sup>2</sup> 'the sixty half-days of the month,' has never seriously been questioned. He conceived it as referring especially to December. The stream is the month, the warriors are his sixty half days, the shore to which they are borne is the New Year, and the eleven horses, of which four were white, are the eleven holy days which occur within December (four Sundays and seven saint days).

Riddles based on the artificial division of time were common: one of these,<sup>3</sup> whose solution is 'the year,' represents it rather obviously as a tree with twelve branches, fifty nests, seven birds of divers names in each nest. Probably this Anglo-Saxon poem is an elaboration of some such riddle, though it is scarcely obvious why the half-day should be chosen as the unit and certain days

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis*, p. 527, note on riddle 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Booke of Merry Riddles*.

reckoned both as warriors and horses. The silent lapse of time, on whose stream days, weeks, and months are passively borne is well represented :—

. . . hine oxa ne teah ne esna mægen  
ne fæt hengest, ne on flod swom,  
ne be grunde wod gestum under,  
ne lagu drefde, ne on lyfte fleag (lines 13-16).

Time passes, and carries mysteriously all things with it, and without effort on their part. Such a theme would be congenial to the Teutonic mind with its sober earnestness and its pagan bent towards wistful melancholy. Here it is presented bedecked somewhat lavishly with the trappings of Teutonic strife, war steeds and warriors, aethling and earl, wagon and rings.

#### RIDDLE 24

THE subject of this riddle is obviously 'the bow'; so eagerly and so entirely has the poet described the very nature and doings of it that he has quite neglected to use that art of cunning concealment which all good riddles should exemplify.

We have, however, a highly imaginative poem. The bow breathes out threatenings and slaughter to those against whom it will spirt out its arrows, and all the gleeful savagery of Teutonic warfare is represented by its fierce words. The arrows are conceived as bearing a poisoned drink to those whom they touch—a drink for which the victim must dearly pay with his life.

Prehn<sup>1</sup> relates the riddle to Tatwine's 'de sagitta,' 'de pharetra,' and Symposius's 'sagitta.' Apart from the fact that Tatwine's 'arrow' is 'destined for strife,' there seems nothing to suggest, much less prove, any connection between these and the Anglo-Saxon riddle.

It is far more likely that it may be a development of some such folk-riddle as this: 'What is that which, bound, can destroy and kill, but which, unbound, is harmless?'

#### RIDDLE 26

A RIDDLE not marked by any poetic beauty, though interesting as a puzzle. The subject, whatever it be, is eagerly seized by

<sup>1</sup> *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 188.

women, its head is cut off, it is placed in a confined place (*on fæsten*), and it injures those who injure it, and, as a result, an 'eye' is 'wet.'

The chief difficulties lie in the interpretation of :—

1. 'ræsað me on reodne' (or 'ræreð me on reoðne').
2. 'On fæsten.'

Some of the proposed solutions have obviously been inspired by the last half line, 'wæt bið þæt eage.' Mustard,<sup>1</sup> onion,<sup>2</sup> leek<sup>2</sup> seem about equally successful; their tall stems, their pungency when bruised, their use by women in culinary processes—all suit various elements of the puzzle. The *fæsten* need not necessarily be 'mouth'; it may equally well refer to a bag, a jar, or a pot.

If the 'hemp' solution<sup>3</sup> be entertained the interpretation of the last line is hardly so forced as is sometimes supposed. The riddle will refer to the process of spinning, and the 'wet eye' will refer to the hole at the end of the spindle through which the thread passes; the spinners might 'suck' it through, much as a Lancashire weaver 'kisses' the hole in the shuttle in order to draw the weft through.

Trautmann's solution,<sup>4</sup> 'the fruit of the wild rose,' is the weakest of all the answers which have been suggested, although it has the semblance of fulfilling in a strained and unconvincing way all the conditions, *e.g.* :—

1. It is red.
2. It is beautiful to behold and therefore beloved of women.
3. It is useful, since it grows near human habitations, so that the burgh dwellers need not go far to obtain it.
4. It is 'rough' inside.
5. The 'fæsten' is the mouth of her who eats it.
6. Its sourness causes the mouth to water, and so the 'eye' (used in sense of the mouth orifice) becomes 'wet.'
7. Its 'head is robbed' when the small leaves at the end of the berry are pulled away.

Of the above (3), (6) and (7) seem especially weak and far-fetched; the truth seems to be that it is merely a verse elabora-

<sup>1</sup> Walz, *Harvard Studies*, v.

<sup>2</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xii.

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v., and *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, xix.

tion of a folk-riddle—and of a folk-riddle intended to have a coarse answer, and at the same time to admit of such moderately suitable and decorous answers as ‘onion’ and ‘hemp.’ The Holme riddle, to which the answer ‘radish’ is given, is similar in this respect, and remarkably like the Anglo-Saxon riddle in detail.

## RIDDLE 27

THIS was one of the first riddles to be solved : Müller’s answer,<sup>1</sup> ‘liber’ has been generally accepted. The riddle has already received notice on pp. 34 and 35, and, as was there shown, has points of similarity with, though no necessary relation to, six of the Latin riddles. Both this and the Latin riddles were engendered in a monastic atmosphere of respect for books and writings, and out of a deep sense of their value and a joy in their beautiful forms. The riddle shows us a mystery—how things of nature can by a strange transformation contribute to the spiritual life of man ; it describes how the knife’s edge, cunning human skill, the ‘joy of the bird’ (quill), the wood, the hide, the gold, and the wirebands have all contributed to the making of a noble codex.

Lines 19-26 are noteworthy as containing distinct evidences of conscious rhyme and assonance, *e.g.* :—

- (a) Swæsra ȝ gesibbra, soþra ȝ godra (line 22).
- (b) Estum ycað ȝ hy arstafum  
lissum bilecgað ȝ hi lufan fæðmum (lines 24-25).

## RIDDLE 28

THE first six lines of the poem display a marked sensibility to the poetry of bees and their pleasant industry. The poet is speaking of honey which is brought

of bearwum ȝ of burghleoþum  
of denum ȝ of dunum. Dæges mec wægun  
feðre on lifte, feredon mid liste  
under hrofes hleo. . . .

But this pleasing product of bee-labour has in the mead-cup a changed nature. After the honey has been ‘bathed in a butt’ it can overcome the strongest, reduce him to foolishness, and

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Collectanea Anglo-Saxonica* (1835).



render him utterly helpless ; hence lines 7-16 threaten discomfiture and woe to him who drinks not wisely :—

gif he unrædes ær ne geswiceð.

Aldhelm's 'de ape' and 'de callice vitreo' have been mentioned as sources.<sup>1</sup> Though primarily concerned with the bees themselves Aldhelm's riddle, considering its theme, could scarcely omit a mention of the bearing home of honey, and in his 'de callice vitreo' Aldhelm certainly does refer to the seductions of the wine-cup in a way which recalls the Anglo-Saxon admonitions both in this and other riddles (cp. riddle 12, lines 8-10). But there is nothing sufficiently distinctive about the ideas or sufficiently common about the expression of them to warrant any supposition that all three riddles are not quite independent renderings of the same rather commonplace themes.

Dietrich's 'scourge' or 'whip' solution<sup>2</sup> seems at once contradicted by

. . . dægēs mec wægūn  
Fēpre on lifte. . . .

In what sense can 'feathers' bear the whip, or any portion of it ?

#### RIDDLE 29

DIETRICH solved this riddle as describing the wine vat, and related it to Aldhelm's 'de cuppa vinaria.' T. Wright,<sup>3</sup> however, as far back as 1842 suggested that in this riddle we have 'the first traces of that doughty hero, John Barleycorn,' and this seems by far the most satisfactory solution.

The riddle commences with a hint of the beauty of the bearded barley, and tells how, though fair to behold, it is yet one of the 'grimmiest' of the possessions of men. The dire treatment by which it is reduced to malt is rapidly reviewed in what is, for Anglo-Saxon, a remarkable series of unelaborated participles. It is cut, rubbed, rolled, dried, bound and twisted, bleached and softened, but its vitality cannot be vanquished, for even in death, through the mouths of those who drink it, it babbles and talks in very various ways.

There are very definite evidences in this poem that the jingle of like sounding syllables had considerable attraction for the

<sup>1</sup> Prehn.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, p. 79.

poet, for in lines 4-6 and 8 the alliterative system of verse structure gives way before what is evidently consciously arranged assonance.

### RIDDLE 30

ONE of the most poetic of the riddles, and one of the best puzzles. It has called forth at least four different answers: 'moon and sun,'<sup>1</sup> 'cloud and wind,'<sup>2</sup> 'bird and wind,'<sup>3</sup> 'swallow and sparrow.'<sup>4</sup>

Of these 'moon and sun' seems the best. This theme is frequently treated in riddle literature—Aldhelm wrote 'de sole et luna,' and Eusebius 'de luna,' but there does not seem to be the slightest connection between these and the Anglo-Saxon poem, for while the Latin enigmas speak of moon and sun as friendly, the Anglo-Saxon riddle is wholly occupied with a description of strife and pursuit.

Dietrich, who suggested the 'moon and sun' solution, interpreted the booty (*hup*) as the light stolen from the sun by the moon during the sun's eclipse. Stopford Brooke, however, makes a modification of this solution, and thinks that the booty is the old moon which the new moon seems to hold between her horns; the 'wealles hrof' of line 7 will then refer to the distant horizon—the top of the world's wall—over which the sun, 'well known to all,' comes. The idea of the poem will thus be, that when the moon's light fails as day approaches, it is being stolen by the sun; at length the moon is banished from the sky, the sun travelling westwards in pursuit, until it too disappears—no one knows where. Then, when both strife and pursuit are over, the evening mists arise, night returns, and dew falls on the earth.

The only doubtful and strained point in this extremely poetic interpretation is the explanation of 'dust' as 'dust-like mist.'

Walz's 'cloud and wind' seems to break down at lines 5, 6, and 7. Certainly 'lyftfæt leohtlic' would happily apply to a cloud in the sky, and the strife of cloud and wind which raises the dust and hastens the coming of rain, might be read into the line:—

'dust stone to heofonum, deaw feol on eorðan';

but the unnatural interpretation of lines 5, 6, and 7 as referring

<sup>1</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Bonner Beiträge*, xix.

<sup>3</sup> *Harvard Studies*, v.

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

to a cloud 'wishing to rest on a castle, and the wind appearing on the top of the wall to blow it away' is strained in the extreme, and seems to render the solution untenable.

Trautmann is sure that one of the two beings mentioned is a bird of some kind, but his 'swallow and sparrow' solution renders lines 12 and 13 quite pointless. With his later suggestion, 'bird and wind,' he certainly ingeniously satisfies many of the phrases, *e.g.* :—

- (a) The booty between horns is a straw carried by a bird in its horny bill.
- (b) *Fæhpum fēran* ('furiously faring on') refers to the wind raising waves, roaring through the trees, despoiling roofs, etc.
- (c) 'The being coming over the wall' is the wind which blows away the straw as the bird emerges from the shelter of the building.

This solution leaves pointless the special mention of a westward direction; and the extremely poetic lines at the end of the riddle, which seem intended to describe the composure of nature, when the strife of the livelong day is past, are left quite irrelevant.

#### RIDDLE 31

DIETRICH and Prehn suggest 'rainwater' as a solution—Prehn supposing that the riddle was inspired by Symposius's 'de pluvia,' Eusebius's 'de aqua et igne,' and Aldhelm's 'de nube.' In Symposius the rain cloud says, 'De caelo cecidi medias transmissa per auras'; and in Aldhelm, 'Sed madidis mundum faciam frondescere guttis'; in Eusebius the strife of fire and water is portrayed, the combatants waging battle separated by the 'wall' of the cooking utensil and hoping 'ut multis bene prosint bella peracta.' 'Ic eom licbysig, lace mid winde': 'fyre gebysgad, byrnende gled,' and 'bearu blowende,' are, according to Prehn, three Anglo-Saxon phrases suggested by the Latin phrases just alluded to. The connection appears somewhat remote; these correspondences are not sufficiently close to be convincing or even probable—the probability of a direct connection would have seemed greater had the three phrases quoted found their analogies in three phrases of the *same* Latin enigma.

A much more satisfying solution<sup>1</sup> is 'beam' in the various senses that the word carries in Old English, *tree*, *log*, *ship*, and *cross*—probably also *harp* and *bowl*.<sup>2</sup> It is satisfying because the lines are completely and reasonably explained by such a solution, and also because solutions of this multiform type apply to and satisfy other riddles in the collection: *e.g.* riddle 13 presents its subject, 'leather,' in manifold forms—the skin of the ox, drinking vessel, shoes, thongs, and clothes; and riddle 15 describes 'horn' as a drinking-horn, a trumpet-horn, and the decoration of a ship's prow.

Trautmann,<sup>2</sup> while in general agreement with the solution, disagrees with the details of Blackburn's interpretation. Lines 5 and 6, which Blackburn explains as referring to 'harp,' and 'cup,' Trautmann prefers to interpret as referring to 'the cross'—apparently on the ground that there are no instances extant in which 'beam' is used to express 'harp' and 'cup.'

Professor Schrör's theory<sup>3</sup> is that the whole passage which Trautmann assigns to 'cross' refers really to the 'Osculatorium,' 'Dieses instrumentum pacis war ein Täfelchen auf welchem das Zeichen des Kreuzes oder ein Bildniss Christi angebracht war.'

<sup>1</sup> Blackburn, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, Heft 19, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Heft 19, pp. 214, 215.

(To be completed in the next volume.)



AN ANALYSIS OF THE FEMALE CHARACTERS  
OF GRILLPARZER'S DRAMAS

BY

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# AN ANALYSIS OF THE FEMALE CHARACTERS OF GRILLPARZER'S DRAMAS

CONTRASTED WITH THOSE OF GOETHE'S

AND SCHILLER'S.<sup>1</sup>

It has been said that in the great world of woman Shakespeare is the sole authentic oracle of truth, and with true British persistency we have clung to this notion, ignoring the splendid genius, the wonderful insight into a woman's heart which Grillparzer has displayed. We say 'wonderful' advisedly, for he had very little intercourse with women, and yet his greatest characters are always female characters. His mother was a sensitive, highly-strung woman with a love of morbid introspection, which finally led to suicide in a fit of religious mania. Thus he did not find the prototype of true womanhood in her, but he himself had almost a woman's heart and the intuition, or rather the genius, to interpret aright its varied moods and phases. Moreover, he loved Shakespeare with a comprehensive understanding of Shakespeare's mind and the psychological treatment of his female characters. There is no servile imitation: we find indisputable originality in all his portraits, and they faithfully depict womanhood for all ages, no matter what the disguise may be.

Byron has said of him after reading an Italian translation of *Sappho*: 'The man has done a great thing in writing this play. I know him not, but future ages will. He is too Madame de Staëlish now and then, but altogether a great and goodly writer.'

With these fair words of praise for Grillparzer from a great poet whom we revere, we would begin the analysis of the female characters of his dramas.

<sup>1</sup> [This psychological study is absolutely original and uninfluenced by the views of any previous critics of the poet. Grillparzer, the rival of Schiller and Goethe in the realm of dramatic poetry, was born in Vienna in 1791 and died there in 1872. His dramas, in chronological order, are: *Blanka von Castilien*, 1807; *Die Ahnfrau*, 1816; *Sappho*, 1817; *Das goldene Vliess*, 1820; *König Ottoker's Glück und Ende*, 1823; *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn*, 1827; *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, 1831; *Der Traum im Leben*, 1831; *Weh dem, der lügt*, 1838; *Libussa*, 1847; *Ein Bruderzwist in Habsburg*, 1848; *Die Jüdin von Toledo*, 1855.—H. ETHÉ.]

## HERO

HERO in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* has been called the most charming of Grillparzer's four wise women—Hero, Libussa, Medea, and Sappho. In spite of her intellectual gifts, she has a simple mind, a girlishness and fund of gentle humour, a lovable-ness that reminds us of Melitta, and she has, too, much of the wisdom of Sappho.

She, too, will be the priestess of Aphrodite, and is to be duly enrolled in her service on this festive day when we first see her. She comes down the temple steps, bearing her basket of flowers, and rejoicing with all the enthusiasm of youth that the day is fair, that no clouds are in the sky, that the earth is flooded with the sun's glorious light, and that all nature is glad on this day that shall see her consecrated to the Gods.

There is a girlish satisfaction, too, in the thought that she will take the prominent part in the day's rejoicings, that the Goddess will be glorified in her. There are no regrets to cast a shadow over these pleasant anticipations.

Her ancestors have been priests and priestesses at the same altar, and she is but following naturally in their train. She has no clinging home-ties. Her only brother has left home in restless discontent, and it seemed as if she were only a burden in those days when her father scolded and grumbled, and her mother suffered in silence. And as for love and marriage, they are but vague and shadowy things to her. She places a garland about the statue of Hymen and Amor in decoration with the rest. She will 'respect' even what she does not 'understand,' although she has found no incentive to this respect in the married life of her parents. They come to see her on this last day of unrestrained free intercourse with men, and she receives them in such a way that we are assured of her kindly, tender disposition, and of her deep feelings.

'O mother! My mother,' she cries many times with yearning voice, 'Oh, let my mother speak to me!' And when the greeting has been given, she cries again: 'O sweet, sweet voice so long not heard!'

When her maidens neglected their work in the temple for the fragrance of the woods beyond, there is a complete understanding of their joy in nature, though a rebuke for their careless forgetfulness of duty.



'I am more prone to pleasure than even you,' she says; 'and in the evenings when play is permissible, I have often been sorry that you grew tired of it so soon. But I do not spoil my hours of work by mingling play with them.' The rebuke increases in severity when Janthe—the favourite of her maidens—presumes to speak jestingly of the presence of two strangers at the gate of the temple.

Hero is keenly alive to the momentous issues of this day, to the henceforth sacred character of her office which entails a supreme dedication of her person to the Goddess, an aloofness from free intercourse which only one of her lofty intelligence could contemplate without feelings of dread. In answer to her uncle's regret that she has no friend among her equals, one who would lighten the burden of this solitude, she says:—

'I never find relief in a friend's society. One's duties one must do oneself. And this loneliness to which you refer does not exist for me. There is a constant coming and going of those who bring dedicatory offerings, who come to pray. There is my special work to do in the temple, flowers to bring, water to draw, and sacrifices to prepare.'

She has no desire to become a seer in the service of Aphrodite. She has no mysterious words of eloquence to communicate to the people. The men and women of her race have been famous for their oracular utterances and divinations, but she has no ear for these interior voices. She hears no whispers of the Gods in the darkness. For her, 'the night is for rest, the day for work,' and she will go about her simple tasks with the pleasant consciousness of some practical duty performed.

The thought of the cheerful seclusion of the temple brings far more happiness than does the remembrance of her home life and the haunting fear of the husband they would give her.

She has drifted as a child into this temple life, her future path has lain open before her. There have been no thorns and briars to remove, no obstacles to overcome. She has walked quickly and easily so far without any thought of pleasant dalliance by the way. Now her mother before the final step is taken will stop her with the thought of marriage and the happiness it might bring. But she is a poor pleader, and Hero soon interrupts her with a scornful laugh, reminding her of the tyranny that reigns in her own married life, of the self-complacency of man, and the narrow, cramped sphere of woman.

In her free, unfettered life of thought and observation, in the direct communion with Nature, her mind has expanded, her intellect has become keen and strong. She explains this quaintly by saying that the Goddess had 'changed her heart.' But while this life has broadened her mind and deepened her intelligence, it has narrowed her sympathies for the outside world, it has encouraged a serene self-sufficiency, from which only the coming of love, and the anguish that it brings, will shake her free.

'If I return home with thee,' she says to her mother in answer to the latter's pathetic appeal for the presence of a daughter in the home, 'there will be a hundred disturbing elements that will penetrate with rude violence into the quiet kingdom of my well-ordered thoughts, where my resolves germinate, grow and ripen in the mild beams of a God-given light. I will spend my days here with cheerful mind near the altar of my Goddess, doing the right, not because it is so ordained, but because I recognise it as such, and no one shall draw me hence.'

And again: 'O mother, when the home life torments thee, then come to me. Here is no warfare, no wounds are felt, the Goddess knows no anger, and this temple welcomes me ever with the same kind glance. Dost thou know the joy of quiet self-containment?' Then in direct contrast to these words of narrow selfishness, she rescues the dove from the slave's hands, who is bearing it from the precincts of the temple, for no bird must disturb its sacred tranquillity. She rescues it and smooths its ruffled plumage, quieting its fluttering with reassuring words, encouraging it to fly away from the rough handling of the slave, and comforting her mother the while, who sees her own despair in the helpless beating of its wings.

The festival begins with great pomp and ceremony. To the sound of sweet melodies on the flute, the procession advances. At its head are the chief men of Sestos, followed by the servants of the temple, the priests, and in their midst comes Hero wearing the mantle and fillet of her office. Her uncle walks beside her, and behind are her father and mother. They advance slowly to the music of a solemn, stately chant.

Mother of the mortals,  
Thou that dwellest in the heavens,  
Look down upon us  
With protecting care.

Then the priest calls forth : ' Reverence to the Gods ! ' and all the people respond : ' Happiness to mortals ! ' Hero stands before the altar, in front kneel her two acolytes bearing incense in costly vessels.

' Be merciful to thy servant,' she says, pouring incense into the flame, and advances until she comes to the statue of Amor. Here she pauses to say : ' Thou who dost give love, take all my love.'

She stands then by the altar of Hymen.

Up to this point all has gone well. She has done her part with calm, dignified mien.

Now she trembles, she stammers in uncertainty. She has seen Leander, a stranger who has come to witness the religious ceremony, standing there by the pillar watching her. He has gazed at her with kindling passion, and her heart has gone out to him, though her lips strive to mutter still.

' Thou who dost give love, accept ' . . . But no stone god has quickened her pulses and brought a sudden light to her eyes, but rather a man dark with raven locks clustering about his brow, of broad build and strong muscles, bearing the likeness, perhaps, of this God Hymen, but with swift blood running through his veins—a splendid type of manhood.

The ceremony continues, the dedication is complete, henceforth Hero is sacred to her Goddess and can belong to no man. In the absorbing details of this service, Hero has regained her wonted self-composure. She has a very real satisfaction in her new position, and the elaborate and solemn rites of the festival have so far obliterated the remembrance of the disturbing presence of the stranger that we find her early the next morning singing gaily as she carries her water-pots through the pleasant temple grove.

Then said the god :  
Come hither to me  
Up into my clouds  
To stay beside me.

She is simply clad, and the dignified reserve of the new priestess of Aphrodite has been discarded with her stately, sweeping vestments.

She is a simple, glad child of nature now, with a backward look perhaps at times and a smothered sigh as she recalls the handsome stranger and the lonely mother who must wend her



way wearily homewards without this daughter's smile and sympathy. But for herself she is glad to be anchored safely in this peace and tranquillity. There will be no vexatious problems to solve, no uneasy doubts as to the path she must pursue. So in her contentment she sings again the joyous lay that her uncle has condemned as being too careless for her lips. And as she advances singing, unconscious of the presence of strangers, Leander rushes forward and kneels at her feet, dumb in her presence and abashed by the sense of her propinquity. Naukleros, his friend, has to explain that he is a man sick with the fever of love, and of love for her.

Hero, who has been the high priestess for only a few short hours, has not yet laid aside her womanliness—a womanliness that is easily stirred by the sight of suffering, a sympathy that is wholly roused by this silent appeal—a certain motherliness that would protect this love-sick boy from the rage of her uncle.

She is too conscious of the inviolability of her person, of her new dignity, to be as yet influenced by his love.

'Thou art ill-advised, good youth,' she says to him, 'to let thy heart stray like this. I am the priestess of the High Goddess, and my vow commands that I should ever remain unwed. Thy wooing is fraught with danger to thee and me.' Then as her words draw forth no response, and he still remains by her filled with a deep melancholy, she speaks again gently as a mother to her suffering child :—

'Go, I say, from this grove and give thy love to another maiden. And when the yearly festival returns, come back to this temple, and I shall be glad to see thee again, and know that thou hast recovered thy quiet mind.'

But these words force from Leander the passionate protest that he will never love another woman, that his whole being shall become one with the trees and flowers of this spot that guards the temple where she dwells.

These are extravagant words, but they voice a very real devotion and love.

Hero is at least happy in the knowledge that her lover is passionately sincere in the declaration of his love. He is not worthy of her, is not her equal in mental growth, but these dear, wise women are tragically foolish in the choice of their lovers.

Medea, the savage, renounces country, kinsfolk, riches, power, and influence to wander forth into a strange land with Jason,



who quickly wearies of her and turns to a maiden of his own race. Sappho, the illustrious, far-famed Sappho, looks down from the Olympian heights to give her heart to a handsome Greek athlete, who has no understanding of her genius, who despises her for the sake of her pretty slave. Libussa chooses more wisely. Primislaus is a man of right mind and high intellect, but she is not happy in her love. It brings restrictions and limitations that cramp her soaring spirit and bring death to her soul.

To Hero it brings death too—not on account of its limitations, but because her lover dies, and her heart breaks in its agony of grief. But he is no fit lover for her, and we marvel at the tenderness that his rash, petulant wooing calls forth. But he is brave—his faithful love for her inspires him with a courage that will dare anything for her sake.

With these wise women, too, love proves an absorbing, destructive element in their lives. Medea buries the instruments of the black art of sorcery, which she has acquired after long years of study, because they enrage her lover. She lays aside the insignia of her office, the veil and cloak, and dons Greek apparel that she may be more pleasing in his eyes.

Sappho neglects her high calling, hangs up her lyre on the wall, scorns her laurel wreath and forsakes the ministry of song to descend to 'the low valleys of human desire,' where Phaon walks. Even Libussa with a husband appreciative of great mental gifts lives as a simple cottage wife until her brain grows dull and her splendid comprehension of men and human life loses its force.

And Hero whose whole being had been fired with the lofty enthusiasm of filling worthily this high and sacred office, becomes dominated by a dull feeling of disappointment and weariness as she enters upon her heritage, as she takes up her life in the narrow rooms of this high tower, on whose summit the grey clouds of evening seem to rest, and at whose base the angry sea surges. Love has called to her this day, and she still hears his voice as her uncle shows to her the two rooms set apart for her special use. She listens as in a dream to his explanation of the use of this thing and that. At last he grows impatient at her listless appreciation, and chides her gently for her apparent lack of interest in her new surroundings, and then she strives to banish these fitting impressions of the outside world where warm human love is waiting for her.

'You know, uncle,' she says, 'we are not always master of our moods and fancies—they come, pass, and go; arise out of nothing and leave no trace behind. Grant me this night of rest and repose, and thou shalt find me again in my usual mind.'

These are not idle words. She does not intend to drift into vain dreams of fruitless desires for what can never be now.

This composure of mind, this reserve of quiet strength shall be hers, though it will not raise her to serene heights whence she can view with unchanging will the restless energy and unrealised ambitions of humanity.

Hero has no soaring desire to discover the purposes of the Gods and to become the interpreter of their voices. Once before she has gently but firmly refused to listen to her uncle's lofty plans concerning her. She has told him that she will serve in the temple making it beautiful for her Goddess; she will zealously perform the practical duties of a priestess, but she has not the gifts of a seer.

Now, on the evening of the first day of this new life, she reminds him again that she will conscientiously fulfil her special duties, and therewith be content. There is a brief moment of regret for his evident disappointment, but when he leaves her, she abandons herself to idle thoughts of what the day has brought to her.

The memory of Leander, 'that handsome youth of quiet, thoughtful mien,' as she calls him to herself, lingers pleasantly, although she drives it impatiently from her. It robs her of all desire to sleep, and torments her with a restlessness which is very far removed from that composure, that deep tranquillity which she has told her uncle this night's rest will bring. The priestess of Aphrodite is no longer here. Her pulses have been stirred and emotions roused; and now as she listens to the soft lapping of the water far below, to the uncertain whispers of the night, the stern realities of her life become visionary, vague and illusive, and what is real to her is the face of Leander as he poured forth his love.

When he actually appears after swimming an incredible distance from Abydos and climbing the tower which would have brought death to any other but this intrepid lover, she shows alarmed surprise, a quick anxiety about this perilous enterprise, a futile attempt to regain the befitting dignity and severity of the priestess as she bids him go, reminding him once more of the

lasting obligations of her calling. But her new position is too recent to have stifled the natural feelings of womanhood and love. The words of censure are but a pretence, and when he pleads for permission to come again, her emphatic refusal changes with charming inconsistency into the tender command that he shall come to her to-morrow, and he must not be too hazardous, too careless of himself since he is hers.

In a spirit of innocent, girlish coquetry, she bids him fold his arms behind him as he kneels before her awaiting impatiently her farewell kiss.

'Fold thy arms like a prisoner,' she cries, 'my prisoner of love.'

And the lamp, her 'pale friend of gentle light,' must be hidden that it shall not see this self-surrender.

There is something immensely pathetic in this charming scene with danger lurking on every hand, the certain discovery and awful punishment that will follow. The tragedy of it is already written in their young faces as they tremble at the sound of a distant footstep, or the mysterious murmurs of the night.

She saves him once from the watchman's vigilance, and now he reaches the bottom of the tower in safety and plunges into the sea to return to Abydos.

Then all her woman's wits are engaged in screening his visit and departure.

She laughs with careless scorn at the watchman's account of the strange noises in the night, and of the man he has seen swimming in the sea.

She laughs with her maid Janthe over the interpretation he would give to it, and tells her uncle that it may have been one of the immortals who has honoured her with his presence on this great day of her life. And then she sings in sudden abstraction :—

She was so fair,  
A royal child.

But her secret she will keep, and once more resourceful she refuses with gentle dignity to allow him to dismiss Janthe whose complicity he fears, and assures him that she is mindful of her rights and of her duties too, and will ever be faithful to them.

She is strong in her endeavour to preserve her lover's life, but what are her resources compared with this man's deep cunning and strategy.



Evening comes at length, after the long, weary day, when she can be alone with no further need to feign and pretend before these prying eyes. The lamp which is to guide him across the Hellespont is lit, and she waits with troubled, anxious thoughts lest harm should befall her dear one.

As sleep overcomes her, she murmurs his name, dreaming that the sighing of the wind, and the rustling of the leaves are loving words of his to her. But when she awakes, the lamp is out, it is already day, and Leander has not been to her. There has been a storm in the night and she offers a prayer of thankfulness that he did not venture.

'The Gods are so good,' she cries, 'so good! I will give them the thanks of simple gratitude, and will rid myself of much that is not right, is not according to their will.'

And yet only a few steps from her, near the shells and seaweed which the storm has tossed on to the shore, Leander lies dead, still clasping the veil she gave him as a token.

With her prayer of thankfulness frozen on her lips, she stares down at the dead form of her dear lover. There is no further need to disguise her grief—nothing matters now that Leander is dead. He is taken away from her to be buried, and she stands there with an empty heart, with a sorrow too great for tears, accusing herself, her uncle, and Naukleros for all this woe.

'Oh, I will weep,' she cries, 'I will open my veins, and my blood shall pour forth, and mingling with my tears, shall surround me as deep and terrible and deadly as that sea which engulfed him.'

'He was everything to me,' she says again; 'all else is but shadow and emptiness. His breath was the air, his eye the sun, his body nature's strength. His life was the universal life—thine and mine.'

Her grief is in truth most pitiful. It has changed the thoughtless, laughter-loving Janthe into one who has looked upon a great sorrow, and has realised the deep pangs of bereavement.

She loves her mistress and would shield her loyally from all blame. She will comfort her with all tenderness, trying to soothe her agony of despair. She has seen her lying on the dead man's breast with lips pressed against his lips, hands clasping his in the mad hope of restoring life. And seeing these things she has cried out aloud:—

'Love shall never come near me.'



She stays by her mistress to the end, and with her sympathy and comprehension of the needs of grief might have saved her life, but the blind cruelty of the priest deals blow on blow till poor tortured Hero gives up her dead to be buried in some distant place. She knows not where.

A fatal apathy creeps over her—‘the Gods have willed it thus’—she will take counsel with her Goddess. But on the altar steps she sinks down heavily with one loud cry of ‘Leander!’ and even Janthē’s endeavours to restore life are unavailing.

O kind and loving Janthe, surely much shall be forgiven thee for thy tender sympathy. It severs all class distinctions, and brooks no artificial restraint. She was the servant—the inferior—and this man whom she now addresses as her equal, nay, as a mean criminal, is the high priest of the great Aphrodite.

‘Wise fool,’ she cries, ‘come look upon the work of thy wisdom. Go in silence, and may righteous punishment go with thee. But I will return to my parent’s home. I cannot bear to live here any longer.’ She has done what she could, and this thought will lighten the grief that she must feel for many days for her dear mistress.

But it is well with Hero. Her fate has touched us deeply, but the agony of grief that has broken her heart is in truth kinder than the dull despair, the hopeless loneliness, the monotonous round of temple duties which would only have accentuated her loss. For Hero was first of all a woman, and when her woman’s desire had failed, there was no service of the Gods, no office of the priestess, that could compensate for the death of Leander.

### LIBUSSA

LIBUSSA is the central figure of a group of learned women composed of Kascha and Tetka, her two sisters and their five serving-maids. All are eagerly intent on the acquisition of fresh knowledge drawn from the observation of the heavens, from mysterious signs and tokens. They withdraw as much as possible from human intercourse, they hold themselves selfishly aloof from mankind that they may the better devote themselves to their barren learning. Man is a factor scarcely to be considered in their outlook on life—certainly unessential to their happiness. Life to them is the solving of abstruse problems relative to human origin and destiny.

Kascha, in her own words, 'hovers beneath the stars, sways the depths, holds in willing subjection all nature and her powers.'

And Tetka, with equal self-complacency, assures us that her 'sunny realm of ancient lore and learning beams with a brighter light than any human kingdom.'

For her, will, power, intellectual force are omnipotent; she even hazards the declaration that 'Death itself may be driven back by the weapons of stern resolution and iron determination.' 'If I had stood by my father's bed,' she cries, 'and had reminded him of the many who need his help, he would have bravely challenged death and recovered.'

Both the sisters refuse to govern this rude people in their father's stead. Both dread the violation of their privacy and the consequent abandonment of their own cherished aims—the stunting of their intellectual growth.

Kascha says: 'He who will not be weak and miserable as men are must keep far away from their midst.'

It is the old monastic idea so prevalent in the middle ages—retirement from the world lest the cries of suffering humanity should disturb the calm serenity of the soul, the contemplative tranquillity of the mind. They refuse to allow Libussa to come back into their midst lest her contact with the outside world should prove a disturbing element to their thought.

Kascha says again: 'He who will follow the track of the higher powers must be at one with himself, even as his spirit is one. He who cannot concentrate the varied forces of his being, making them subservient to his spirit, whose mind is invaded by earthly cares, desires and memory—that most exacting thing of all—enjoys henceforth no solitude in which the human being can commune with himself.'

The servants, too, follow zealously in the footsteps of their mistresses in this high cause of spiritualising matter, and of glorifying the intellect.

Wlasta, Libussa's special maid, is at their head. They say of her that she is half a man and wields her weapons like a warrior; but when her mistress forsakes her high estate to marry a man of the people, Wlasta leaves her for the service of her two sisters.

'It is my sorrow,' she says, 'that my gracious mistress is bound to a son of the dust'; and again she says sadly to Libussa:—

'Thou hast trodden in the ways of men, hast left the circle of thine own. The soaring spirit, holy inspiration which were

formerly natural to thee are now forced, artificial.' Swartka and Dobra are versed in astrology and consult ancient books to read the future by their help. They converse soberly in an unintelligible jargon of astrological phrases in conscientious imitation of their illustrious mistresses.

Dobromila studies history—'the course of time from the beginning,' as she calls it, and marvels that Primislaus does not know the stars. Slawa seeks protection with Primislaus from the rough attentions of some men on the road, and treats him to a short homily on the baseness of his sex.

'How lamentable is the mind of man,' she cries. 'It overlooks all that honours and ennobles a human being and only regards exterior charms.'

These are the wise women and their maids—a most formidable company, in truth, before whom even Molière's *Précieuses* would feel abashed; but the one who evokes our sympathies is Libussa. She is a simple child of nature, influenced, of course, by this environment of learning, but with a heart susceptible to the beauty of the woods, the trees and flowers, and to the glory of the heavens, not seeking in them mysterious signs for the unravelling of fate, but enjoying them with unaffected delight. Her sensitive and delicate disposition loves solitude and unrestrained, quiet communings with nature. But she is ready to relinquish all this to take up the new responsibilities of the government of this people.

'It is no question of desire,' she says, 'but of obligation and duty.'

And yet this new life is more attractive to her than is the unnatural life of her sisters.

'These occupations,' she says, 'with moon, stars, herbs, letters and numbers seem monotonous and barren. To belong to humanity will henceforth be my delight.'

But it is just this entry into the cold world of realities, this wider horizon of human activity and culture, that crush her sensitive heart. Like Sappho she departs from the quiet realm of thought and meditation, and as in Sappho's case, this departure—this *Rücktritt*—brings death.

She begins her reign in the belief that gentle forbearance, careful justice, and a heart-felt interest in her people will bring peace and contentment.

'I am a woman,' she says to the envoys, 'and stern severity



displeases me. But if you will remember my woman's feelings and be obedient to the rein so that no spur is necessary, I will willingly guide you along the road to fame and renown.'

We soon see the evidences of her beneficent rule in the increased prosperity of her people. She rejoices in their innocent amusements, but does not permit pleasure to impede toil. She takes a kindly interest in her subjects individually, knows them by name and reconciles estrangements, prescribes remedies for the sick, goes in and out among them as a gracious friend. But she fails when the occasion demands the sharp decision, the firm will, and unbending severity of the ruler. Dissensions arise, against which her wise words of counsel are of no avail. There is the fear of invasion from without, and her subjects unversed in warfare dread defeat. They require a man at the helm, and Libussa sends for Primislaus—not that she has any personal need of him. She has told him at their first meeting that she is not a woman that a man can woo, and though her intuition has told her that he has great wisdom and reliable judgment, she has as yet no personal affection for him. Marriage is as undesirable to her as it is to her sisters.

She has recognised that she cannot govern alone, but it is with great reluctance that she decides to take a husband, for she has no great respect for men.

'If one bids a woman fulfil a task,' she says, 'it is done at once. But a man always does more than is required. If she likes to talk, he delights to listen, and what he calls thirst for knowledge in his own sex, he calls inquisitiveness in the other. If he were not too lazy, he would talk more than she does.'

So love is not a necessity for her supreme happiness as is the case with the other wise women—Hero, Sappho, and Medea. With them love dominates their being entirely. But in Libussa's case, the man is the imperative adjunct of her life, and she chooses the man Primislaus, not because her love to him demands it, but because he is the 'protector' that she needs, the 'judge who will declare her decrees,' the man whom her people will obediently follow.

Primislaus realises the petrifying influence that power has had on Libussa, hardening her soft emotions, making her scornful and proud when she would have been pitiful and gentle before Destiny forced her into this unnatural position. The change in her is clearly apparent to him as he eagerly supports her idle



suggestion to lay aside the crown and return to her former simple life.

'Oh! do it, Libussa,' he urges. 'Be once more that maiden who appeared to me in the forest whose green glade is thy kingdom and thou, thyself, the crown.'

Her assumed majesty is very faulty. We perceive the weak places in her armour at once. She shows a girlish petulance at Primislaus's tardy appearance when she has sent a special messenger to bid him come and a feminine desire to dazzle him with her royal state and splendour. She says:—

'I almost repent of having sent fools to fetch this other fool who delays when swiftness should seem slow to him, since I deign to remember him still.'

'If the woman does not appear worthy of his visit, then the princess shall claim his respect.' Upon this she summons her courtiers and ascends the throne to impress him with her authority. When he comes before her, she resents his quiet air of self-possession and dignity, and the interpretation which he gives to her parable of the king and the lost ring, because it does not coincide with her own.

She grows bitterly ironical over his aphorism that 'a man goes slowly, but always progressively, never retrogressively.'

'A man!' she cries, 'my sisters read the stars, Wlasta fights like a trained warrior, and I myself, govern this land. But we are only women, miserable women! Though men quarrel and fight in drunkenness, overlooking in their rash folly truth and righteousness with beclouded vision, yet they are men and the lords of creation!'

She shows, too, a quick movement of jealousy when Primislaus jests with Wlasta in the tower, and even condescends to censure him on its account.

'It merits even greater indignation,' she says.

These are the frailties which reveal the sensitive mind within, and they expose her to the ingratitude of her people and their growing discontent and impatience of her rule. She only knows peace when she sinks her identity into that of Primislaus, and transfers to him the burden of authority which has weighted her so sorely.

She has loved her people and tended them 'as a shepherd his sheep,' but they will no longer be tended. They grow strong in their own strength and consciousness of strength. But with

this subjection of will to her husband's, in this new relationship of dependence on him, her spiritual powers decline. There is no further need to exercise them in her reliance on his wisdom. But this brings a sluggishness of brain and a dull apathy that paralyses all her forces. She is, too, painfully conscious of her own deficiencies to assert her convictions, to re-establish her claims.

He offers her always a tender devotion, a chivalrous solicitude which assures her domestic happiness, but it restricts her energies to a narrow sphere, and stunts her mental growth. The advance towards civilisation, the building of towns, the scheme for new industries, development in commerce, which Primislaus promotes with such frank enthusiasm, finds no response in her heart. She foresees that this culture will bring a division of interests, dissension, war with all its hideous train. She ceases to oppose his plans, and even prepares to take her place at the altar to call for a blessing on the initiative work of building the city. But the effort taxes her enfeebled health, her failing spirit, and causes her death. In a moment of renewed inspiration she becomes a seer, a prophetess, foreseeing the onward march of civilisation and with it the loss of contemplative calm and repose.

But after many days men will tire of the rush and turmoil that it will bring, and will embrace again a simple life whose dominant factor shall be love.

The word has been spoken, and the speaker passes hence. Kascha understands the manner of her going.

'She was lent to thee,' she says to Primislaus, 'but not given.'

But in the lending her delicate mind handled by rough hands was broken, and for such there is no repair. And Wlasta says:—

'She had no abiding place among men. Her place was with her sisters whose companionship she craved.'

Her life has been a so-called failure, doomed from the beginning to disappointment, but her aims were wholly for the good of others, and as such must bear fruit in all succeeding generations. The civilisation that she deplored was bound to come as man learnt to know his fellows, and although it brought the evils that she anticipated, there came, too, a deeper understanding of men's needs, a wider sympathy and a clearer comprehension of the meaning of human brotherhood.

## MEDEA

IN Medea we are confronted with the elemental passions of woman freed from all artificial restraint—a love that renounces home, friends and country, anger, hatred and jealousy that destroy in their fury all that oppose them ; yet these become exquisitely human and pitiful by reason of her great love for Jason and his utter faithlessness towards her.

She is a savage, a barbarian, according to her bringing-up and immediate environment. As the daughter of the king of Colchis, she has early become accustomed to the sight of brutal murder—of those who invade their country and of strangers who land on their shore. She is versed in all the arts of sorcery ; she can brew potions which invite sluggish sleep, and make the victims powerless to resist attack. But she is no typical witch with matted hair, bowed form, and claw-like hands, but rather a very splendid specimen of young womanhood, a lover of outdoor sports, a swift runner and a scorner of sentiment and the weakening effects of love.

We are introduced to her as she stands with poised bow, from which she has just shot an arrow that has pierced the roe's heart. It is at a religious ceremony, for Medea preserves her womanhood so far that she observes all the religious rites of the country—the sacrifices to the gods, and the means to propitiate them. But we imagine that it is a somewhat impatient tolerance, and that her strong brain feels some scorn of it.

'Now,' she cries, 'let that suffice ; the victim has been offered, it is enough. Now bring bow and arrow, unleash the dogs. Let us away, and she who runs the swiftest shall be queen of the day.'

But Peritta, one of her maidens, has fallen into disgrace, for she has permitted herself to be wooed by a shepherd, and has abased herself by returning his love. Medea is as yet intolerant of love. She is superb in her self-sufficiency—in her scorn of any weak betrayal of self. But she lacks sympathy, an understanding mind, as all such natures must. What scorn she hurls at trembling Peritta with her love-tale ready to unfold before a sympathetic mistress !

'Didst thou not promise to be mine, and not belong to any man. If I had pledged thee my word in anything, yea, to the cutting off of this hand, I would have done it !'



And when Peritta begins her stammering apology that she had not meant to, how pitilessly she breaks in with : ' Not meant to ! Away ! Thou speakest the words of a fool ! What I do, I mean to do. Go then to thy shepherd in his dank hut, and I will breast the free mountain air. My garden is the measureless earth, and the blue canopy of heaven confines my house ! '

These are very brave words ; but Medea, though steeped in the arts of sorcery, has no prophetic vision to reveal to her that time when she, too, shall be under Love's sway. But it will not be the honest love of a shepherd lad, there will be no quiet shelter of a modest cottage home. Thy lover, Medea, will have the fierce, lustful passion of a mighty conqueror, and as soon as he has curbed thy proud will and won thy heart, he will pass on, tiring quickly of thee and thy wild ways. Can it indeed be the same Medea who when Jason, her lover, has come speaks thus to her father ?

' There is something in our human nature, independent of our will power, and it attracts and repels with blind force as a magnet attracts iron. But,' she adds in the characteristic way, ' the attraction may be there, still my will power can refuse to obey its call.'

And yet this will power proves but a broken reed and fails to withstand her masterful lover. She recognises his compelling charm with an inward shuddering, and struggles to free herself from it. She is so strong in other things, she will be strong in this too. Her craven father has relied on her resourceful wit. Did she not drug the invader Phryxus and his friends with her poisonous drink so that they fell an easy prey to the sword ? She coaxed from him his sword at her father's bidding, and then too late realises the enormity of the crime and the curse that the possession of the Fleece will bring. All trace of the murder of Phryxus has been removed, but the terrible curse he pronounced tortures and racks her, reminding her of her share in this death and of its fulfilment that may come at any moment, and driving her at length to the seclusion of a lonely, ruined tower near the sea, where she brews her potions, and considers the dark utterances of sorcery the whole day.

Hither her father and brother come begging for help against the new invaders, Jason and his band, who come to avenge the murder of Phryxus and to recapture the Golden Fleece.

Very different is she from that earlier Medea whom we saw



chafing at the restraint of sacrificial rites, eager to unleash her dogs to follow the chase, and out-do her maidens in swift racing. We have now a Medea, imbued with sage notions of humanity and life through her lonely brooding over her father's crime, and the probable fate of her house.

'Murder,' she says, 'is like a foolish archer who shoots his arrow into the thicket eager to reach his prey, but what he accounted his prey was his own child seeking berries among the bushes.' And again:—

'Man, methinks, is a foolish being driven hither and thither on the billows of time. At last he espies a spot of green formed of slime and the green mould of decay; but in his blindness he cries out, "Land! Land! at last!" and reaches it with great difficulty, only to sink into even greater abysses than before.'

However, there seems to be no incongruity in a wild barbarism revealing this cynical philosophy which has become part of her. It is a strong intelligence come to its own through the contemplation of nature, through the earnest study of the spirit world, and of the powers of darkness—questionable knowledge, it is true—knowledge that would have brought her to the stake a few centuries later, but which has shown her her own limitations to understand the dark mystery of Fate and existing evil, and which has made her turn with one more despairing appeal to her altar as she makes mysterious passes with her wand in the air, summoning these unseen powers with a lurid, stately chant:—

'Ye who pass hither in the raiment of night,  
Upborne on the wings of the storm,  
Who delight in swift action and wingèd deed,  
Ye terrible Princes of Darkness,  
To you I call!  
Give me tidings, sure tidings,  
Of all that frowns upon us,  
Of all that smiles.'

It is thus that Jason sees her for the first time. He has penetrated alone into the desolate tower, and discovers to his amazement this magnificent barbarian clad in dark crimson robes, bordered with gold of strange device, and with a long black veil sweeping behind attached to a gold-embroidered head-band.

He sees her, but his mind is full of horror at the black arts she is practising, and he rushes forward to stay her, wounding

her arm with the point of his sword. And Medea, who had no fear of men or ought living, cowers before this unknown stranger, trembling at sight of him. Does she know that her lord and master has come? Does she realise that all her love will go out to this man, whether it be for good or ill? She who has but just vowed to destroy this enemy of her father stands now speechless when she should have used her wiles to ensnare him. Nay, she stays her brother's hand when he would rush upon the stranger. And the next morning Medea is mild and gentle with her maidens. One comes to her in terror, dreading her wrath when she tells her of the loss of a favourite horse. But Medea receives her kindly, and tells her that all is well. Peritta, with her mind full of that rebuke when she faltered out her love for the shepherd lad, finds her mistress ready with tender sympathy when she hears of the capture of the husband and the burning of their cottage. She even sheds tears of womanly pity, and they marvel greatly, not knowing what the night has brought. Its visions still becloud her mind, for as yet she treats them but as visions. This stranger who dared to interrupt her sacred rites, who dared even to chide her with rough words, who touched her lips, is no mortal man but the very God Heimdar who takes the dead to Hades. It is a message to her from the Gods that her agonised prayers to avert the evil of the curse have been heard—it is to tell her that life which has become so perplexing, so full of hidden menace, will soon be ended. This interpretation, however, which fully satisfies her maidenly pride, is soon shattered by Gora, her nurse, and afterwards by her father, who reproaches her very bitterly for having suffered this insult. Then is Medea no longer soft and gentle but a very Fury—full of eagerness to slay this man who has dared to treat her so lightly.

She dreams of the night—of Death stealing softly to her to still the aching fever of the poor, restless brain. All this is brushed rudely on one side to give place to her passion for revenge. It would have been a light thing for another maiden, but for Medea who had held herself so proudly aloof from love and love's caresses, who shall measure the bitterness of her feelings?

Once more the poisonous goblet is prepared, and she herself will give it to the stranger, but again she stays her hand, being strangely moved in his presence. This love is being forced on her against her will. She hates its dominating influence, and will be rid of it. She will hide herself in the deep recesses of

the forests, in the lonely ravine where the Fleece lies cunningly concealed, and her father and brother with the chosen men of Colchis shall fight with the strangers till they be utterly destroyed. She will kill this love at its birth; and up to this time Medea's will has triumphed over everything, but there must be no further temptation. She must never see him again, unless it be in death. In life he bends her will to his, and her great heart with its wild, passionate impulses must be his. Full of sorrow at this enforced separation from her dear ones, she makes a tender appeal to her father's continued affection for her as she says farewell.

But Fate intermeddles in her plan, and brings her once more into the presence of Jason. For a moment his dominating influence subdues her, and she would throw herself in subjection at his feet. Then with one last desperate effort she seeks to regain self-mastery.

Her love at this moment is very closely allied to hatred. It is a moment of deep dramatic significance, and with a weaker man than Jason she would have triumphed. But if she is strong of will, he is even more so, and has, too, the physical strength which is fast deserting her. At one moment she would kill him, at the next the desire has fled. And whilst she struggles in mute agony, whilst her pride, filial duty—all that she has till now held dear—is being trampled upon by this love, which was never more unwelcome to any maiden, Jason pleads with her, and he is a very eloquent pleader, and knows how to make his manhood appeal to her in the most forcible way. She has never heard of the affinity of souls, but she quickly appreciates the poetry of the thought that she is the other half of Jason's self that he has vainly sought for long years. This rapid analysis of herself as a girl eager to love, whom flowers and jewels should adorn rather than sword and dagger, is perilously sweet to her, and the music of it intoxicates her senses to her own undoing. Her pride may still protest—she will not in words declare her love—but when he is in danger, when her father again threatens his life, she throws herself between them, crying aloud:—

‘Father, do him no hurt. I love him!’ Then the mists of uncertainty and the darkness of impending ruin seem to roll away. The love for her own folks, and this new love to Jason surge up and flood her being. This shall be the unravelling of the tangled web of circumstances—Jason shall rule in Colchis



by her father's side—he shall be to him a son, and there will be no longer enmity and separation. But Aietes receives the suggestion with fury and fearful prediction of the desolation that will fall upon her, in which her husband will be the chief agent.

These are terrible words for Medea, and Jason, now that he has attained his object, now that he has wrung from her the confession of her love, gives no gentle words of sympathy, no self-accusation that he should have brought all this sorrow on her. No sooner is her love confessed than misgivings must have arisen in her mind as to the nature of this man to whom she is entrusting her life.

But her love yields to all his importunity to get for him the Golden Fleece, and when she secures to him the capture of it, her self-surrender is complete. All the more bitter is the growing conviction that Jason, now that he has turned his back upon this land of horrors, is beginning to regard her with aversion as being so closely connected with his crime.

This mysterious land of Colchis, shrouded in mists, resounding with the thunderous beat of the surge on her shores, had fired his imagination, had stirred his love of adventure, and Medea had been a fitting embodiment of it all, enhancing it with her beauty and illusiveness.

‘She was a ray of sunlight,’ he says, ‘illuminating a dark dungeon.’

But now all this lies in the past. He has attained the Golden Fleece and Medea, to realise only too soon that in the sunny land of Greece her weird beauty and charm are out of keeping, nay, that she suffers infinitely in comparison with the gentle, dutiful daughters of his fatherland.

But the bitterness that the knowledge of his changed feelings brings to Medea cannot be adequately measured. She makes pathetic efforts to regain his love—buries the instruments of her magic art, the veil and staff of her Goddess; and more than all that, she buries the Golden Fleece, fearing that it is the cause of all her love.

And yet she will not confess even to herself that Jason has ceased to love her. Gora has indeed told her that he shudders at sight of her, that he shuns and loathes her. She takes stock of what she still has—a pitiful remnant, in truth—she is his wife, but by what slender a tie she knows full well. She has renounced her black art, severed the last links that binds her to her native



land, and now in her helplessness, in her utter dependence on her husband, he will surely give her the protecting love he owes her.

Thus the poor heart seeks to quiet its aching fears. Jason chides her for wearing still the red scarf that recalls old memories he would fain banish; and she meekly removes it. Is this indeed Medea, the proud daughter of the King of Colchis? Then, verily, has love worked a wondrous change, and sorrow and deep despair have made her kind and gentle where she could have been hard and bitter, taunting Jason with his faithlessness and cruelty.

Their children form no link of tenderness between them. For Medea they are an added grief. They have given all their fresh, young love to the Greek maiden Kreusa, the gentle daughter of Creon, king of Corinth, tiring perchance of the gloomy looks and downcast mien of their mother, and finding in Kreusa a sympathetic playfellow with a keen joy in life equal to their own.

There is no wonder, too, that Jason finds relief in her friendship with its never-failing flow of sympathy. To her it is but a matter of idle regret that the pleasant days of childhood when they played together have passed away, to him it inflames the incipient love he bore her then. She is kind and gentle in her treatment of him, reminding him that a simple heart will restore content and happiness. They are the words of a virtuous maiden, who cannot understand the searing, scorching scars that the awful events of his life have made on Jason's heart and brain.

With Medea, too, she is gentle; tries to teach her with infinite patience a little song that Jason used to sing, and Medea, with pathetic desire to please her husband by being more like this Greek maiden, follows her stumblingly.

O ye Gods!  
Ye illustrious Gods!  
Anoint my head,  
Expand my breast,  
That I may conquer men  
And beauteous maidens too.

But the truth of it, as applied to Jason, strikes home. Oh, that she could bury that bitter memory of his wooing, how he tempted and drew her forth only to trample her underfoot when he had grown weary of her.

And yet she loves him, and will learn at Kreusa's feet to be

gentle and kind as she is. But Kreusa chides her for some hasty words against her husband, evoked by cruel memory—Kreusa whose simple, placid temperament can never know the poignant grief and passion that stirs this complex nature to its very depth—Kreusa who can be kind and forgiving because her quiet, uneventful youth has been spent in the sheltered happiness of this sunlit palace. She is an only daughter like that other, but without that other's shamed sense of a father's ignominy, and that bitter knowledge—than which nothing is more humiliating—that one who came with warm protestations of love and eager desire, now scorns her presence, nay, longs with shuddering to be rid of it.

But the song is never sung. Jason is there awaiting it with contemptuous indifference and she holds the lyre, faltering out a line or two :—

‘Ye Gods, ye mighty Gods!’

And then the song turns into a prayer—a half-uttered, sobbing entreaty for help, for pity :—

‘O ye Gods! Ye just, unrelenting Gods!’ But her agony does not reach her hearers. ‘The song has been forgotten, poorly sung,’ they say, ‘but Kreusa shall sing it as she used to when she and Jason were children together.’ Kreusa has not the delicacy of feeling to forbid her to triumph over this poor, despised woman. She stoops to pick up the lyre which Medea has thrown down in her despair. She will ‘willingly’ comply with Jason’s request. But in a moment, with a dramatic movement, which is yet intensely human, Medea smashes the instrument, crushing it with her hands, and then hurls it from her. Her triumph, however, is only momentary, and the arrival of the herald brings an order for her expulsion from the country. Then losing all self-control Medea breaks forth into a storm of bitter reproaches. If she has sinned, as indeed she has, he—Jason—is the cause and instigator of it all. She shouts aloud the miserable story of seduction and treachery to the assembled company and defies the naked sword with which Jason threatens to kill her.

Kreusa again with kindly intention, but an utter want of tact, interposes a conciliatory word and thereby exposes herself to a furious attack from Medea. The wild, untamed passions of a primitive land are poured forth, and the gentle Greek maiden is very effectually silenced.

'O snake!' she cries, 'shining silver snake, hiss no more, writhe not so pleasantly. Thou hast what thou didst want—my husband! Was it for this that thou didst coil thyself about my neck in such flattering embrace? Oh, had I but a dagger to pierce thee and thy father, the just king!'

They are savage, brutal words, but relieve her outraged sense of right and justice in a very human way.

Up to this point her self-mastery had been almost complete—the awakened sense of her deep wrongs had been lulled to rest by the hope that Jason would ultimately return to her—her old savage nature had been cowed by her dread of the fulfilment of the curse and by her fears of embittering still more her Greek, civilised husband.

But from this moment her desire for a terrible revenge fills her whole being. Shall she kill herself before Jason's eyes as he passes with Kreusa in solemn, bridal procession? Or shall she kill Kreusa at the threshold of her chamber and the children—Jason's children—too?

Thus the purpose of this revenge takes root in her heart, and Gora encourages her mistress with stories of the horrible deaths which have overtaken the other members of the Argonaut band. Still there is the last supreme interview with Jason, and the hope that she will recall even yet his love, and there are her children who will surely cling to their mother, no matter what may be her fate.

But in this interview Jason shows no kinder feelings for her, and meets her storm of bitter abuse at his faithlessness that he was but a youth when he wooed her. But she makes eloquent defiance of youth.

'Censure not that golden time,' she says, 'when the mind is rash, but the heart is kind. It were better for me if thou wert now what thou wast then! Come back a little way into that golden time when we tarried on the flowery banks of the Phasis. O Jason, has the glorious time gone for ever?'

But the appeal finds no echo in his breast, not even when she makes full and open confession of her sins—sins committed for his sake and instigated by him.

For a moment she will cast her pride to the dust and kneel to him, but no! that would be an outrage to her ancestors—to the Gods of Colchis. There is overwhelming despair in her heart that would have crushed her entirely, had not the remembrance



of her children given her one gleam of comfort. They will be with her in her exile—she will still have something to love and tend. Thus the poor brain deludes itself, only to be most cruelly undeceived when the children are brought before her. They refuse to leave Kreusa—their bright, merry playfellow—to go with this sad-eyed, grief-stricken mother into the wilderness. They cannot, of course, realise the anguish of this mother's heart, or the bitterness of this repeated cry: 'My children, my own children turn from me! then let me die! My own children flee from me!'

A wild beast robbed of its young is not more terrible now than Medea in her plans for vengeance. She has recourse once more to her dark practices of sorcery. A parting gift is sent to Kreusa, which destroys her life and sets the palace in flames. The children come to spend a last hour with their mother, and she bids them sleep, watching by them till the moment comes when she will slay them. As she watches, she reviews her life as in a trance.

'When I tell myself the story of my life,' she says, 'it seems as if another spoke and I but listened, interrupting now and then to say: "Friend, that cannot be so. Can she whose heart is full of murder be that one too whom I see walking in her father's land, so gentle, kind and innocent."'

Then she recalls the happy days spent with her brother. Her father, too, was there, and he loved her always, but no! he cursed her once! And then the awful fulfilment of that curse drives her again to a frenzy of despair. Suddenly flames leap up into the air from the burning palace, and remind her that her vengeance is being executed, but only in part.

The children have gone a little way off to the columned entrance, and there she joins them, quickly reappearing with a blood-stained dagger in her left hand, and her right hand raised majestically to restrain Gora's outburst of horror. It is no horror to her; the horror to her—what drove her to this awful deed—was that her children should continue to live, despised because of their mother's memory, hating that mother, growing up to manhood with this taint in their blood—aliens and outcasts in this land of Greece.

'Death appears to thee the worst of ills,' she says in her final interview with Jason.

'I know an ill which is far worse than that, it is to live and be wholly miserable. I have saved the children from this.'



But there is no weak pity for herself. They were the innocent sufferers of their parents' crimes. She must continue to live awaiting punishment from the Gods, and live with no malign satisfaction of having wreaked vengeance on Jason and his friends.

'My heart,' she says, 'is hidden from thee as it has ever been. Couldst thou but see it, thou wouldst perceive its pain heaving as a surging sea. I go forth into the world bearing with me this heavy load of grief. I go to Delphos to restore to the altar the Fleece which Phryxus stole away. There I will ask the priests if they will sacrifice me to the Gods, or if they will send me into the far desert to endure my anguish in continued life.' No, verily, there is no shirking of retribution for herself. Jason, with his fickle, selfish nature, will quickly find solace in new scenes and fresh faces, but for Medea there is confession of sin and death at the priest's hands, or blackness of despair, an awful solitude haunted with a vision of two little children murdered by their mother, of a husband whose love has turned into unspeakable loathing, of anguish and death in a flaming palace; of a fair young girl, whose father laments her 'eternally.' The awful magnitude of her vengeance—its hideous completeness—are the outcome of the brutal savageness of her nature when it has cast off its veneer of Greek culture.

But her splendid courage remains which formerly endured a father's wrath and the severing of home-ties to be true to her lover, and which now chooses sternly an obedience to the decision of the priests at Delphos rather than a self-inflicted death, an easy exit from life which would have satisfied Greek morality.

There is an admirable pride too, a deep consciousness of her high origin as she cries: 'A dagger-thrust would bring relief, but not so, Medea shall not die through Medea.' She is a savage to the end, according to the Greek code, but a savage with a lofty spirit and an inborn sense of true nobility.

### SAPPHO

FROM Medea, the barbarian, whose destructive personality brought ruin on all connected with her, to Sappho, the cultured Greek lady, whose presence irradiated beneficence and kindness, stretches a wide interval, a very gulf of separation, and yet not so wide as it appears at first sight. Beneath the Greek lady's

calm demeanour and dignified reserve lurk the same hot passions as we noticed in Medea—an all-sacrificing love, a quick, jealous fury that when provoked would stab to death her rival, an overwhelming despair that finally leads to self-destruction. Sappho is distinguished in verse and song, and she is acclaimed the greatest poetess of Greece. When we think of the simple verse that Medea tried to sing, the few chords she tried to play on the lyre with such pitiful failure, and this finished art of Sappho, the difference between them widens again. It is a difference in degree of culture. Medea lays aside her veil and the distinctive dress of Colchis to wear the Greek apparel that pleased Jason.

Sappho appears before us dressed sumptuously, riding in a chariot drawn by white horses, wearing the wreath of victory on her head, and holding in her hand a golden lyre.

Sappho is already what Medea tried to be—a Greek lady of graceful presence and charm—so the one character supplements the other. But both are pre-eminently feminine; both are intensely modern in their morbid introspection and in the passionate struggles of their hearts. Medea strives to throw off her barbarism in order to win Jason's favour, and Sappho becomes a laggard in the cause of high learning as she tries to hold Phaon's love.

In both the supreme purpose of their lives is to keep alive the flame of love in the hearts of their lovers who are totally unfitted for them. They both testify that learning and brain culture take but a secondary part in a woman's life—that it is the promptings of her heart to which she pays the most earnest heed.

From the height of her exalted position at Olympia, where she has received the laurel wreath for the greatest achievements in poetry and song, she caught the look of adoration in Phaon's eyes. She saw him as a splendid specimen of young manhood, full of muscular strength and daring, with beauty of form and fresh admiration of her genius. He had come to conquer in the Olympian games, and he won the love of the greatest lady in the land—a great possession surely for one low-born, and yet fraught with difficulties.

There could be no real sympathy between them, for with the heart the brain did not lie, and from the very first Sappho's lofty enthusiasms and high ideals proved irksome and unreal to him. And she, with the quick sensitiveness that a great love

always brings, perceived this very soon. Her heart was as great as her brain, and her surrender of self to her chosen lover complete. The presence of the dear ones of her household, and their glad welcome on her return home, fret her somewhat in her eager desire to show him all the precious things of the home that will belong to them both now. And with what girlish delight she enters into this joint possession !

‘Look upon this spot,’ she cries. ‘In its simple, quiet beauty it seems to belong half to the earth and half to the meadows kissed by Lethe. In these grottoes, these rose-trees, this pleasant enclosure of columns, we will enjoy our lives spent together like immortals for whom there is no hunger, no appeasement, only the eternal, unchanging pleasure of enjoyment. What is mine, is also thine. When thou dost use my things, I feel for the first time how precious is their possession.’

This wonderful love has not come to her as her one great gift. She has so much besides ; but with her woman’s quick intuition she has realised that those other things are dwarfed to insignificance in the presence of this all-powerful love. With her contemplative intelligence she has looked out upon life and has weighed intellectual supremacy and world-wide fame against love and the content that it brings, and has found them wanting.

‘To live,’ she cries, ‘is the highest goal of life !’ and ‘to live’ is now for Sappho ‘to love’—‘the unfruitful laurel wreath presses with cold weight upon the brow to whom it promised compensation for the sacrifices it exacts.’

But into this disparagement of earthly renown there creeps a new note of satisfaction that this laurel wreath is all-important in Phaon’s eyes, and that it shall be for him ‘starred with the blossoms of the past and the future.’ From her sad plaint to Melitta, her serving-maid, that she has so little to offer Phaon, as he stands there in the splendour of his youth with senses keenly alive, we should judge that the best part of her youth has gone—spent in the pursuit of her ambition. Not that she has left the girlish appreciation of the happiness of life far behind her. At this time she is probably twenty-five or twenty-six years old. She tells us that she was but a child when she took the little homeless Melitta into her arms, now thirteen years ago. During these years sorrows, and joys too, have left their deep imprint on her receptive heart and brain.

‘I know,’ she says to Phaon, ‘how ingratitude burns, how



faithlessness tortures. I have seen my friendship betrayed and my love too. I have learnt how to suffer and renounce.'

And again she says to Melitta :—

'Oh, that I might go back to childhood days when I played my golden lyre with no tormenting knowledge of what life brings, but only a vague foreshadowing of it.'

The tragedy of her love is immeasurably intensified by this fact that she has tasted of the tree of knowledge and found it bitter, that she has reached the pinnacle of fame and looks back shudderingly along the dreary road she has come, that she believes with the most joyous exultation that she has at last found the goal of her happiness in the love of this young Greek athlete, whose love however is merely admiration of her intellect and gracious womanhood, and whose whole heart is quickly given to the gentle Melitta.

'I loved you,' he said to Sappho, 'as one loves the Gods, as one loves goodness and beauty. Thou, Sappho, shouldst hold communion with the Immortals. One cannot with impunity forsake the banquet of the Gods to descend to human fellowship.'

The blow did not fall at once—the disillusionment began early. Phaon has never offered her a heart-whole devotion. Sappho has not therefore to bear like Medea the cruel desolation of love recalled, and yet she has perhaps the heavier load—the shame of love scorned.

Medea was wooed passionately by Jason only to prove the worthlessness of his love.

Phaon does not deserve the same reproach. He followed where she led. It was she who disclosed to him her love, and so the gradual discovery that this love is not desired, that it is her slave Melitta to whom all his thoughts are turning, must indeed be very bitter. But at first she will not believe it. She has had her doubts of Phaon's joy in her presence, but has invoked the help of the Goddess Aphrodite. She sees indeed the kiss he gave Melitta, the thought of it 'is anguish a thousandfold.' She has warned Phaon that it would go ill with her if she should ever lose his love.

'There is only one thing,' she says, 'that I could not in truth lose and that is thy love. Therefore, examine thyself. Thou dost not yet know the unfathomable depths of this passionate heart.'

Alas for Sappho at this moment of cruel awakening! But



she will not give way to despair, and her admirable self-control restores her common-sense reasoning.

'Am I not foolish,' she cries, 'to torment myself with what may not exist?'

She is a great poet, and as such must have been stirred by the passions and frailties of men. She has sung of the happiness of love as the best thing in the world, but she has often seen love betrayed and tricked out in vulgar guise—a cheap and sordid thing. She has seen the sensual passions of men called by its name, and has discerned what love means for a man and what for a woman.

'The love of a man must not be measured by the love of a woman,' she says in soliloquy, as Phaon lies sleeping in the garden near her. 'A man's quick mind is ever changing, ever subject to the changing conditions of life whose path lies open to him flooded with the crimson dawn of hope. The quiet and peace of home life oppress him, and he goes forth to still his restless cravings in fierce activity, armed for victorious warfare with strength and courage, as with shield and sword. If he finds love in his path, he will undoubtedly stoop to pick this rare, sweet flower. He looks at it a moment, rejoices at its beauty, then sticks it carelessly in his helmet with other trophies. He knows nothing of that deep, enduring passion that love works in the breast of a woman. The man loves, too, but in his heart there is room for love and much besides—much that seems unworthy to a woman to keep company with love—a jest here and there, unfettered pleasure, a kiss, no matter where he takes it.'

Thus in her wisdom, Sappho will accept these conditions with sweet reasonableness, content if Phaon will only continue to rejoice in her love for him, although he may in a lighter mood snatch a kiss from a pretty serving-maid. Then comes the dream which makes Sappho realise that this lovely slave fills his thoughts to the entire exclusion of herself. She, Sappho, has not been able to give him this blessed contentment, this joy in life. With her he had ever been distraught, ill at ease, always conscious of the high honour she has done him. But with the dream-picture of Melitta before his eyes, his lips are unsealed, his heart is uplifted, and he speaks eloquently of the joy of living, of the wondrous beauty of the world. And Sappho who loves knows that this is Love's awakening. But for her, the glory has departed, there is the blackness of despair creeping up, and she shivers involuntarily

as she realises what life in a moment has become. But this despair soon gives place to a wrath that shakes her inmost being. To think that she, Sappho, the proud lady of Greece, at whose feet kings have laid their crowns, should have been thus scorned for the sake of her slave.

Phaon is to her now 'a liar,' 'one careless of his vows, empty of all shame.' But she, too, is 'a fool to have left the laurel-crowned heights of fame for these low valleys of human desire where crime and infidelity reign.'

This is the essentially modern element in Sappho which evokes all our sympathies. She has been given the great gift of genius, but together with it a woman's heart that yearns for the quiet sanctity of home-life, for a husband's love and little children. She has obeyed the call of genius, has trodden bravely its lonely heights, finding in the realisation of her poetic art the stimulus that her brain needs, but forgetting that her heart, too, would make its demands, but not along this path of genius. She has been satisfied with the affection and esteem of her friends, and has been kindly tolerant of their love. When she sees Phaon, and knows that her heart has gone forth to him, she awakes to the cruel consciousness that her genius has no abiding charm for him.

With quick discernment she knows that she has attempted the impossible—to combine the life of high intellectual endeavour, of fellowship with the Gods, with human love and comradeship.

'He whom the Gods have chosen for their service,' she says, 'must not consort with the citizens of this earth. The fate of men and of the Immortals is never mixed in the same cup. Thou must choose one of these two worlds, and when thou hast chosen, know that there is no recall.'

And yet after arguing like a philosopher, she shows the next moment the very feminine desire to see this girl who has been preferred to the illustrious Sappho. But the jealousy that wounded love calls forth in her heart flames up at sight of her, and like Medea she would slay her rival but for the interposition of Phaon. Then Sappho, indeed, drinks to the dregs her cup of bitterness as she hears herself denounced with the cruellest barbs of scorn by the whilom lover in the presence of this slave-girl who has won his love.

Now she knows how little her genius has meant to Phaon, and that a woman's 'highest adornment' in his eyes is 'a quiet

mind,' thus quoting to Sappho's disparagement her own description of Melitta as 'the maid with the quiet mind.' For him 'the bright garland of innocence' is of more value than 'the laurel wreaths of fame.' She has to bear, too, the vulgar cruelty that the sight of the dagger in her clenched hand has aroused in him. She hears, in Melitta's presence, her appeals to Phaon's love described as the snares and gins of witchcraft. Can we measure with feeble words the pain and grief that he leaves in this poor, stricken heart as he goes hence with Melitta by his side? Sorrow has its moments too sacred for human help, and surely this is such a time for Sappho.

She goes forth into the night to her Gethsemane of agony, to wrestle with this pain, and drive it from her fevered senses.

'Oh, that I might sleep,' she moans, 'never to wake again—sleep until my very pulses slept unstirred by the fresh morning light.'

Oh, the bitter thought that all this pain comes from the man she loves, the man 'whom she meant to raise to the very summit of humanity, about whose head she wished to weave a crown of all her splendid endeavours, success and renown.'

It is again her culture and disciplined nature that forbid any violent methods of revenge. Unlike Medea, she cannot plot wholesale destruction. She will send Melitta into bondage to the distant island of Chios; but she says and knows it, alas, to be the truth, that if Phaon's love follows her to Chios, she will be immeasurably happier in her mean lot than is Sappho in her golden, loveless mansion. When her plan fails and she hears that Melitta has escaped with Phaon, her human passions have full sway over her, and she cries upon the Gods in helpless fury, and summons loudly her servants to pursue the fugitives. But when they have been overtaken and brought back, she trembles in her human weakness at sight of them, and cannot meet Phaon's contemptuous gaze. But as they kneel before her, entreating her forgiveness, she starts at Phaon's significant words: 'Give love to mortals and reverence to the Gods. Remember what thou dost and who thou art.' He who has brought this great sorrow upon her gives her the word that recalls her to her illustrious origin. This is the thought that will make her strong in the midst of her weakness—that she belongs to the Gods, and they will uphold their own.

So she goes forth to be alone once more, not to plan revenge,



but to hold deep, mysterious communion with them, to realise what their purpose is concerning her.

Meanwhile her faithful servant Rhamnes sets before them with heart-felt eloquence the measure of Sappho's goodness and wide-reaching influence. 'Her name is written,' he says to Phaon, 'in diamond letters on the stars, and it will only die out with the stars. In far distant lands, in distant times, Sappho's song will echo from many lips, her name will live for ever. The joy that Melitta gives you is due to Sappho's spirit with which she has imbued her.'

These splendid words of praise turn their thoughts from the angry, outraged Sappho to whom they have pleaded in vain, to the Sappho who had earlier filled their thoughts with such love and reverence.

She has gone from them with Phaon's words beating an incessant refrain in her brain: 'Remember what thou dost and who thou art!' Remembrance! It is oblivion she would seek—oblivion for all those joys of human love that she is now called upon to renounce. This renunciation is like the dissolution of soul and body, and in this death agony she stands rigid with staring eyes, leaning against a marble statue that is not more lifeless than she herself. Then she moves, plucking with restless fingers the flowers near her, and throwing them into the surging sea below. As they fall she follows their course with longing gaze. For several long hours she stays there, wrestling with these earthly desires, casting them from her, scourging herself with the lash of her own scorn that these things seem dearer to her than unswerving devotion to the will of the Gods, freeing herself from the clinging embrace of her human passions, mortifying them until the moment comes when she can look up with pale, tearless courage to the Gods to offer herself afresh to them. This is her sacrifice—a human heart. She thanks the Gods for their rich gifts—'the bow of song, the full quiver of poetry.' She thanks them before the flaming altar that she has been permitted 'to sip of the sweet cup of life,' and now that she has obeyed them, and set this cup far from her, she entreats that they will take her to dwell with them far away from this earth. In her exalted state she kisses Phaon on his brow in token of friendship and embraces Melitta as a mother her child.

As she calls down a blessing from the Gods upon them, she



throws herself from the high rock into the sea and is lost to them for ever.

'She has returned to her own,' cries Rhamnes—'this earth was not her home.'

But her lot was cast here for a time, and the barbarian Medea who refused to take her own life, and awaited the will of the Gods in utterable loneliness and despair, seems to us a nobler woman than the cultured Greek lady Sappho.

Sappho left the path the Gods had marked out for her to stray into the 'valleys of human desires,' and finding herself an outcast she has 'returned to her own.' But she was born of this earth, and 'her own' were also the poor and needy of the island of Lesbos whom she had helped with beneficent hand and who still needed her. And that glorious gift of poetry with which she could have further blessed humanity for all ages—that has gone too. She has not the courage to bear her own personal grief; she is not brave enough to live always in the shadow of a great sorrow in order to lighten the cares of others. She has returned 'to her own,' forgetting her debt to humanity in her desire to make atonement to the Gods. But her end fills us with deep regret that this splendid woman should have died a coward's death.

### MELITTA

IN Melitta Grillparzer gives us his ideal of womanhood, probably the ideal of his youth. Scherer says of this character: 'It is a portrait tenderly and delicately drawn such as the pure imagination of youth may shyly picture the beloved.'

She is surely the most charming creation of Grillparzer's pen. She has that best of gifts—an ever ready, tender sympathy. How sweetly she comforts Sappho in the midst of her sad thoughts that she has nothing to give in return for Phaon's love.

'Thou art good,' she says, 'and hast ever been so and happiness is found beside thee.' She owes everything to Sappho, and is quick to acknowledge it as she tells Phaon the sad tale of the ruin of her home in that distant land which she can only dimly remember, and the capture of herself and friends to be sold as slaves, and how Sappho took her into her service.

'She was good and kind to me,' she says; 'dried my tears and nursed me, and taught me all I know. Sometimes she grows angry, is passionate and bitter, but nearly always she is good and very kind.'

So the maid prattles, little realising that it is she herself who will cause this dear mistress such deep sorrow, that even now her unspoken appeal to Phaon's sympathy is tearing him away from his allegiance to Sappho.

It is in no spirit of coquetry that she tries to pick the rose for him from the high branch overhead, thereby falling into his arms. But with his kiss upon her lips she realises that this is treachery to Sappho, and it is very terrible to her that her mistress has seen it, and coldly refuses to hear the stammering explanation she would give.

She creeps away in bitter shame, for none of her servants, or rather 'children,' as she calls them, has been dearer to Sappho than Melitta.

For Sappho she is 'the maiden of the quiet mind, with moderate talents and intellect of no high order, unskilled in art, but of a modest, unassuming, kindly temperament, timid at the approach of strangers, but ever faithful to those she calls her friends.'

'Timid at the approach of strangers,' it is thus that she has explained to herself Melitta's painful bashfulness in Phaon's presence. She cannot believe that this child Melitta, 'a foolish child of shy mien, with eyes that ever seek the floor, with lips that tell of childish pranks, whose sluggish breast is stirred at times with the desire for play or the fear of punishment—and that is all,' has won Phaon's heart.

But when this 'bashful child' appears to the summons of her mistress, Sappho is startled by her beauty. She has dressed herself with her wonted simplicity, but with a care that shows a desire to please, and to Sappho's jealous eyes it is to gain fresh favour with Phaon.

Melitta's explanation is simple enough, though no doubt the thought that he would see her has increased her satisfaction in her pretty raiment. She has put the rose he gave her on her breast, and Eucharis, Sappho's servant, has heard her singing as she made ready. But the joy in her heart she has not stopped to analyse, and she explains to Sappho her gala attire with frank innocence.

'Thou hast often scolded me for wearing so seldom the clothes thou hast so generously given to me. I always saved them for days of special joy. Then it came to my mind that to-day was such a day of joy.'

Sappho's scorn cannot provoke a confession of guilt. There is

nothing to confess that she does not already know, except the gift of this rose at her breast which she refuses to give up because it is Phaon's gift. Then the savage element in Sappho breaks forth, there is a gleam of steel, and only Phaon's sudden appearance in answer to Melitta's piercing cry for help saves her from the dagger thrust. To Melitta's eager acknowledgment of guilt — 'the fault was mine—I spoke to her as a slave should not speak' — she answers with proud scorn :—

'Thou shalt not further burden thyself with guilt—there is enough already.'

Now that the crisis has come and Sappho bows under the lash of Phaon's scorching reproaches, she will give up even her rose that the terrible breach may be healed, nay, she will give up life itself if she can thereby atone for it. Her gentle heart is sorely wounded. She is but a child of sixteen, and has ever lived under the care of this mistress. It is true that all her young heart has gone out to Phaon, but she is full of terrible misgivings and an anxious longing for forgiveness ; even when she learns that Sappho is seeking to send her by force into bondage to the distant island of Chios, she cannot accept readily Phaon's offer of deliverance. He, the lover, will take her thither, but she shall go as his bride—beyond the grey sea in safety and happiness for them. Beneath the shade of the lime-trees in his parent's dwelling, they will find rest and peace. Surely an alluring picture for this young maid, loving him as she does, and haunted with the dread of Sappho's wrath. But she wavers trembling in her longing to go and her tender eagerness to have Sappho's blessing and forgiveness beforehand. When the escape is frustrated, Melitta, with her heart torn in twain between duty and desire, must secretly have welcomed this further opportunity to recover Sappho's favour. She kneels trembling before her and will not be repulsed.

'Nay,' she says, as Phaon would urge her to cease her pleading before this proud, unbending woman, 'let me kneel as a child should before its mother, and if punishment seems right to her, then let her punish me.'

But there is no look of forgiveness, and for Melitta death itself is preferable to Sappho's condemnation.

She says : 'All my actions, all my feelings I have ever examined in the light of her face. It has shown me the hideous wrong I have done her.'



Her sensitive heart is deeply wounded as she realises that her gain is Sappho's loss, and that her glad hopes for the future bring despair to Sappho's heart. She has that trustful love, that exalted admiration of a young girl for an older woman vastly her superior in intellect and culture.

The kiss of forgiveness is at length given and the blessing comes too, but she will never forget the circumstances of it. She will never forget that it was through her that life on earth was robbed of all its sweetness for Sappho. For herself life will still bring happiness. She is young, and no matter how poignant her grief may be now, the future will bring its healing balm, and she will grow wise enough to realise that for Sappho 'earth was not home,' that she has returned to the Immortals whose companion she is.

### BERTHA (*Die Ahnfrau*)

IN Bertha, Grillparzer portrays gentle maidenhood, and that his subject may stand out all the more delicately, he paints in a background of sombre, lurid hue. There is the ancestress who finds no quiet in the grave, and returns to haunt the home of the Borotins until the last member shall be overthrown. In the very entrance-hall hangs a rusty dagger, the instrument of the crime, and the Count grows old before his time in horrible anticipation of the fulfilment of the curse. There is, too, an aged serving-man, a faithful adherent of the family, but gloomy and fearful as the Count himself.

Amid these sombre surroundings this young life develops—this gentle girl who has eternal spring in her heart because of her absolute trust in the goodness of heaven and in her lover Jaromir. So the sadness within the home, as yet but dimly understood, lends pathos to her glad consciousness that God is good and that Jaromir will never fail her.

'Why, father,' she cries, as the Count sits lost in dark retrospections one winter evening:—

'May is coming, lovely May,  
Green will be the woodland's dress,  
Starred anew with flowers gay,  
Fanned by breezes' soft caress.'

But the father heeds her not, sunk in deep reverie, careless of the girl who comforts him again with the assurance of her love.



It is not, however, the haunting presence of this ancestress, nor the gloomy surroundings that gives the tragedy its full significance—it lies rather in the character of Bertha herself. Had she been strong in intellectual resources as Sappho, or invested with the powers of sorcery as Medea, she would have had some weapons with which to fight inexorable Fate.

But from the first we shudder as we see the unequal conflict, and know at once that this dear weak girl, guarding with such frail courage her one possession—the love of Jaromir—will very easily be crushed.

Heaven is pitiless, and strikes just at the moment of her highest happiness. Jaromir is in the castle as their guest, and her father has approved of her choice. In the gladness of her heart she is as a merry child, and playfully ties her scarf about Jaromir to prevent him running away from her.

‘I have been told,’ she says, ‘that there are men whose love not only burns, but burns away, who, like the butterflies, love the rose only because it is a sweet flower. Lest thou shouldst be such a butterfly, I will bind thy wings.’

Very different is her mood a little later when the Count joins in the search for the robbers, when Jaromir disappears and she is left alone. It is a dark night and her shrinking spirit is filled with terrible forebodings.

She reviews her happy childhood and careless youth, as Medea did in the hour of her sore trial, and wonders sadly that love brings her so little real joy, for even in the presence of her lover something always tells her that to love him is a crime, and yet the hours hold no happiness for her when he is absent.

Then with horrible suddenness follows the disclosure of Jaromir’s true identity as chief of the robber band. Bertha is a child no more; she must decide between her lover and her father, and Jaromir does not appeal to her woman’s love in vain. She will fly with him into the darkness; she will leave all the precious things of her youth for the sake of this man she loves. But it is only in the presence of this love that she is strong. When she hears that the ancestress is again haunting the house and that this foretells misfortune or crime, she breaks forth into a bitter cry.

‘Is it not enough,’ she cries, ‘that misfortune should come, must crime come too?’

But on being reminded by the old servant that everything lies in God's hands, she quickly restrains her lament and begins to pray.

It is a prayer full of passionate entreaty, showing her deep religious sense that Heaven will bring succour to those in distress.

When the whole tragedy is revealed to her, that her father is dying from the blow dealt by her lover, who is in reality his son and hence her brother, she sinks under it into a state of madness, and the poor, unhinged brain is capable of only one idea to find in deep sleep oblivion from the hideous realities of life. Death comes to her speedily, and we are left with the picture of a young girl fair of form, with a very loving heart and a deep sense of spiritual things, but with a nature too sensitive to bear these cruel arrows of misfortune.

She has no subtlety of character, no striking or opposing qualities of mind or temperament. She does not allure and repel like Medea; she is not a lofty ideal of womanhood as Sappho is. She is just a weak, loving girl who calls forth all our sympathy because of her helplessness to wrest from life what it refuses to give.

### RAHEL AND ESTHER

IN Rahel, the Jewess of Toledo, we find a combination of base sensuality and childish playfulness—a merry wantonness that leads astray the heart of a noble-minded king, that wrecks domestic peace and threatens the ruin of a nation.

She comes before us singing a careless lilt, defying the statutes of the state, her father's entreaties, and her sister's gentle reminder, in her determination to see the King pass, and to disport herself in his presence.

There is a certain mad recklessness in her that foretells her doom. She is a child of fickle chance, crushed under the chariot wheels of Fortune, and as such makes little claim to our pity, though we sorrow with the sister who loved her as her own child and who mourned for her exceedingly.

She is fair of face, and by her feigned distress and clinging helplessness, easily appeals to the chivalrous nature of the King, who declares that 'a man who shows fear is rightly despised, but a woman in her weakness is strong.' She practises a finished coquetry which, apart from her beauty, would have made her

dangerous to this King who is young and handsome himself, and has been educated for his high position with a Spartan-like simplicity and stern sense of duty.

'I have had little to do with women,' he says, 'but this one appears to me beautiful.'

His wife Eleanor, the Queen, does not offer any counter-attraction. She is noble and wise and helps him to rule his kingdom well. She is accustomed to councils and warfare, and shares everything with the King; but she is so virtuous that he himself says laughingly that he would love her better, if she were not so immaculate, if, instead of praise, she sometimes needed forgiveness. Her stern, self-contained nature is offended by Rahel's extravagant fears and despair as she falls down before her imploring deliverance from the officers of the law. This hysterical, bejewelled Jewish maiden, with her flaunting desire to please, evokes only disgust and cold disdain in her breast. Her opulent beauty shocks her virtuous simplicity, and when Rahel passes on to throw herself at the King's feet, who appears to pity her, she feels herself outraged, and leaves the room with her ladies. The discovery of the Jewess in the garden-house later in the day, and the well-founded suspicion that the King is in the adjoining room deepens her resentment, and she returns to Toledo alone.

But Rahel, in her delight at having found favour with the King, cares nothing for the Queen's displeasure, and gives a loose rein to her flattered vanity, strutting about the room decked in the feathers and gold-embroidered cloak that she has found there. She is an impish child now, wiling away the hours of this enforced captivity with silly pranks and foolish jests. But when the King appears, she feigns extreme shyness; her coquetry flames forth again, and it becomes at once provocative as he tries to take from her the portrait of himself which she has appropriated. Her provocation goes still further when she leaves in its place her own portrait. From that moment her fascination over him wins surely its way. We see her again in the garden of his Castle Retiro, practising still further her arts to charm him—now appealing to his chivalrous protection, and now diverting him with her childish petulance and merry pranks, but always keeping him by her alluring beauty from the fulfilment of his duties.

We see her also striving to ensnare Garceran, who threatens to disturb her wanton pleasures by recalling the King to the dangers that beset the kingdom.



The King goes, and Rahel weeps bitterly, for 'I loved him,' she declares to Esther, 'really loved him.'

But this asseveration of love does not move us since it is prefaced by anxious inquiries as to whether Esther has brought for her the bracelet with the amethysts.

We incline to the King's opinion, though he spoke in jest: 'She is a fool who contradicts herself with every breath she draws.'

Even her awful death scarcely evokes our sympathies. We are glad that the court was freed from such evil even at the price of brutal murder. The illegality of the act may horrify, but her unrestrained sensuality is still more revolting, and the King himself realised it in the end:

'Evil lurked about her cheek, chin, and mouth,' he says, 'and in her flashing eyes, and this poisoned and marred her beauty.'

Her one redeeming feature seems to be her affection for her sister Esther, and yet this is stained with sordid motives.

Rahel herself gives us a portrait of Esther or rather an impression. She says:—

'Esther is prudent and far wiser than I, but when the spark of determination and resolve falls into her breast, she burst out in steady flames. If she were a man, she would be a hero.'

In these last words she has given us Esther's salient characteristic. It is an unobtrusive heroism that shields the weak, comforts the sorrow-stricken without thought of self. It is free from any pharisaical contempt for the sinner, and is full of a love that thinketh no evil.

We can understand the fascination that Rahel exercised over the King, but that she could have been so dear to Esther is another proof of her irresistible charm, or perhaps of Esther's untiring loyalty and devotion. She has tended her as a mother, and regards her always as a merry, troublesome child, whose very waywardness endears her all the more to her.

She tells the King that 'at home she is always full of jokes, and makes us laugh no matter how serious we must be.' And again: 'She is only a spoilt, wanton child.'

Regarding her sister as she does, her awful death comes as a terrible shock to her.

'I would have given my life,' she says, 'for my sister, or at



least have died with her.' There is a proud aloofness in her grief—she will not share it with the King—and also a stern self-accusation that she, as well as her father, sacrificed this young sister to gain the King's protection and favour.

We see in her, too, the dull apathy of sorrow, the patient resignation which is so marked a feature of the Jewish race.

She does not call down the vengeance of Heaven in an eager desire for the destruction of her sister's murderers.

'It is enough,' she cries; 'I do not wish this deed of blood to be multiplied.'

To her father she says :—

'See thy foes tremble! Does that delight thee? but not me. My dead will not wake up again.'

The King condones the murder, and this rouses her to pronounce the curse that the beautiful Jewess shall haunt him in terrible form when danger threatens him in battle.

But she quickly withdraws it in hopeless acceptance of the fact that all men have sinned, and who is she to cast a stone? She will forgive even as she hopes to be forgiven.

We notice the unselfish heroism again in the future she carves out for herself.

There can be no sympathy between her and this money-loving, despicable old father; and yet as he grovels at her feet imploring protection against his foes, she assures him with soothing gentleness that she will tend him in his old age as a mother her child; but at his death life for her, too, shall cease that she may be with Rahel once more.

Thus it is the character of Esther that gives the keynote of tragedy to this piece.

Her devoted love has been carelessly accepted by this beautiful young sister. It is always Rahel who has been courted and admired, whilst Esther has remained unobtrusively in the background, only coming forward at the last to protect her sister's dear memory. And yet it is the memory of Esther that lingers with us as she takes up again her appointed tasks in patient humility and quiet self-abnegation.

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WE would now consider the contrasting elements which Goethe's and Schiller's chief female characters offer to these chief female characters of Grillparzer. Sappho is the most conspicuous of all

Grillparzer's women just as Iphigenia is the most prominent of Goethe's.

But though both are Greek, and are imbued with a certain amount of the antique spirit, they afford a sharp contrast in character.

Sappho, though Greek, is accursed with our modern spirit of morbid self-analysis, and what a German critic has called—*'Die dem Leben nicht gewachsene Innerlichkeit.'*

Iphigenia, on the other hand, is a more faithful reproduction of the classical model.

She is a simple, virtuous maiden, who is content to do her duty without any pretensions to high learning, satisfied if she but makes others happy. She, too, is a priestess serving the altar of her goddess Diana, but she has an unswerving devotion to her, an unquestioning obedience to her will.

There is no outburst of anger, no weak wailing against Fate, no hot passions such as shook Sappho to her inmost being when Fate proved unkind. Iphigenia maintains an even temper, a calm demeanour, a tender affection, which drives from Orestes the heated imaginings of his brain, and restores to him a sane outlook on life. She does not seek to wrest from fate the means for her own happiness. She will not resort to subterfuge, will not deceive the king, even though it would bring safety to herself and her dear ones.

Sappho, in her disappointed hopes, turns her thoughts to unworthy plans for vengeance. In the bitterness of her wrath she would slay her rival. Her haughty spirit knows no yielding. But Iphigenia pleads humbly with the king to spare her brother's life; and though she longs to return to her country, she will not go without his blessing. The influence of this pure maiden is such that she effects the reconciliation and goes in peace.

Iphigenia is an ideal type of womanhood, but Sappho appeals more to our sympathies and interest because of her hot passions and very human impulses. Hero contrasts in the same way with Iphigenia as Sappho does, but she resembles her more closely as she shows a more even temperament—a less complex nature.

Klärchen in *Egmont* and Gretchen in *Faust* bear a strong resemblance to Melitta, but again there are wide divergences.

They both have the simple, gentle nature of Melitta, and lead the same uneventful life in ordinary household concerns. But

to them love brings deep tragedy, little real joy, and finally self-destruction. Melitta loses for a time the friendship and affection of her mistress because she loves Phaon. Klärchen and Gretchen lose all—friends, home, and all belief in goodness when they love, and in their despair they prefer death to continued life.

Melitta has a more placid disposition, a more even mind, so that even if Phaon had returned to his allegiance to Sappho, she would not have suffered the same agony of grief that made life impossible for these other two.

Bertha in *The Ancestress* has this same amiable loveliness, but reminds us still more forcibly of Beatrice in Schiller's *Bräut von Messina*. Mystery surrounds both of them, crooked Destiny contrives that in both cases the lover is also the brother in disguise who has been separated from his sister, and does not know her as such. But Bertha lives in childlike happiness when once her father has consented to her betrothal. She has anxious moments because of the count's deep despondency and the mysterious appearances of the ancestress. Beatrice lives in constant dread of disclosure. She dwells within convent walls ignorant of her origin, meeting by stealth her lover—'a mysterious horror has always invaded my shuddering heart,' she says. Bertha destroys herself because she hates life when she loses her lover, but Beatrice, with a greater nobility of character, will offer herself up to death to avenge the brutal murder of her brother who was also her lover. When this vengeance is fulfilled without her, she remains to comfort the bereaved mother.

This charm of sweet innocence and gentleness, which is so lovingly portrayed in Melitta, is again discovered in Louise Miller in Schiller's *Cabale und Liebe*.

In all these characters—Klärchen, Gretchen, Bertha, Beatrice and Louise—deep tragedy lies. Their young lives are blasted by unhappiness in love, and in all this unhappiness brings an agony of despair, and finally a violent death.

In the character of Melitta, too, tragedy lies, because she has been torn from her home and friends, and has been brought in bondage to an unknown land. She meets with much kindness at Sappho's hands, but memory must always hold deep sadness for her.

Louise Miller falls far short of this ideal of maidenhood which Grillparzer portrays in Melitta. She is of the same age—sixteen



years—and shows at first the joy in life that Bertha did when love comes to her. She, too, compares the influence of love in her life with the rejuvenating effects of spring on the earth. But her character soon becomes forced and unnatural, and in her wild paroxysms of grief, she behaves like a fury, and gives the lie to the charms of pure maidenhood.

In her interview with Lady Milford, who, like Sappho, wishes to see her rival face to face that she may take the measure of her charms, she talks with the wisdom of a philosopher. She is self-contained and ever ready with her answer to all the delusive sophistries of this woman of the world. We remember the bashful timidity of Melitta in the presence of the woman whose lover she has taken. We find no strained artificiality in Grillparzer's portrait.

Lady Milford is a further development of Rahel, the Jewess of Toledo, just as the latter in her turn is modelled on Blanche of Castille. She reveals the sensuality, the love of luxury and personal adornment that Rahel shows, but it is tempered with a fellow-feeling for the sufferings of others, with a consideration, a certain hidden nobility of disposition which the Jewess entirely lacks. She, on the contrary, is totally oblivious to the sufferings she must bring the Queen and to the King's dishonour. Lady Milford refuses the jewels which the Duke sends her, because they are the price of blood. She gives them to pay for bread for the poor and needy. Her influence over the Duke has often been for good.

'I have burst open prison doors,' she says, 'poured oil on troubled waters, brought sinners to judgment, and saved the lost cause of innocence.' Rahel cannot offer any self-defence when she is called before the bar of justice. She used everything merely for self-gratification. Lady Milford refuses to renounce Ferdinand in the selfishness of her love, as Rahel refused to forego the favour of the King, but in the end she surrenders her claim when Luise brings her to a sense of her wrongdoing.

From the study of these characters of Grillparzer we would unhesitatingly maintain his right to be recognised side by side with Shakespeare, and even on a higher plane than Goethe and Schiller, as an authentic oracle of truth in the great world of women.

For modern womanhood Grillparzer's claim is even greater



than Shakespeare's, for all his female characters testify to the fact that wisdom and intellect in women influenced him more than mere loveliness.

In his poem *Jugenderinnerungen*, intellect is one of the necessary attributes of the lady of his choice, and although in Ottokar's *Glück und Ende* the women are only episodes, the Queen says of Bertha : ' She is not evil, only foolish and of weak brain.' He has offered a new psychological study of them. His women fail in their struggle with life, not because the conflict is too great, but because their morbid imaginations weaken their courage and fighting force.

Grillparzer has not become a great national poet. There are limitations to his genius in the building up of a plot, but none to his understanding of womanhood. He has gauged the deepest recesses of a woman's heart, and has given to the world a series of portraits whose essential features will remain true for all eternity.



NORMAN EARTHWORKS NEAR ABERYSTWYTH

BY

FRANK S. WRIGHT





## NORMAN EARTHWORKS NEAR ABERYSTWYTH

BETWEEN Llanychaiarn and the sea the river Ystwyth forms a loop, on the concave western side of which stands a hill that rises to a height of 240 feet. Between this rising ground on the one bank, and the steeply sloping sides of Pen Dinas on the other, the river flows along a typical broad, flat-bottomed valley of partly glacial origin—an old sea gulf floored by boulder clay—and ice action is further exemplified by the gently rounded contours of the neighbouring hills. Near the church of St. Llwlchhaiarn, where the roadway along the river's western bank has been cut into the slope of this hill, its formation is clearly seen to consist of boulder clay bearing pebbles *in situ*. In this locality are encountered such names as 'Tan-y-Castell'—below the castle—'Tan-y-Castell bâch,' 'Tan-y-Castell Bridge,' etc., seeming to denote the presence in the vicinity of some form of fortification, and a glance at the Ordnance Survey map of the district strengthens this conclusion with its brief legend, 'Camp (remains of).'

On examination the earthwork so styled proves in reality to be a large and particularly well-preserved example of a Norman fortress of the mount and bailey type. Taking into consideration the difficulty of noting in a limited space of time all the details of these great structures, what follows purports to be a description of its present plan and of the site it occupies, and also of those of the related fortifications of Castell Stradpeithyll and Castell Gwallter.

First let us examine the hill at the summit of which it is placed, whence, as in the case of many early military works, a very comprehensive view of the surrounding country is obtained, and, in this case, of the sea also. Strategically considered the position is a strong one.

To the east the ground slopes away rapidly towards the Ystwyth, and all along this side it is thickly wooded from base to summit. This slope is continued around to the north-west interrupted only by a ridge of gentler gradient continuing in a

northerly direction. Towards the south-west also the slope is easier, and along it lies the original way up to the fortress, where an outcrop of rock is visible. Along the west the gradient is still less, and here also the ground is quite open.

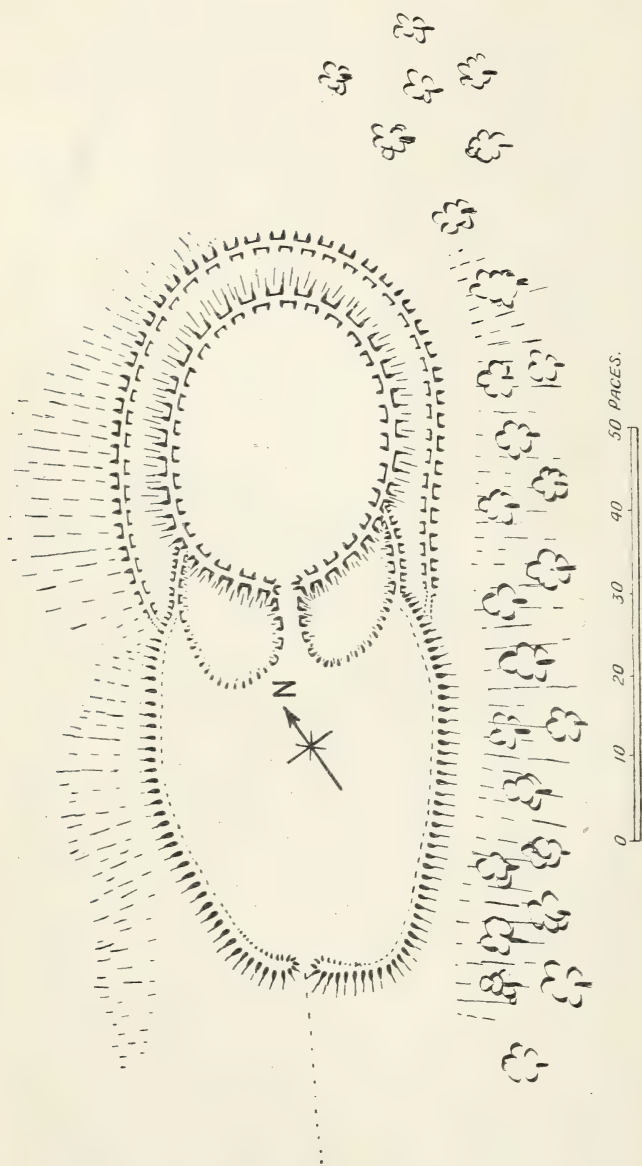
The local geographical conditions at the time of this castle's erection must have been somewhat as follows:—The broad and level valley—narrowing, of course, upstream—must have been an almost impassable swamp, with the slopes wooded or otherwise according as they were or were not affected by water. Even at the present time a large amount of water is retained upon the level surface of the surrounding fields for long periods during winter. Protection from the sea is afforded this valley by a storm beach, through which the river formerly entered the sea somewhat to the south of its present outlet, the latter channel through the rock having been cut early in the nineteenth century. Its banks have been artificially strengthened, while the storm beach has grown up quite naturally along its seaward slope. This earlier outlet must have sometimes impeded the river's egress, especially during flood time, when a great quantity of *débris* further choked it and caused its waters to overflow their channel. It is doubtful, however, whether tidal influence ever in human times extended far upstream in the Ystwyth.

In such conditions as those just described the human population must necessarily have been sparse, living a pastoral and agricultural life on the hill slopes, near the foot of which dense woodland conditions still prevailed. The upper limit of the woodland had gradually been pushed down by the pasturing of sheep on the hillsides. In any case the marsh afforded an admirable natural defence along the north and east of the hill, and in the case of fortresses with such a small garrison as this type must have possessed, and situated in such a difficult country, any natural defence would be utilised. Access to the ford that exists just below, and to the east of the castell, was probably gained along the river bank, and the existence of a bridge is also mentioned in the earliest historical reference to the fortress.

Apart from its easy defensibility, the choice of this site for erecting a fortification was probably determined by several factors, chief of which was its domination of the ancient South Road, which passes the church of St. Llwdchaiarn, and crosses the river by means of the ford or bridge above located. A curious old

coloured map of 'Radnor, Brecknock, Cardigan and Caermarden,' dated 1573, indicates plainly this ancient way passing through Llanychaiarn, 'Llanrusted, Aberarthe,' etc., with fords or bridges over, among others, the rivers Ystwyth and Wyre. From Llanychaiarn ford or bridge the road went northwards *via* Rhydyfelin to Llanbadarn Fawr, and thence on to Llanfihangel (Castell Gwallter). Llanbadarn Fawr was the first important valley settlement near the mouth of the Rheidol, and has been an important place from remote times. In the Rheidol valley the conditions were similar to, or worse than, those prevailing in that of the Ystwyth, tidal influence extending further upstream, and turning the lower parts of this valley near the sea into a desolate marsh devoid of land vegetation. From this stood out as islands the hill where the ruins of the later stone castle still stand, and Buarth Mawr. The Rheidol had one of its outlets near Constitution Hill, arriving thither by way of the modern Plas Crug and Queen's Road, Aberystwyth. The marsh was drained when the increasing size of the town spreading around the stone castle necessitated the turning of the Rheidol into its present channel. The date when this work was accomplished is unknown. Meanwhile the growing town, the nucleus around which the modern Aberystwyth has been built, was known as 'Llanbadarn Gaerog'—the Fortified Llanbadarn—later assuming its present name, which meanwhile, presumably, had been transferred from the Tan-y-Bwlch castle to its stone successor at the mouth of the Rheidol.

Just opposite St. Llŵychaiarn churchyard is a private roadway, and some little distance along this a track, leading in a northeasterly direction, brings one to the old entry into the fortress, which is situated approximately at the southern end of the base-court. On either side of this entrance the vallum is piled up to form screens for its better protection, and this vallum, though much obliterated in places, can be traced following the edge of the bailey; it eventually joins on to the counterscarp of that surrounding the fosse, just to the east and west of the inclined way into the motte. In plan the whole defences resemble the figure 8, the base-court forming its lower, and slightly larger, portion. Connection between the mount and the base-court is afforded by means of an inclined pathway through the rampart encircling the flat platform of the mount, this being a somewhat unusual feature. Communication between the inner citadel and



## CASTELL ABER-YSTWYTH

*TAN-Y-BWLCH. ABERYSTWYTH.  
JAN<sup>y</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1912.*

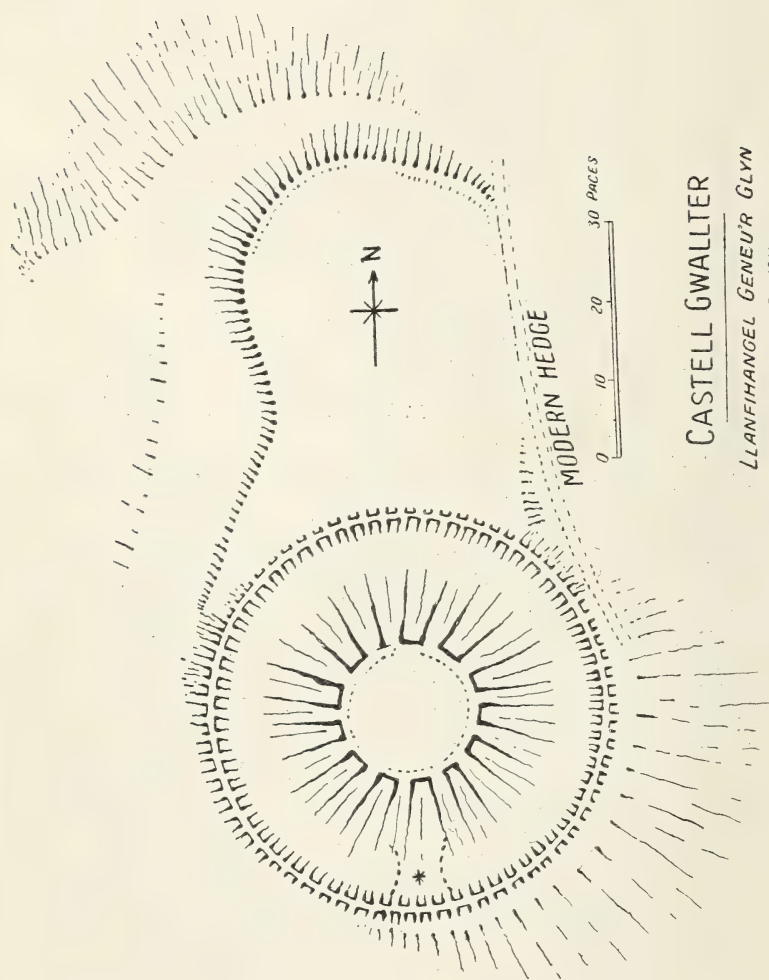


the outer world was effected usually by means of a narrow bridge of wood. On either side of this entrance the ground slopes away, forming two depressions—that on the east being rather deep—both within the outer defences. Their function was probably protective, and both they and the screens, formed where the inclined path pierces the vallum surrounding the platform perhaps indicate that this pathway's erection was coincident with that of the rest of the defences. Traces of the shallow fosse around the bailey are still discernible: it was formed by removing the soil used in erecting its rampart. The motte's summit is somewhat ovoid in plan, and is enclosed by a very complete rampart: the fosse that surrounds its base is very well defined, especially on the west, the vallum forming this fosse becoming slighter on the east, where the gradient is steeper.

Where the motte has been cut into recently, it is seen to consist of 'made' earth, which is not suitable for bearing heavy masonry, and there is no record of the discovery of any such here. Its keep was the usual wooden tower or 'bretasche' common to forts of this type.

There is also a motte and bailey fortress above the village of Llanfihangel Geneu'r Glyn.

This fortress is situated on practically flat ground, where an outcrop of rock seems to have been utilised in building its mount. The mount rises steeply from its fosse, in which are to be found traces of water: it is surrounded by a formidable and well-preserved rampart. A raised pathway across the fosse connects the south of the mount with the top of the rampart, but this may be of later date than the rest of the earthwork. All trace of the more perishable, because slighter, vallum once surrounding the platform of the motte has now disappeared. The base-court is much lower than the motte; it is fairly level and somewhat steep-sided, and joins at its southern end the counterscarp of the vallum which surrounds the mount. At its northern end the slope is steep, and here may still be detected traces of the parapet that once defended its edge. Its eastern side is much mutilated, but probably the modern hedge that runs along it follows in the main the direction of the old defences. Along the west and outside the fortress, the ground appears to be scarped and levelled to some extent. Where the original way into the bailey was situated is not now apparent, but it probably faced towards the east.



CASTELL GWALLIER

LLANFIHANGEL GENEU'R GLYN

APRIL 13<sup>TH</sup> 1911.

\* (Modern?) Pathway

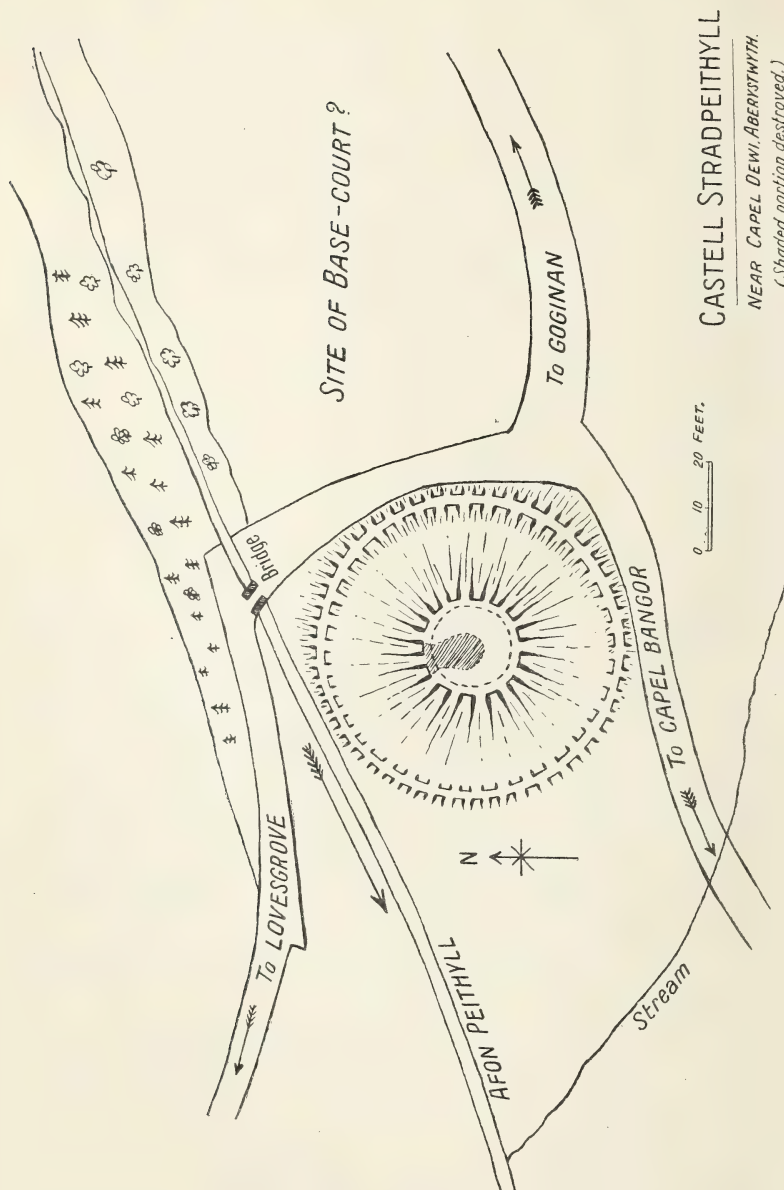
On the southern bank of the Afon Peithyll—a tributary of the Clarach stream—about two miles east of Capel Dewi, is found a heavily moated mound. It is situated where the road from Goginan and the interior branches and leads on to Capel Bangor (south), and Bow Street and Llanfihangel (west, etc.). This mound is recorded as a tumulus on the map, and in the neighbourhood the bridge that crosses the stream just outside, and to the north of its vallum, is known as 'Rhyd-y-Domen'—the Ford of the Mound. The height of this hillock, its steepness, the rock outcrop made use of in its construction, and the great size and depth of its moat, are all inconsistent with its supposed sepulchral character. It is, in fact, the much mutilated site of Stradpeithyll castell, a Norman motte and bailey fortress. [After identifying this motte, I have found that it is briefly described in Mrs. Ella S. Armitage's recent book on Norman fortresses.]

The motte rises steeply from the fosse, but is much destroyed on the north-west by a large excavation, which is explained in the locality as having been made by a local doctor during his search for 'the pot of gold that is hidden in the interior of the hillock.' At the N.N.E. and near the floor of the fosse, the rock of which the mount is partly formed can be seen. The small size of the platform proves it to have been but a small fortress at any time. From the north along the east towards the south the vallum surrounding the fosse is very formidable and steep, having here been formed by excavation: from the north along the west towards the south the vallum is much worn, though well-defined. On the south and east its counterscarp forms the bank along the roadside. Just outside the vallum runs the Peithyll, and, in such a situation the moat probably contained water, indeed slight indications of its presence are still found there. Though all trace of the base-court has been destroyed, it must have existed to the east of the motte, this ground being almost level with the vallum surrounding the fosse.

Following are given some approximate dimensions of the three earthworks, the measurements being in paces—approximately yards—unless otherwise stated.

#### Castell Aber-Ystwyth, Tan-y-Bwlch

**Motte:** height above floor of fosse varies between 16-18 feet on the E. to 20 feet on the N.N.W. and W.; inside





height of its vallum from floor of platform from 4·7 feet, its circumference being 100 paces. Diameter of fosse in places, 15 feet. Diameter of platform N. and S. 29 paces, E. and W. 27 paces.

Bailey : length, N.E. and S.W. 40 paces ; breadth, near inclined way into motte. N.W. and S.E. 36 paces. Height above ground level, 10-20 feet, the latter being reached at the S.E.

Castell Gwallter (=Walter), Llanfihangel Geneu'r Glyn

Motte : height from within fosse 23-25 feet—steep. Diameter of platform, 30-36 feet. Height of rampart from floor of fosse, 12-14 feet.

Bailey : length, N. and S. 130 feet ; height above ground level varying between 6-12 feet.

Castell Stradpeithyll, near Gallt Fadog

Motte : circumference of base of motte, 63 paces ; diameter platform, 22 feet. Height of motte above floor of fosse, 20 feet, of vallum to E. of motte 18-20 feet. Height of rampart above roadway, E. and S. of motte, from 6-4 feet.

Bailey : destroyed.

The motte and bailey type of fortress in Wales generally seems to belong to an early stage in the Normans' attempts to consolidate their hold over a district : at such a stage the guarding of the lines of communication with some base is the all-important matter, whether for advances, retreats, or reinforcements. They also had to be kept open for forwarding information to the base of operations, which was in Wales for some time situated at Ystrad Meurig. Proceeding thence northwards we find castles situated at Tan-y-Bwlch, Llanfihangel, and on the Afon Peithyll, near Capel Dewi. One line ran from north to south in Cardiganshire, and was guarded by two of the fortresses just mentioned, that of Stradpeithyll probably safeguarding the road from Goginan and the interior to Capel Bangor, Bow Street and Llanfihangel. Castell Gwallter is situated in a commanding position to the east of Llanfihangel Geneu'r Glyn, where the low-lying land narrowed (Llanfihangel to Bow Street), and it guarded

the line of communication from the north and north-east (now Taliesin, Tre'r ddol, etc., and on to Machynlleth), towards Aberystwyth. The Tan-y-Bwlch castle described above seemingly guarded the narrow neck through which the Ystwyth passes, and the crucial point where the road crossed the river on its way southward over the moorland downs towards Llanrhystyd. The positions of these two fortresses command extensive views both of the lines of communication and of the neighbouring hills, and they seem to be closely related to these ways. They doubtless served as outposts and stations for the collecting and forwarding of news to the base.

The following is a brief summary of the history of these fortresses, so far as it is known. The first historical allusion to the Tan-y-Bwlch castle is found in the Rolls edition of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, where mention is made of a hill and castle, the location and description of which agree in all essentials with those described at the commencement of this account. The existence of a bridge across the Ystwyth is also noted there. This fortress was built in 1110 by Gilbert Fitz Richard (Strongbow), the first Norman lord of Ceredigion, to whom had been granted by Henry I. the lands of the native chieftain, Cadwgan ab Bleddyn : it was one of several castles built by Gilbert to confirm his hold over his lands. Those of Stradpeithyll and Llanfihangel formed part of the scheme.

In 1113 the country near Aberystwyth was devastated by Gruffydd, son of Rhys, who surrounded and overpowered the castle of Razo [variously called Razon, Rawlf and Ralph], Gilbert's steward, which was situated at Ystrad Peithyll, burnt it and slew its garrison. Razo himself, however, escaped to Aberystwyth castle. Gruffydd's army encamped for that night at 'Glasgrug, about a mile from the church of St. Padarn.' On the following morning they seem to have made a 'demonstration' before Aberystwyth castle, but Razo, its castellan, 'moved with sorrow for his men and his loss, and trembling with fear, sent messengers by night to the neighbouring castle of Ystrad Meurig,' imploring the garrison of that place to come to his aid. The *Brut* gives a graphic description of the assault of the castle, which was unsuccessful.

In 1135 [according to the *Brut*—the *Annales Cambriae* says 1136], Owain and Cadwalader, the sons of Gruffydd, son of Cynan, advanced into Ceredigion with a large army: they

attacked and burnt the castle of Walter de Bec at Llanfihangel, and next turned their attention to that at Aberystwyth, which they burnt to the ground. After committing other depredations 'they returned home.'

Aberystwyth castle seems to have been subsequently rebuilt, and was again destroyed in 1143 at Owain Gwynedd's command, he having interfered in a domestic quarrel in which Cadwalader, his brother, bore no very heroic part. This terminates the history of the Tan-y-Bwlch fortress.

The earthwork at Tan-y-Bwlch is situated on the estate of M. L. Vaughan-Davies, Esq., M.P. for Cardiganshire, by whose courtesy the writer was enabled to pay several visits to the site.

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## A LIST OF RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS FOR THE SESSION 1910-11

BY MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE STAFF

A Handbook to Aberystwyth and the district was published in connection with the Conference of the National Union of Teachers held at Aberystwyth, Easter 1911. This handbook contained numerous articles by members of the College, including :—

*The Geology and Physical Geography of Cardiganshire.* O. T. Jones, M.A., D.Sc., F.G.S.

*The Human Geography of Cardiganshire.* H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., F.R.G.S.

*The Land Flora of Cardiganshire.* R. H. Yapp, M.A., F.L.S.

*The Marine Life of Cardiganshire Shores.* C. L. Walton, H. J. Fleure, F. S. Wright.

*The Castle of Aberystwyth.* E. A. Lewis, D.Sc., M.A.

In addition to these articles containing results of research, there were others by Sir Edward Anwyl and C. Bryner Jones, M.Sc.

Other researches published during the season are :—

*Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindústāni, and Pushtū MSS. of the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Part of Vol. II.* H. Ethé, M.A. (Hon.), Ph. D.

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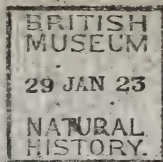












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*Nid byd, byd heb wybodaeth*

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THIS volume of Studies is issued under the auspices of the Senate of the University College of Wales, and with the cordial assent of the Council. It is proposed to issue new volumes at least once a session. They will embody the fruit of research carried out by members of the Teaching Staff and Graduates of the College.

## THE ANGLO-SAXON RIDDLES

(Continued from page 62 Vol. I.)

### REPETITION OF RIDDLE 31, AND BLACKBURN'S THEORY<sup>1</sup> CONCERNING RIDDLE 61

RIDDLE 31 is interesting by reason of its second appearance immediately before that known as the sixty-first. There are some slight differences between the two versions: in the second version 'gemytled' replaces the 'gebysgad' of line 3, 'modge miltsum' appears instead of 'monige mid miltse,' and 'swa ic mongum sceal' instead of 'ær ic monnum sceal' of line 8. The existence of these variations, and the fact that its reappearance is made in quite another part of the MS. strongly suggests that the poem gained a second entrance through the Exeter scribe having received it twice, in differing versions, from different MSS.

The second version is separated from the first sixty riddles by eight short poems of a miscellaneous character. Together with riddle 61, it is divided from riddles 62-95 by the poems usually known as the 'Husband's Message' and the 'Ruin.'

In Thorpe's *Codex* these isolated riddles and the 'Husband's Message' were treated as consisting of three riddles and a 'Fragment,' but Grein, perceiving the manifest continuity of the third 'riddle' and the 'Fragment,' arranged them in his *Bibliothek* (1858) as one poem, which he called 'Botschaft des Gemahls an Seine Frau.'

In all probability Thorpe's second riddle (*i.e.* riddle 61) as well as the third is in reality not a riddle at all, but a portion of the 'Message,' in which the strip of wood on which runes are craved describes and introduces itself before delivering its message. There is a continuity no less remarkable and apparent between the concluding lines of the 61st riddle and the opening lines of the 'Husband's Message,' than between Thorpe's third riddle and his 'Fragment.'

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Blackburn in *Journal of Germanic Philology*, vol. iii. No. 1.

The knife and man's skill have so arranged, says riddle 61 :—

. . . . . þæt ic wið þe sceolde  
 For unc anum twam ærend spræce  
 Abeodan bealdlice swa hit beorna ma  
 Uncre wordcwidas widdor ne mænden

(lines 14-17).

To this succeed quite naturally the opening lines of the first portion of the 'Husband's Message' (originally reckoned by Thorpe as the third riddle of this group) :—

Nu ic on-sundran þe seegan wille

Then, with that delay of the narrative which is so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon poetry, the letter turns once again to speak of its origin, and to describe how it is 'of the tree-kind,' how it grew up 'washed by salt streams,' and how it can deliver a message 'ymb mod-lufan mines frean.' Succeeding this we have the second portion of the 'Message' (styled by Thorpe 'a fragment') which conveys the entreaty that the promises of earlier days should be remembered, and as an earnest of good faith gives the secret signs :—

S and R together, EA, W and M.

If this explanation of 61 be accepted, then a reasonable hypothesis can be framed to account for the reappearance of 31 as the first riddle of this isolated pair : 'As both riddle and letter are represented as uttered by a "beam," it is probable that some one took the whole for a single composition, and wrote it out as such. If, then, the scribe of the Exeter MS. found it thus in some other MS. than that of the riddles it is not strange that he copied it here and thus unwittingly repeated the riddle.'

### RIDDLE 32

IN this riddle a 'monster' of strange build and mien is described :—

wiht wæs no werum on gemonge  
 Sio hæfde wæstum wundorlicran

(lines 4 and 5).

It has feet which sing, but do not walk ; this plurality of 'feet' with the fact that they 'sing' seems to suggest some such musical instrument as the bagpipes.



If this be the answer, the comparison with a singing bird which the terms of the riddle imply is strikingly borne out. The mouthpiece is the bill of the bird, the player fingers the neck, the windbag is the body, and the pipes projecting downwards, the legs.

The twofold function of its music is portrayed :—

- (1) feðegeorn fremman onginne
- (2) oft ȝ gelome eorlum on gemonge  
siteð æt symble.

### RIDDLE 33

A RIDDLE which bears some slight resemblance to the thirteenth Aenigma of Symposius. The 'ship' is, however, somewhat differently treated in the Anglo-Saxon poem, and this seems to preclude its having any direct relation to the Latin enigma. The riddle touches the Latin only slightly and doubtfully. It is improbable, as Prehn<sup>1</sup> seems to suggest, that the 'filia' in the epithet 'formosae filia silvae,' has suggested the ascription of limbs to the ship. Such 'korperteile' form part of a characteristic mode of presenting the riddle subject. They appear in several other riddles.

There is certainly some likeness in fundamental idea between the 'feror' of Symposius, and the Anglo-Saxon line :—

Grindan wið greote, giellende faran,

and also between 'velox' and the 'swiðe feran,' but this is scarcely sufficient to establish a direct relation between the two poems, especially in view of the fact that while the 'ship' of Symposius is filled with mén, that of the Saxon riddle

fere foddurwelan, folsipe dreoge

Prehn's idea that 'faran ofer feldas' seems to suggest tracts of inundated country appears unwarranted and unnecessary. 'Feldas' might equally well be applied to low-lying, far-stretching foreshore which is covered by the tide. The ship would come to land on the flood tide; the phrase 'grindan wið greot' is much more in keeping with the sea-shore than with more peaceful inland inundated tracts.

<sup>1</sup> Prehn, *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 202,

## RIDDLE 34

THE 'iceberg' is the subject of this riddle. The poem is marked by distinctively northern imagery, and is full of suggestions of turbulence and storm.

The iceberg approaches like a Viking raider, shrieking out gruesomely ere his ship touches land—nothing can withstand its fierce onset :—

. . . bordweallas grof  
heard ȝ hiðende . . .

The true riddle element in the poem is to be found in lines 9, 10, 11. Here the poet is using the old ice problem which appears in Symposius ('Glacies'), Tatwine ('de nive grandine et glacie'), in the *Flores* of Bede<sup>1</sup> ('quid est quod mater me genuit et mox eadem gignetur a me ?') and in humbler folk-riddle form in the Holme MS. :<sup>2</sup>—

'I my mother brought me forth when shortly I her daughter  
brought me forth again.' (Water that is made ice).

In this 34th riddle we seem to have an example of a highly descriptive and poetical introduction specially written to decorate and extend a widespread and well-known puzzle. In this case it is quite easy to detach the more poetic prologue, and to see how line 8 has been introduced to accommodate what is in reality a quoted riddle.

## RIDDLE 35

THIS riddle forms a pleasant simple poem, with imagery of the gentle type. It speaks of the feeding of cattle and of the plants which the rake leaves firmly rooted in order that they may

beorhtne blican blowan ȝ growan.

Yet there is a suggestion of the old rugged strength in line 4—the rake is a 'plunderer' who 'hipeð holdlice,' gathering as its 'booty' the stalks that are not firm.

Prehn<sup>3</sup> asserts that Symposius's sixtieth enigma 'de serra' is 'die Mutter der vorliegenden Bearbeitung von Rechen.' The

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. xc., p. 539, ff. .

<sup>2</sup> Harleian MS., 1960.

<sup>3</sup> Prehn, *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 206.

only certain point of resemblance between the two riddles seems to be found in :—

Dentibus innumeris sum toto corpore plena,

and the Anglo-Saxon :—

hafað fela toþa.

This is scarcely sufficient to prove the dependence of one riddle upon the other. The coincidence may easily be due to the fact that 'teeth' are the most striking characteristic of each implement, and therefore could scarcely miss the notice of any one taking either subject as a riddle theme.

#### RIDDLE 36

THERE are two versions of this riddle, one in West-Saxon in the Exeter Book, and one occurring after the Latin riddles of Symposius and Aldhelm at the end of a MS. which is in the university library at Leyden ; this latter is written in a continental hand of the ninth century, and is in the Northumbrian dialect. The two versions display some slight variations : the West-Saxon 'scriðeþ' appears in place of the Northumbrian 'scelfæð' in line 7 ; in line 11 we have the West-Saxon

Wile mec mon hwæpre seþeah wide ofer eorþan,

for the Northumbrian

Uil mec hudræ suæ ðeh uidæ ofær 3orða.

The greatest difference, however, lies in the 'Schluss-formeln.' These are entirely different. Perhaps the 'Schluss-formel' is not an organic portion of the riddle and might have been added in order to make a scholarly enigma fall into line with the ways of the folk-riddle.

The riddle bears a remarkable likeness to Aldhelm's seven-lined enigma, 'De lorica.' The ideas upon which the first eight lines of the Anglo-Saxon riddle are built are to be found in the first three lines of Aldhelm's riddle. Compared with the Latin, the Saxon rendering is marked by a decorative profusion of imagery and a lingering upon ideas which seem specially to appeal to the Teutonic temper. As is shown both by this and by another riddle, the resounding loom seemed to the mind of the Saxon

to have affinities with the hard strife of warfare, and its clash and stir is finely portrayed in the hurried rhythm of the lines :—

Wundene me ne beoð wefle, ne ic wearp hafu  
ne þurh þreata geþræcu þræd me ne hlimmeð  
ne aet me, hrutende, hrisil scribeð,  
ne mec ohwonan sceal amas cnyssan.

Aldhelm presents the same idea directly and tersely in the somewhat unemotional

Licia nulla trahunt nec garrula fila resultant.

The Saxon version is enriched by an idea quite unrepresented in Aldhelm :—

Wyrmes nec ne awæfan wyrda cræftum.

The silkworms weave by the skill given to them *by the weirds*—this takes us far back into Teutonic paganism.

### RIDDLE 37

A RIDDLE which presents several difficulties and obscurities. It is not at all clear that we have not here two riddles, for the ‘Saga hwæt hio wære’ of line 8 seems to mark a definite conclusion. There are two objections, however, which can be urged against considering the portion following line 8 as a separate riddle :—

1. There is no subject to the verb ‘for’ in line 9 ; in the opening lines of a riddle we almost expect some such preliminary designation of the subject as ‘the wondrous thing,’ or ‘the strange being,’ or a reference to it as ‘ic.’ Here, however, an unexpressed ‘it’ is evidently the subject, and very probably refers to the queer being mentioned in the previous six lines.
2. Three of the beings to whom ‘it’ is likened in lines 9-12 are also mentioned in lines 1-8. This seems to suggest continuity.

Grein<sup>1</sup> supposed that ‘flodwegas’ (line 9) was an error for ‘foldwegas’ ; though not warranted by the MS., the change was made possibly with the idea of removing one of the strongest objections against the unity of the passage as it now stands.

<sup>1</sup> Grein, *Bibliothek der aqs : Poesie, Gottingen* (1857).



Dietrich suggested, as the solution of the first eight lines, 'the pregnant sow,' while Trautmann has proposed 'ship' as the solution of the supposed second riddle; the best suggestion, however, comes from Tupper, who, basing his conjecture on the fact that 'porcus' may mean both 'sow' and 'dolphin,' supposes 'porcus' in this double sense to be the true solution.

Certainly 'pregnant sow' as the solution of lines 1-8 has much to commend it. It is a very widespread motive in riddle literature. The 32nd old Norse riddle<sup>1</sup> in the Hervara Saga is similar, and has as its solution, 'the sow with nine young'; Ohlert<sup>2</sup> finds evidence of the same riddle in *Hesiod*; the Randle Holme<sup>3</sup> riddle collection contains one on the same theme concerning a being who has '10 tayls, 40 feet, 10 heads and four score nails.' Though Prehn thinks that the Saxon riddle is composed from elements suggested by the enigmas of Symposius and Aldhelm,<sup>4</sup> it seems most likely that we have in reality a folk-puzzle. It is marked as such by its bare and artless presentation, as well as by its somewhat formal opening. If Trautmann's interpretation of the single letters introduced be correct, it is a 'Volksrätsel' slightly modified by the strange introduction of learned material: 'homo mulier,' 'equus,' the Latin equivalent of the words which they follow.

There would seem to be a discrepancy in the terms of the riddle. Surely there would be as many ears as eyes; only two, however, are mentioned, whereas, strangely enough, the true number of eyes is given. Either the scribe has committed a gross blunder in copying, or the riddle is still outwitting us.

#### RIDDLE 38

DIETRICH'S first solution, 'Wagon,'<sup>5</sup> satisfies very ingeniously all the statements in the poem with the exception of that in the last line. His second solution, 'blacksmith's bellows,'<sup>6</sup> seems completely successful, and is supported by the occurrence of other riddles on the same theme which contain some of the chief

<sup>1</sup> Heusler, 'Die Altnordischen Rätsel,' *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, Heft ii. 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Ohlert, *Rätsel und Gesellschaftspiele der alten Griechen*. Berlin, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> Harleian MS., 1960.

<sup>4</sup> Aldhelm's 'De scrofa pregnante,' also 'De puerpera geminos enixa'; Symposius' 'Mulier quae geminos parit.'

<sup>5</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, xii.

elements which make up the Anglo-Saxon riddle, *e.g.* the second line in Aldhelm's 'De poliadis':—

Non est vita mihi cum sint spiracula vitae ;

and the second and third lines of Symposius' 'De follis':—

Non ego continuo morior, dum spiritus exit

Nam redit assidue, quamvis et saepe recedat

express the main puzzle elements of the Anglo-Saxon riddle.

Corresponding with Aldhelm's line we have the phrase 'fleah þurh his eage,' while the idea of the continual return of life-breath to the dying one, expressed by Symposius, is contained in the lines:—

. . . him eft cymeð

bot in bosme, blæd biþ aræred.

In spite of this parallelism it is doubtful whether the Saxon riddle is directly dependent on the Latin riddles. In the last line of Aldhelm's enigma we have a note of impatience which, had Aldhelm's enigma been used, the Saxon would be most likely to adopt and represent as submission to a sad fate:—

Gratia nulla datur mihi, sed capit alter honorem.

This, however, is quite unrepresented in the Anglo-Saxon riddle. It seems most probable that in this case we have folk-material developed independently by both Saxon and Latin poets—the common elements representing the fundamental motives.

#### RIDDLE 39

THIS riddle seems certainly in close correspondence with Eusebius's 'De vitulo.' The complete riddle elements of the Anglo-Saxon poem—the spiriting forth of sustenance, the breaking up of the hills, the binding of men—are also the puzzle elements in Eusebius. Considering this fact, and in view of the apparent confession of dependence contained in line 5:—

Mon maþelode, se þe me geæsgde. . . .

it seems possible that Eusebius is 'die Hauptquelle des angelsächsischen Rätsels . . . da sowohl der Bau wie auch der Wortlaut der Dichtung mit der erwähnten Vorlage in wesentlichen übereinstimmt.' <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prehn, *Komposition und Quellen*, p. 212.

It does not seem at all necessary, however, to suppose that the writer went to Aldhelm's 'De ariete' for the epithet 'wæpned-cynnes.' Considering the subject of the riddle, the epithet lies to hand and is somewhat obvious; surely it need not be, as Prehn seems to think, a rendering of 'armatus rugosis cornibus'—modified so as to be applicable to the smooth horns of the bull.

The poem is happy in its suggestion of the playful exuberance of young animals—'geoguðmyrwe grædig'—and of joy in the beneficence of God, who makes the wells to spring forth for their sustenance.

## RIDDLE 41

THE one riddle in the collection which displays an intimate and absolute dependence upon Aldhelm. It is a phrase for phrase translation of certain portions of 'Aldhelm's riddle,' 'De creatura,' which is used to illustrate the Aenigma Polystichon.' Some few classic words are left untranslated: 'pernix,' 'vulcanus,' 'nardi,' some, however, are attempted, *e.g.* 'Secreta Tonantis' becomes 'deagol þing heah cyninges,' Cyclops becomes 'those old giants.' It is not, however, in entire correspondence with the Latin riddle. In Aldhelm we have some eighty-eight verses, of which only fifty-eight are used by his Saxon translator. For the first forty-four lines the poems run concurrently, then some fifteen lines are passed over—the translation recommencing with Aldhelm's sixtieth verse. After proceeding for eight more lines, there is a return made to the commencement of the omitted portion. The latter portion of Aldhelm's poem is entirely unrepresented. The Anglo-Saxon poem is much more lengthy than the Latin—the Latin attributive adjectives or participles being frequently expanded into subordinate clauses which naturally give a diffuseness to the translation. There are also periphrases and expansions not warranted by the original, but due to the concrete nature of the poet's imagination and vocabulary, *e.g.* the Latin

horridior rhamnis et spretis vilior algis,

becomes in Anglo-Saxon—

ic eom wyrstlicre þonne þes wudu fula  
oððe þis waroð, þe her aworpen ligeþ.

The Latin

Frigidior brumis necnon candente pruina

becomes in Anglo-Saxon

Heardra ic eom ȝ caldra þonne se hearda forst  
hrim-heoru grimma þonne he to hrusan cymeð.

The Latin

Altior en caelo rimor secreta Tonantis  
Et tamen inferior terris, tetra Tartara cerno,

becomes in Anglo-Saxon

Hyrre ic eom heofone ; hateð mec heahecyning  
his deagol þing dyre bihealdan  
Eac ic under eorðan eal sceawige  
Wom wrað-scraftu, wraðra gæsta.

The generalised Latin, 'gravior plumbo,' is visualised and made particular in 'þonne unlytel leades clympre'; while 'pondera scopulorum' receives a distinctively Teutonic colouring in 'Se hara stan.'

Thus, though longer, the Saxon version is much more vivid in its imagery than the Latin.

The cumulative working which the theme receives entirely eliminates the riddle nature of the poem ; it is plainly the laboured product of learning, and apart from the points noticed is of small literary interest.

#### RIDDLE 42

BOTH obscure and imperfect. Dietrich<sup>1</sup> interpreted 'moddor' as 'the earth,' and Prehn, accepting and developing this suggestion, was inclined to consider the earth and her kindly fruits as the solution. To Prehn the riddle formed a counterpart and contrast to that on the iceberg : in one the poet celebrates the *earth* as the mother of all good things ; in the other the *sea* as direful and wicked.

Trautmann has suggested 'fire.' Both these solutions, however, fail to satisfy the term 'sweartestan,' and Tupper (inspired by a riddle in the *Flores* of Bede, which speaks of 'wisdom' as a mother suckling many children, and by the occurrence of a similar comparison in the first complete line of the riddle) has suggested that we have in the Anglo-Saxon riddle a repetition and a re-working of the same theme. This solution at least offers a reasonable explanation of 'sweartestan'—the 'black things'

<sup>1</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.



obviously being 'letters.' In accepting this, however, we lose that contact with earth and elemental things which we would fain keep, and what appears, when applied to earth, so simply and so naïvely said :—

Ne magon we her in eorðan owiht lifgan  
Nymðe we brucen, þæs þa bearn doð

takes on a moralising tone as the advice of cloistral learning to those whom it seeks to humanise.

## RIDDLE 43

ONE of the grosser riddles. With the aid of the runes and the first two lines the subject is not far to seek. It would prove acceptable to a coarse audience, more for its theme than for its ingenuity as a puzzle. The runes which solve this riddle are given by their word translations, and not by symbols.

## RIDDLE 44

THE mystical union of body and soul is the theme of this riddle, and they are presented in the relationship of thane and lord. Soul and body are 'brothers,' there should be no strife between them, for the body's welfare contributes to that of the soul.

It is interesting to note that Shakespeare's one hundred and forty-sixth sonnet repeats the two ideas upon which the Anglo-Saxon riddle is essentially based :—

- (a) The body is the 'mansion' of the soul (line 6).
- (b) Soul and body are as lord and servant.

While, however, in the riddle there is a marked refusal of the ascetic attitude, the sonnet tells how the soul, for its own subsequent interests, must renounce all care for the body :—

Let that (*i.e.* the body) pine to aggravate thy (the soul's) store ;  
Buy terms divine, in selling hours of dross.

Apart from the subject, and the idea that the body is the temporary dwelling of the soul, there is little in common with Eusebius's enigma, 'de animo.' The tender note of the dependence of soul and body upon each other belongs exclusively to the Anglo-Saxon riddle, and serves to add a touch of poetry to what in the Latin enigma is a mere barren conceit.

## RIDDLES 45, 46, 55, AND 63

THESE are all riddles which are coarsely suggestive ; they all seem to refer with a rude kind of joy to sexual relationships. They are quite unrelated to the Latin riddle collections, and it seems quite possible, as Tupper has suggested, that they are re-workings of folk-riddles. Probably their piquancy was not impaired by the fact that innocent solutions can be found for them. It is quite likely that the questioner's triumph consisted less in puzzling his hearer than in reproaching the pruriency of his answer by refuting it with some purer, though more insipid, solution.

45. Dietrich <sup>1</sup> has suggested both 'key' and 'dagger-sheath.'  
Trautmann <sup>2</sup> supported the 'key' solution.

46. Dietrich <sup>1</sup> offers 'bees,' while Herzfeld <sup>1</sup> and Trautmann <sup>2</sup> suggest 'dough.'

55. Dietrich <sup>3</sup> styles this 'das stärkste an Zweideutigkeit,' and conjectures 'baker's boy and baking-oven.'

63. 'Gimlet,' 'foot and shoe,' are solutions given by Dietrich ; <sup>4</sup>  
Trautmann <sup>2</sup> offers 'poker.'

## RIDDLE 47

THIS is a riddle of a type still popular—the puzzle in relationship. It marks the early absorption of scriptural lore, but is quite lacking in any literary merit. Two answers have been proposed :—

(i) By T. Wright : <sup>3</sup>—Lot, his two daughters, and their two sons.

(ii) By Conybeare : <sup>4</sup>—Adam and Eve, two of their sons, and one daughter.

There is apparently a play upon the wider and narrower meanings of 'wif' as 'woman' and 'spouse,' for the two daughters are, in (i.) the wives of Lot, and in (ii.) Eve and her daughter. On the whole, Conybeare's seems the better, for, by reckoning Eve as 'wife,' 'sister,' and 'daughter' of Adam, all the relationships mentioned, including that of 'Eam ⁊ nefa' are satisfied ; this latter phrase presents difficulty if Wright's solution be

<sup>1</sup> F. Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xi. and xii.

<sup>2</sup> M. Trautmann, *Anglia*, Beiblatt. v.

<sup>3</sup> Wright, *Biographia Literaria Britannica*, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 212.

accepted. In support of Wright's solution, it may be said that there are evidences<sup>1</sup> of a popular 'Lot' riddle in Reusner's collection of the riddles of Loricinus Hadamarius, and also in the Holme MSS :<sup>2</sup> —

Two sisters stand on a tomb :  
Thus bewail the dead therein :  
' Alas, here lies our mother's husband,  
Our husband's and our children's father,  
And our father.' Who can this be ?

## RIDDLE 48

THE witless things which passed their existence amid a world of learning, but yet uninfluenced by it, seem to have provided an especially pleasing paradox to our early poets, *e.g.* Aldhelm has celebrated the book-chest :—

Nunc mea divinis complentur viscera verbis.  
At non ex iisdem nequeo cognoscere quicquam.

Symposius, the moth :—

In libris vixi . . . nec quid sit littera novi.

Eusebius, 'sceta,—

In me multigera sapientia constat abunde  
Nec tamen illud scire, quid est sapientia possum.

It seems probable that since the theme is one peculiar to the life of the school or monastery, where alone books were familiar, the Saxon treatment can scarcely have been influenced by oral tradition or any previously existing folk-riddle. In view, then, of the precise correspondence of motive in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon riddles, it is only reasonable to suppose that the one was wholly inspired by the other.

In the Anglo-Saxon riddle we have, however, no mere translation. The material common to Symposius receives the addition of an exordium characteristic of the riddle :—

. . . me þæt þuhte  
Wrætlicu wyrd, þa ic þæt wundor gefrægn,

and the picturesque expansion which likens the moth to a 'þeof in þystro' who not only devours 'þrymfæste cwide' (noblest of sayings), but also 'þæs strangan staþol' (the strong binding).

In one of the Holme riddles<sup>3</sup> we have a much nearer parallel

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by F. Tupper, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xviii. No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Harleian MS., 1960.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

to Symposium. What is virtually a literal translation of the Latin riddle has become, with the addition of a 'Schluss-formel,' a people's riddle :—

Learning doth feed me, yet I know no letter ;  
 I have lived among books, yet am not the better ;  
 I have eaten the muses, yet I know not a verse ;  
 What student that is, I bid you rehearse.

#### RIDDLES 49 AND 60

BOTH riddles obviously deal with the ritual of worship and its solemn symbolism ; to some extent the old heathen phraseology persists—heaven is 'godes ealdorburg,' and, much like the mead cup, the object described was passed about 'by the hands of the proud ones.' There is sufficient similarity between the two poems to warrant the assumption that they are both written upon the same theme. In both the object denoted is silent and yet mysteriously speaks to the hearts of men ; in both, too, it makes intercession to the 'preserving god,' it causes men to think of their souls' welfare (49, ll. 7 and 8), and to bring vividly to mind their Lord (60, ll. 7 and 8) ; in both it is spoken of as a ring. What the object is is somewhat obscure ; it is something which brings forcibly home to the worshippers the wounds of Christ, the fact of salvation, and the necessity of it. It seems most satisfying to translate 'hring' as 'the round one,' and then to interpret it as 'chalice.' The chalice would contain the sacramental wine, which was the actual blood of Christ, and so would be likely to bring into mind (60, l. 7)—before the very eyes (60, l. 9)—the figure and name of our Lord. The phrases 'wylted and wended' (60, l. 19), 'se þe wende wriðan' (60, l. 5) will thus refer to the chalice being handed about first to one and then to another, and the hidden significance of the ceremony will find mention in 60, ll. 9 and 10, and in 49, ll. 6 and 7—God is brought before man's eyes :—

. . . gif þæs æþlan  
 goldes tacen ongretan cuðe,

and

Ryne ongretan readan goldes  
 guman galdorewide . . .



## RIDDLE 50

For reasons similar to those mentioned in the note on riddle 48 this riddle seems to draw its motive direct from a Latin source, Aldhelm's 'De arca libraria.' Its main interest, however, lies in the elaboration which Aldhelm's material has undergone. Aldhelm's riddle is entirely given up to the mere antithesis of an abundance of books and a lack of understanding on the part of the bookchest; the Saxon riddle is marked by much circumstantial detail, and a colouring derived from early monastic life.

The heavy dark brown bookchest—the dark-visaged Celt who carries the volumes to and fro—the chest whose 'mouth' he periodically feeds with them—the priceless treasures of the books which —

. . . æplingas oft wilniað  
Cyningas ȝ cwene'

are far more vivid than anything which Aldhelm's somewhat colourless verse contains.

If riddles 48 and 50 are direct versions from the Latin, made for oral use and popular entertainment, it is noteworthy how carefully all learned phraseology is avoided. In riddle 48 the 'musas' mentioned by Symphosius are omitted altogether; while in the present riddle, instead of the hapless fate of unrewarded service to which the Parcae have adjudged the chest, a stronger appeal to popular pity is made by the more homely, if less classic; phrase:—

the deaf, dumb ignorant one.

## RIDDLE 51

DIETRICH<sup>1</sup> suggested 'dog'—Herzfeld<sup>2</sup> and Trautmann<sup>3</sup> suggest 'fire.' Into the last line it is not difficult to read the sentiment, 'Fire is a good servant, but a bad master'; this seems to be all that can be said for the 'fire' solution. On the other hand, lines 9 and 10 are equally true of a dog which has a snappish and a surly temper, and lines 4 and 5, 'Forstrangne oft wif hine wrið' seem much more suitable to 'dog' than to 'fire.'

To Aldhelm's 'De molosso,' with which both Dietrich and

<sup>1</sup> Z. f. d. A., xi.

<sup>2</sup> Herzfeld, *Die Rätsel des Exeter-Buchs*. Berlin, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

Prehn connect it, the riddle has some slight resemblance. Aldhelm, however, makes much more of the hound as a warrior pursuing its master's enemies than does the Anglo-Saxon poet; in Aldhelm the dog flees from the lashes which children lay upon it, but in the Anglo-Saxon riddle it is on far better terms with both youths and maidens who :—

. . . mid gemete ryhte  
fede hine fægre . . . (lines 7 and 8).

#### RIDDLE 52

By Dietrich and Prehn this is supposed to be the unspoiled product of Germanic heathen mythology comparable with and parallel to the *Beowulf* passages which describe the dragon; hence 'dragon' has been assumed to be the answer. Prehn, in his attempt to justify this, attempts to connect the riddle with Eusebius's enigma 'De dracone'; but the only points of resemblance the two riddles possess lie in the two lines :—

Corpore vipereas monstra vel cetera turmas  
Reptile sum superans gestantia pondus inerme,

and the Anglo-Saxon phrase 'winnende wiga.' This is surely not sufficient to establish even the possibility of identical solutions, and when it is further considered that there is no mention in the *Beowulf* of 'dark tracks,' of 'diving under water,' of 'directing the way'—all essential and characteristic qualities of the riddle subject—the 'dragon' solution can only be received very doubtfully.

Trautmann's solution of 'pen, three fingers, and arm,' is much more acceptable, though, in order to establish it it seems quite unnecessary to alter the 'fugla framra' of line 4 into 'fugla fultum.' The 'ofer fæted gold' is taken as referring to the decoration of the inkhorn, the 'flying or floating thro' the air' as referring to the passage of the pen from the paper to the inkhorn, the 'diving under the waves' to its being dipped in ink. All this is rendered the more satisfying by the somewhat parallel phrases with which riddle 27 refers to the same theme. There 'ofer brunne brerd' takes the place of 'ofer fæted gold,' and corresponding to 'Swearte wæran lastas' of line 2 there occurs in riddle 27 'Siðade sweart last.' The solution receives still further support in Latin riddle tradition. Tatwine's 'de penna' had already, in the phrase 'vincta tribus,' related the pen and

the three fingers which hold it, while Eusebius's 'De penna,' in the phrase 'vestigia tetra reliquens,' had given precedent for those 'dark tracks' to which the English riddles refer.

## RIDDLE 53

DIETRICH<sup>1</sup> thought the subject to be 'two pails suspended from a servant's shoulder'; Grein<sup>2</sup> modified this by suggesting the 'pails in a draw well'; later opinion seems to waver between 'flail,' proposed by Trautmann and 'yoked oxen' by Walz.

Dietrich's solution is scarcely compatible with what is said of the servant :—

para oðrum wæs an getenge  
wonfah wale.

While Grein's is not convincing because of the inapt reference to the well as 'ræced,' and because two pails, of which one ascends as the other descends, do not appeal to us as being 'bound in tight bonds fettered fast together'; moreover, they could not well be described as 'in ræced fergan,' for one would be ascending as the other descended.

Trautmann's suggestion,<sup>3</sup> 'broom,' seems likely; his later suggestion,<sup>4</sup> 'the flail,' seems, however, by far the best solution yet offered.

The two portions of the flail, the handle and the swingle, bound together with a hinge of leather thong—the 'grievously spiteful one' ('an getenge') who directed their ways are seen to be truthfully enough described as soon as 'flail' is suggested.

Walz's solution,<sup>5</sup> 'a yoke of oxen led into the barn by a slave,' is too easily and literally suited by the terms of the riddle; it is too obvious, and fails to call forth that pleasant surprise which should follow the disclosure of the answer; this solution causes the poem to lose its riddle character, and to become merely a description couched in terms of literal truth.

## RIDDLE 54

THE subject is the 'battering ram,' and the riddle compresses within its narrow limits a complete life-history of its theme. It had a joyous youth on the hillside, it suffered sad strokes of the

<sup>1</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> Grein, *Germania*, x. p. 307, ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, xix. s. 198.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt, v.

<sup>5</sup> *Harvard Studies*, v.



axe, underwent the sharp discipline of manufacture, and then commenced its new career. It has become a pioneer in warfare, and, 'þurh his heafdes mægen,' prepares a way for the inrush of warriors.

Its similarity to Aldhelm's 'De ariete' is slight, and its reputed connection with this enigma doubtful. The ram applying its power by means of its head is after all a somewhat obvious idea, and may well appear in both riddles as a result of mere coincidence of subject. The 'battering-ram' is but casually mentioned in Aldhelm as one species of 'aries'; in the Anglo-Saxon riddle it is the sole theme; the description of the 'battering ram' in its days of nature—a description which forms so considerable a portion of the Anglo-Saxon riddle, and which is so poetically pleasing—finds no parallel in Aldhelm.

#### RIDDLE 56

No riddle is more typical of the way in which the contrasted elements of Christendom and heathendom are found side by side in Early English poetry. The redemptive power of the atoning Christ is mingled with hints of the old heathen ways—the drinking in the hall, the recounting of ancestries, the barbaric joy in cunning decorations of twisted and glittering wire.

Dietrich's first suggested solution was the 'gold-adorned shield.' Unless the shield, however, bore it as a device it could scarcely display the shape of the 'rode-tacn'; the shield, moreover, can scarcely be called a 'weapon,' and the very distinctive epithet, 'wolf-head tree,' is rendered to a great extent meaningless in spite of Dietrich's explanation: <sup>1</sup> 'Indem die Kampfen selbst Kampfwolfe genannt werden.' Dietrich's second suggestion, <sup>2</sup> 'scabbard,' is much better. The sword in its sheath would actually present an 'image of the cross,' and the term 'wolf-head tree' becomes intelligible in the light of riddle 21, in which the sword is made to say:—

. . . fah eom ic wide  
Waepnum awyrged.

Thus the scabbard is the 'wood' in which the 'wolf-head' (exiled one) finds a lodgment, and the 'weapon' of line 12 is the 'gold-hilted sword' of line 14.

<sup>1</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.



## RIDDLE 57

THIS is truly, as Dietrich has said, 'höchst dichterisch.' Trautmann's 'flail' solution would suit, were it not for the references to 'daroðas' and the 'flangeweorca,' which are hardly reconcilable with it. Dietrich's idea<sup>1</sup> that the poem describes the weaving of cloth is much better; the quickly repeated motions of the shuttle can well be likened to the flight of arrows piercing the warp. Shuttle and warp are portrayed in riotous and unceasing strife; the restless shuttle strikes right through the warp with its battle strokes as the threads alternately rise and fall. At length :—

Ic lafe geseah  
Minum hlaforde þær haeleð druncon  
þara flan geweorca on flet beran.

The strange line about the tree bedecked with foliage, near (or under?) which the loom stood, refers to the pastoral surroundings amid which this thing of fierce strife carried on its battlework—the unceasing struggle was waged in a peaceful place under the shade of a green tree.

## RIDDLE 58

THIS riddle is a poem displaying much sympathetic observation, and speaking pleasantly of the ways of insects or birds. 'Gnats'<sup>2</sup> seems a very happy suggestion: gnats are 'little beings'; they appear when poised in multitudes in the air to be dark specks; they are found both in woodlands and among the dwellings of men, and they make a droning sound. Their song, their multitudes, and their diminutive size, have been celebrated by Keats :—

Then in a wailful choir the small gnats mourn  
Among the river shallows, borne aloft,  
Or sinking as the light wind lives or dies.

And in its elements the Anglo-Saxon poem is not unlike this.

'Swallows'<sup>3</sup> and 'starlings'<sup>4</sup> have also been proposed, not altogether unsuitably, as possible solutions. Starlings, however, are neither especially 'black,' nor especially 'little.' Truly Aldhelm has a riddle 'de hirundine,' but it has nothing in common with this poem apart, perhaps, from the line :—

sponte mea fugiens umbrosas quaero latebras.

Trautmann's 'hailstones'<sup>5</sup> and 'raindrops'<sup>6</sup> are not at all in

<sup>1</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xii.

<sup>3</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>4</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>5</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xii.

<sup>6</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

keeping with 'pa sind blace swiðe—swearte salopade.' His latest suggestion, 'clouds,' is more likely, provided we allow 'sang' (line 3) to refer to 'thunder'; 'cloud,' however, is not at all characteristically described by 'lytle' (line 1); and Trautmann, probably conscious of this, proposes to read 'lihte' instead of 'lytle.' Apart from the help it gives to his own theory, there seems no reason why the change should be proposed—the MS. plainly gives 'lytle.'

#### RIDDLE 59

THE solution is 'the pump.' Riddles 70 ('puteus') and 71 ('tubus') of Symposius contain ideas which appear also in this riddle, viz.—water in the deeps of earth, and the bearing of it upwards. Considering the subject, however, these are hardly ideas which need suggest that any direct connection exists between the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon.

Dietrich's solution,<sup>1</sup> 'draw-well,' allows the riddle a very loose structure—sometimes the bucket is referred to, and sometimes the lever which helps to raise it, but never the draw-well itself. 'Pump' has the advantage of explaining lines 7, 8, 9 so that they may refer to the same object as lines 1-6. Thus this solution gives to the description a much-needed unity which has hitherto seemed lacking.

#### RIDDLE 61

THIS bears some slight resemblance to Symposius's 'de arundo.' In Symposius the reed is treated both as 'flute' ('suave canens musis') and as 'pen' ('nigro perfusa colore nuntia sum'). Dietrich and Prehn suggest 'Rohr-Flöte.' It is difficult, however, to find evidence of the 'flute' in the Anglo-Saxon riddle, though Mr. Stopford Brooke sees in the latter portion of the riddle a description of 'the lover talking in music to his sweetheart.' But since music is universal in its appeal, this conception does not appear to satisfy the concluding lines, which speak of a secret message to be interpreted by two alone.

The 'vicina profundis' and 'nuntia sum' are the only ideas common to the riddle 'de arundo' and the Anglo-Saxon riddle. The process of production, the secrecy of the message are entirely unsuggested by the Latin, while in the Anglo-Saxon riddle the

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia*, xvii.

rather distinctive phrases, 'Dulcia amica dei,' 'suave canens musis,' 'digitis signata magistri,' are quite unrepresented. Blackburn's treatment<sup>1</sup> of the riddle as an integral portion of the 'Husband's message,' and therefore not a riddle at all seems (as will be shown) well founded. Blackburn thinks the poem describes the piece of wood on which the 'Message' has been carved; it is worthy of note, however, that Morley<sup>2</sup> had already ventured a very simliar answer: 'A letter beam cut from the stump of an old jetty.'

## RIDDLE 62

THE solution may quite conceivably be either 'shirt' or 'shirt of mail.' In the care the woman bestows upon the garments of her lord in locking them away and bringing them forth when needed there is a note of intimate love and tenderness which is extremely rare in Anglo-Saxon poetry. Woman here appears, by her care and service, the helpmeet of man, whereas usually she is the proud one, nobly bedecked, who receives praise and honour at the mead-bench.

A close parallel to this, conception and perhaps the only one, is to be found in the gnostic verses of the Exeter Book, where it is told how the wife washes the sailor's sea-stained dress, and gives to him new garments:—

. . . leof wilcuma  
frysan wife, þonne flota stondeð  
biþ his ceol cumen and hyre ceorl to ham  
agen aetgeofa and heo hine laðap  
waece his warig hraegl and him syleð waede niwe  
(lines 95-99).

The last three lines of the riddle are extremely difficult to translate; the context is of little help, and the thought unusually obscure. Perhaps the passage runs: 'If the power of him who received me avails, he who adorns me [the warrior is apparently conceived as gracing his garment, and not the garment the warrior] ought to fill me with something that is rough.' Dietrich<sup>3</sup> has suggested that 'das rauhe was es beim Erwaschenen füllen soll ist der Haarwuchs.'

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Blackburn, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, iii.

<sup>2</sup> *English Writers*, vol. ii. p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

## RIDDLE 65

SPEAKING of this riddle Dietrich<sup>1</sup> said, 'Zu den schwierigsten gehört nr 65,' and suggested 'peacock' as its solution. He transliterated the runes as W. I. B. E. H. A. P. E. F. A. Æ. S. and P., and arranged them to form approximately 'pea beah-swifededa' ('der ringgeschweifte Pfau').

Hicketier<sup>2</sup> has shown that if the runes be taken in pairs in the order of their occurrence, each pair will give the first two letters of the following words :—

Wicg, Beorn, Hafoc, þegn, *Falca*, spear.

This arrangement seems preferable to that of Dietrich in so far as it arises naturally from the grouping of the runes as given in the text, and thus it seems more than probable that this riddle is one on the same theme as the twentieth.

## RIDDLE 66

A RIDDLE of no literary merit. Apart from the fact that the riddle subject is very conventionally personified, and speaks of a head, a bare body, and a lack of speech, it is bald in the extreme. This lack of art in presenting the subject, together with the brevity of the riddle, suggests that it is very little, if at all, removed from plain folk-riddle. Either 'onion'<sup>3</sup> or 'leek'<sup>4</sup> provides a suitable answer.

The riddle is curiously similar to 26; the 'onion' is despoiled, its head is cut off (cp. 'reafað min heafod'), its body is bitten (cp. 'fegeð mec on faesten'), it takes revenge for its injuries upon those who inflict them (cp. 'waet bið þaet eage').

## RIDDLE 67

IN this riddle we have a summary treatment of the theme and material used in 41. 'The omnipresent power of the Deity, comprehending at once the most minute and the most vast portions of His creation, is obviously here intended.'<sup>5</sup> A swifter narrative, greater restraint, and some approach to climax in the arrangement of the thoughts give it a literary value considerably greater than that possessed by riddle 41. It seems possible that

<sup>1</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> See note to riddle 65 in Wülfker's *Bibliothek*.

<sup>3</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>4</sup> Trautmann, *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

<sup>5</sup> Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 213.



such riddles as this served not so much as puzzles as vernacular summaries and versifications of the current lore in the monastic schools, and that they were used as a means of instruction.<sup>1</sup>

## RIDDLE 70

A SIMPLE example of the 'monster' motive, marked by a lack of adornment and a simplicity of presentation. The fact that it sings 'haeleþum to nytte,' and is awry in shape, seems to suggest that it refers to some musical instrument. Dietrich conjectured 'die Schalmei der Hirten.'

## RIDDLE 71

A RIDDLE whose subject is as yet very obscure. Dietrich's 'cupping glass' seems very unlikely—the terms of the riddle clearly point to metal of some kind; while the 'headpiece of the helmet' would suit were it not for the lines:—

wepeð hwilum  
for minum gripe se þe gold wige.

Under the circumstances 'sword' seems as satisfactory a solution as any; it satisfies both conditions, for it is of metal, and its 'grip' causes sorrow, sometimes even to kings.

## RIDDLE 72

THOUGH short, this is a highly imaginative poem; there is sufficient to show that it is framed on the old sad theme of change and decline—the opening lines of the complete portion speak of the happiness of youth, the final lines of subjection patiently borne.

The riddle commences with five imperfect lines, evidently dealing with the early days of its subject. As in the riddle on the 'young bull' (39), there is a suggestion of 'four wells' whence it drew its sustenance—'each of which quite separately gave me to drink in the daytime, abundantly, through a hole.'

The mention of 'brothers' and 'sisters' in this imperfect portion, together with the fact that Symposius has an enigma 'Rotæ,' in which the wheels are represented as 'sisters,' evidently

<sup>1</sup> See Erlemann's treatment of riddles 2, 3, 4 in *Archiv f. d. Studium de neueren Sprachen*, cxi. p. 49.

led Dietrich to the somewhat queer solution,<sup>1</sup> 'wheel and axle of a cart,' with the fantastic interpretation of the 'four wells' as the oiling-holes communicating with the axle; presumably the iron piercing the side refers to the axle piercing through the centre of the wheel.

A much better, because more satisfying, solution is, 'an ox used for drawing a load.'<sup>2</sup> The early lines will then refer to the joyous youth of the animal before it was captured for the service of man. The ox could journey far afield; it would be bound by a yokebeam to the cart it dragged; it would obey a 'swart herdsman'; it would suffer silently, as with stoic fortitude, the chafings of its harness or the prick of a goad.

## RIDDLE 73

A RIDDLE of some thirty lines, of which fifteen are very imperfect. In it yet another being speaks of a desolated life, for once upon a time, says the hero:—

ic . . . wunode þær mec feddon  
hruse ȝ heofonwolcn . . .

The 'spear-shaft' ('aesc' or 'waelsteng') is almost certainly the answer. It once grew as a tree, was smoothed and polished, gripped in the hand, and is now used for killing. In lines 8-20, imperfect though they be, we catch glimpses of the altered life which the ash wood experienced:—

- (a) nu eom mines frean folme by(sig) (line 8).
- (b) eaxle gegyrde (isernes dael ?)  
ond swiora smael sidan fealwe (lines 16-18).
- (c) þonne mec heaðosigel  
scir bescineð (lines 19-20).
- (d) faegre feorma on fyrd wigeð  
craefte on haefte (lines 21-22).

Into the last lines might be read the spear's boast of speedy and effective slaughter, yet it seems to have a deeper meaning and more poetic tone. Though the spear has accepted its altered conditions and become the faithful servant of its lord, it cannot withhold a sad note of pathos when it considers how it was brought forth by the kindly influences of Nature, and now must be used for the dire work of slaughter. The spear breaks through the

<sup>1</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

body, 'paet aer frið haefde,' and then the victim in the dark hour of death must leave this joyous earth :—

Feringe from he fus þonan  
Wendeð of ðam wicum.

Aldhelm's riddle on the sling ('de fundibulo') is taken by Prehn to have inspired this riddle, and also to have suggested the material. The picture of the spear held in the hand with a firm grip Prehn thinks is suggested by Aldhelm's

Tres digiti totum versant super ardua corpus,

and its glittering in the sunshine by the whirl of the sling :—

erro caput circum tenues et tendor in auras.

The relation between the two riddles, however, seems very doubtful and distant.

#### RIDDLE 74

A RIDDLE based entirely upon paradox. It is so simple and bald in form and so extremely brief as to suggest that it is little more than a folk-riddle.

On the supposition of a likeness to Aldhelm's 'de loligine,' which speaks of the cuttlefish as flying through the air, though not able to live in it, Dietrich thought that 'cuttlefish' was the answer. There are phrases, however, which this hardly explains :—

- (a) dead mid fiscum
- (b) ic waes faemne geong . . .  
    ond aenlic rinc on ane tid.

And with these in mind Tupper has suggested 'Siren'; the double sex mentioned in the riddle is accounted for by the fact that in M.H. German 'Siren' sometimes represents a male water-sprite, and that in other riddles protean traits are ascribed to it; the phrase 'dead mid fiscum' will refer to the rocks into which, according to classical legend, the Sirens were changed.

A solution which certainly has the merit of being more homely and ordinary is that proposed by Trautmann—'Water.' This solution brings the riddle into line with those others in which the various forms of the riddle-subject are described. In this case water is described as

- (a) burne : Since burne is a feminine noun in Anglo-Saxon, the spring is properly referred to as a young woman.  
 (b) snow : which is a masculine noun, and therefore snow may be referred to as a man.  
 (c) iceberg : referred to as a grey-haired woman.

In the form of snow water 'flies with the birds.' Water flowing over the land can perhaps be said 'to step over the land.' As an iceberg it swims in the sea, and when the iceberg melts (*i.e.* when it 'dies') it turns to water, and finds its rest 'mid fiscum'; in so far as it exists in forms so varied 'halfde ferð cwicu.'

But the idea of the iceberg being 'dead' in the form of water 'among the fishes' scarcely strikes us as convincing, and because this solution rests also upon a distinction of grammatical gender, it is open to precisely the same objection as Trautmann himself levelled against Leo's solution of the first riddle: 'Der Verfasser . . . dichtete nicht für deutsche Philologen, sondern für Landsleute.'

#### RIDDLE 76

THIS is somewhat like the simple question which forms rune riddle 75, and Grein questioned whether, to complete the riddle, there ought not to follow a simple series of runes.<sup>1</sup> Dietrich<sup>2</sup> considered it as the opening line of riddle 77. This idea, however, seems hardly tenable, for the subject of the riddle is referred to in the third person as 'idese,' whereas throughout riddle 77 it is the subject itself which speaks. A similar suggestion made by Dietrich with respect to 79 (also a single line) seems far more probable.

#### RIDDLE 77

CERTAINLY not obscure as a puzzle. Any type of edible shell-fish will quite convincingly suit the description: its flesh is eaten 'unsodden' (uncooked); its coverings are removed with the sharp edge of the knife; it dwells in the sea. Dietrich tentatively suggested 'oyster,' and with this Prehn quite characteristically concurs, because Aldhelm's enigma 'de cancro' contains a reference to 'ostrea' in its concluding line.

The fish complains of its harsh fate:—

. . . nu wile monna sum  
 min flæsc fretan, felles ne receð . . .

<sup>1</sup> Note in Wülker's *Grein's Bibliothek*, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.



and its habitat is described, perhaps with a momentary lingering (in lines 1 and 2), due to the old delight in the contemplation of the sea.

## RIDDLE 80

THIS riddle has been variously solved as 'hawk,'<sup>1</sup> 'spear,'<sup>2</sup> 'sword,'<sup>3</sup> and 'horn'<sup>4</sup>—the latter being suggested by reference to various objects made of horn.

The 'hawk' solution seems to be due, in great measure, to the presence of the word 'eaxlgestella.' Hawks used in sport were frequently carried in olden times upon the arm or shoulder of their keeper, and hence the hawk might fittingly be termed 'eaxlgestella.' But against this solution it may be urged (*a*) that there is nothing to prove that the hawk was a customary present for the singer; (*b*) that it has not a hard tongue; (*c*) that the subject of the riddle is represented not as 'being given,' but as 'giving.'

'Sword' certainly has more to commend it; it might quite reasonably, and with perfect propriety, be referred to as 'a shoulder companion' both literally and metaphorically in the sense of 'trusty comrade'; line 6, if it refers to the scabbard, is quite in keeping with what is said in riddle 56 ('scabbard'). It is difficult, however, to interpret the 'giving of rewards to the singer' (line 9) as in accord with the known uses and ways of the sword, and the phrase 'hard tongue' is but a very clumsy way of referring to the blade.

By far the best solution seems to be 'horn.' When slung over the shoulder it was a 'shoulder-companion'; as a drinking vessel it was the 'companion of kings'; a queen, 'though she be of noble birth,' would, on occasion, graciously hand round the mead-cup to the warriors: 'Haebbe me on bosme paet on bearwe geweax' will refer to the contents of the mead-cup, which, being derived from honey, can well be described as having 'grown in the woods' (cf. riddle 28, in which the mead speaks of itself as having been 'brought from the woods'); in the form of a bugle the horn, no doubt, often would with its lord ride 'on a horse at the head of the army.' 'Tongue' might be used in a secondary sense, meaning 'voice,' in which case 'hard'

<sup>1</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> Trautmann, *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

<sup>3</sup> Walz, *Harvard Studies*, v.

<sup>4</sup> Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, xix.

would refer to its harsh unlovely notes ; lastly, filled with wine or mead, it was often offered for a singer's refreshment when he had finished his lay and 'as a reward for his words.'

## RIDDLE 81

THREE solutions have been proposed. Dietrich<sup>1</sup> at first proposed 'ship,' though afterwards, in conjunction with Lange, he suggested 'the headpiece of the helmet.'<sup>2</sup> Trautmann<sup>3</sup> proposed 'weathercock.' Of these the most satisfying seems to be 'headpiece of the helmet.' The thing has its dwelling-place above its lord ('eard ofer aeldum'), and endures wretchedness 'withersoever he who holds the spear bears me.' 'Ship' cannot be said to fulfil at all felicitously either of these conditions, while 'weathercock' seems debarred entirely by the second of them.

Whatever be the theme, the value of the riddle as poetry lies in its passionate note of sadness. The subject endures a dreary fate—it lives a life of cheerless, bleak exposure to hard weather.

## RIDDLE 83

DIETRICH<sup>4</sup> solves this as referring to 'das Erz.' Trautmann<sup>5</sup> suggests 'das Geld.' The latter seems inspired by the likeness which the early portion of the riddle bears to Symposius's 'De pecunia'; Prehn considers that the lines subsequent to the fourth are spoken by a weapon, but there would seem to be some difficulty in accepting this view, for metal, in the shape of a weapon, could scarcely say :—

ic him yfle ne mot,

nor could it claim that its journeyings are particularly 'secret.' A poetic fancy, however, could well ascribe to the coin a certain helplessness, strange journeyings, which, it is fated, are not to be known by men, and also 'many wounds'—the latter phrase referring perhaps to its snipped and filed condition.

The similarity to Symposius does not extend beyond the idea of the earthy origin of the metal.

As in so many other riddles, this speaks of a riddle-hero who

<sup>1</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.    <sup>2</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xii.    <sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

<sup>4</sup> Heusler, 'Die Altnordischen Rätsel,' *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, Heft ii. 1901.

<sup>5</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

has suffered plundering and subjection, his life has been changed, and so his lot is one of sad reminiscence.

## RIDDLE 84

THE solution is 'water in its various forms.' The riddle seems to be a diffuse and elaborated version of material taken from the common-lore of the time. Dietrich related it to the two aenigmata of Aldhelm, 'De fonte' and 'De aqua'; it finds, however, a closer parallel in Eusebius's 'De equore.' The rolling of the sea, the bearing of goodly ships upon its bosom, its wanderings on the 'grundbedd' ('the bottom of the monstrous world') are all elements in Eusebius which receive in the Saxon riddle considerable extension and elaboration.

In the Saxon riddle the water bears ships :—

. . . wistum gehladen  
hordum gehroden.

it has a winsome beauty—it is 'wynsum wuldorgimm,' it has a stark, ravaging power :—

gifrost ȝ graedgost grundbedd trideð ;

it waters the earth and makes it bring forth abundantly.

The excessive use of antithesis and balanced epithet and an introduction of Christian phraseology detract considerably from the literary worth of the poem—it 'lingers and wanders on as loth to die,' long after all inspiration seems exhausted.

## RIDDLE 85

THE subject of this riddle is 'river and fish.' The poem bears a close resemblance to Symposius's 'flumen et pisces.' The ideas are simply set forth quite unadorned, so that it seems little, if at all, removed from the folk-riddle. Of the existence of a folk-riddle upon this theme we have evidence in the 'waterfall and fish' riddle of the Hervara Saga.<sup>1</sup> Among the Norwegians to-day there is, says Hensler, a popular riddle on the same subject.

## RIDDLE 86

ORIGINALLY supposed by Dietrich<sup>2</sup> to refer to the organ with its 'myriad pipes.' It is difficult, however, to read one eye, two

<sup>1</sup> Z. f. d. A., xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia*, Beiblatt v.

ears, arms, shoulders, and neck into the form of the organ, and Dietrich's second suggestion,<sup>1</sup> 'the one-eyed garlic seller,' is queer, but much more satisfying.

The poem seems to be a folk-riddle of the 'monster' type, to which the poet has added the traditional 'Schluss-formel,' irrespective of the fact that the 'Schluss-formel' employs the first person, while the rest of the riddle is written in the third.

## RIDDLE 87

THE poem is imperfect, both in the middle (after line 5) and at the end. 'The wondrous wight with a large distended belly' seems to denote 'the cask,' and the process of broaching it seems to be described. We have here recorded the resounding noise incident to that process; the 'eye' is the bung-hole; the 'man behind' attacks it with 'heaven's tooth'—'oder ohne mythologischen Schmuck mit dem donnernden Keile.'<sup>2</sup>

## RIDDLE 88

THOUGH this riddle is very imperfectly preserved, the portion which is decipherable is full of poetry, and must in this respect be classed among the best in the whole collection.

The 'antlers of the stag' seems to be the subject into whose fallen fortunes the poet enters so passionately and imaginatively. Throughout the poem we have the sad note of retrospect. Wyrd has separated brothers who grew up together in boon companionship and mutual helpfulness—they are swept apart; each is an exile and knows not where the other may be. While they still adorned the head they grew on, they were protected from the showers down in bosky valleys amid the foliage:—

. . . ful oft unc holt wrugon  
wudubeama helm wonnum nihtum  
seildon wið scurum . . .

But now all is changed:—

Nu mec unsceafta innan slitað  
wyrdaþ mec be wombe . . .

and the horn stands up companionless and cruelly nailed to the roof-top.

<sup>1</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xii.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xii.



Again and again the lyric cry of sorrow is heard :—

- (1) ic gewenden ne maeg (line 33).
- (2) Nis min broþor her (line 23).
- (3) Ne wat hwær min broþor on wera æhtum  
Eorðan sceata eardian sceal (lines 26-27).

#### RIDDLE 90 (LATIN)

THIS riddle is extremely obscure. Evidently 'lupus' and 'agnus' in such inverted relationship is the point of the riddle. The frequent mention of 'lupus' in the riddle has led some to think that the poet wished to impress upon us the idea—*wulf*—and hence, perhaps darkly, to suggest *Cynewulf*. This, however, does not explain the strange terms of the riddle. Dietrich<sup>1</sup> thought that these may be explained by supposing that 'wolf' bore several meanings, and suggested 'Hecht' ('pike')—the 'wolfish' fish,—as one. In a second attempt<sup>2</sup> he replaced this by 'barsch,' on the evidence of the Epinal gloss, which gives 'lupus—baers.'

Morley,<sup>3</sup> in keeping with his suggested solutions to 1 and 95 (the 'Christian preacher' and 'the Word of God'), solves this as the 'Lamb of God'; and to this Tupper<sup>4</sup> has lent some show of probability by citing a Latin enigma of Aurelius Prudentius, which likewise presents the 'Lamb' as dominating the '*wolf*.' An old German problem, 'Do quam ein lam and benam dem wolfe dy herte,' is paralleled by the 'capit viscera lupi' of the 90th riddle.

Trautmann<sup>5</sup> thinks that the riddle really consists of two riddles—lines 1 and 2 giving the first, and 3, 4, 5 the second. He puts forward, certainly, be it said, 'mit äusserstem Misstrauen,' what seem very strange solutions, 'Kinn-frass,' and 'Kinn-eisen.'

An interesting and ingenious suggestion<sup>6</sup> is that the riddle is after all a charade upon 'Cynewulf.' In the letters composing the name the words 'ewu' ('agnus') and 'wolf' ('lupus') are present. The 'wu' in 'ewu' coincides with the 'wu' in 'wulf,' and thus, in a certain sense, in order to spell 'ewu' two letters must be snatched from 'wulf.' This is symbolised by saying that 'lupus ab agno tenetur . . . et capit viscera lupi.' The

<sup>1</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xi. p. 479.

<sup>2</sup> *Z. f. d. A.*, xii. p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> Morley, *English Writers*, ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xviii. No. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Anglia*, xvii. 396 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Erlemann (E. and F.), *Archiv f. d. n. Sprachen*, vols. cxi. and xv. (new series).

subsequent portion of the explanation is scarcely satisfactory : 'duo' is taken as a neuter, 'lupi' as a genitive. The passage, 'duo lupi stantes, tertium tribulantes' means, 'two (letters) of the (word) wolf' (viz., 'wu') pressing hard upon 'l' have four feet (*i.e.* 'Cyne') ('d. h. cyne ist' Fuss—nach bekannter Rätselterminologie—zu 'wul'). 'Cum septem oculis videbant' through seven (letters) they (*i.e.* the animals) are manifested to the eyes. Hence 'Cynewul(f)' is the solution. This, however, is highly artificial. The fact that 'f' has already been suggested in the first line is no reason for ignoring it in the second portion of the puzzle ; moreover, it is not clear in what way 'Cyne' can be styled a 'foot' or 'feet' to *wul*.

In the absence of further suggestion, Morley's suggestion, in so far as it is supported by other riddles of similar imagery, must be considered the most satisfactory solution among several which are very doubtful.

#### RIDDLE 91

DIETRICH solved this as referring to 'key or bolt,' while Trautmann has suggested 'sickle.' 'Key' seems to reconcile the various puzzle elements most satisfactorily. The key's structure, its coming to grips with the lock, its use, are all portrayed. Sometimes it unlocks in the silence of the night-time ('middelnihtum') the treasure chest ; at other times it locks it up, so that its lord may sleep in peaceful security (lines 1-7).

Lines 8-11 seem to refer to the turning backwards of the neb of the key in the process of unlocking, so that the lord may take out from the chest the treasure and spoils obtained from those he has slain.

#### RIDDLE 93

THIS poem is very imperfectly transmitted to us, both at its commencement and conclusion. The subject seems to be 'ink-horn,' and, as in many other cases, the poet begins by describing to us its origin. In the early portion we have a description of the freedom and lithe strength of the stag who roamed at will over moor and through valley ; soon, however, came the sad change when the horn was subjected to a stern discipline, and underwent an experience which transformed a beautiful natural object into a vessel for the service of man.

Eusebius has an enigma, 'De atramentario,' which presents

the horn both in its natural and in its manufactured state, but the sore discipline of transition, the description of which forms an element of such distinct poetic value in the Anglo-Saxon riddle, is quite absent from Eusebius. Eusebius's riddle may have suggested the bare intellectual elements which form the basis of the Anglo-Saxon riddle, but the introduction of picturesque detail and the infusion of a distinctive and unifying spirit are entirely due to the Anglo-Saxon poet.

## RIDDLE 95

THE critical fortunes of this riddle have followed to some extent those of the first riddle. The poet who made the first riddle a charade upon his own name was supposed by Dietrich to have described his calling in the last ; hence Dietrich's solution : <sup>1</sup> ' the wandering singer.'

The phrases :—

- (a) no þær word sprecað aenig ofer eorðan (lines 9 and 10) ;
- (b) blaed in burgum oððe beorhtne god (line 6) ;
- (c) (ic) reste oft ricum 7 heanum (line 2) ;
- (d) ic swaðe hwilum mine bemiþe monna gehwylcum (lines 12-13)

Dietrich interpreted as referring to :—

- (a) the charmed silence of the listeners ;
- (b) the giving of bright gifts in the burg ;
- (c) the wandering singer's popularity among all classes ;
- (d) his love of quiet seclusion.

Trautmann <sup>2</sup> solved it as ' the riddle,' and saw in its correspondence with the supposed subject of the first riddle a strong argument for the essential unity of the collection. In the ' hiðende (line 5) he saw a reference to the ' waelhreowe wasas ' of the first riddle ; lines 12 and 13, describing how ' though men eagerly pursue me I hide my tracks from them,' Trautmann conceived as referring to the elusiveness of the true answer ; and the obscure lines :—

. . . fereð wide  
7 me fremdes aer freondum stondeð  
hyþendra hyht,

which Dietrich translated, ' Their joy goes out to me as a stranger rather than to their friends,' Trautmann emended by the inclusion

<sup>1</sup> Dietrich, *Z. f. d. A.*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> Trautmann, *Anglia* vi. (Anzeiger),

of 'gefea' after 'fremdes,' and then translated the passage thus: 'The joy which the stranger brings with him ('gefea fremdes') travels far, and their praise is extended to me more readily than to their friends.'

While still adhering to the 'riddle' solution, Trautmann<sup>1</sup> now proposes

ond me fremdes (f)aer freondum stondeð

as an amended fourth line—the 'freondum' to be taken as an oblique case of 'freonde' (freo(ge)nde); the word 'god' in line 6 he would replace by 'gong': 'Ich sehe in dem überlieferten "god" ein Verderbsel aus "gong." Einsolches lässt sich leicht aus der Schreibung "gog" begreifen der strich über dem "o" konnte, wenn der Schwanz des zweiten "g" nicht ganz deutlich war, unschwer für den oberen Bogen eines d . . . genommen werden.'

But neither 'riddle' nor 'wandering singer' is convincing.

1. 'Wandering singer' scarcely seems to belong to the usual cycle of riddle themes, nor does it satisfy the lines left unexplained by Dietrich:—

Nu snottre men swiðast lufiað. midwist mine.

As Trautmann has pointed out, other than the wise and quick-witted can be conceived as taking delight in the minstrel's lay.

2. The 'riddle' solution seems altogether too ingeniously derived and not sufficiently instant in its appeal to be obvious without further explanation.

The latest solution is that offered by Tupper<sup>2</sup>—'the moon.' Certain elements in the puzzle are very like those which occur in the 30th riddle ('Moon and Sun'), *e.g.*:—

- (1) it has fame among the dwellers on earth;
- (2) it delights in booty;
- (3) it sometimes disappears;

and these points of likeness, together with the facts that it is beloved of wise men, that it reveals wisdom silently (perhaps a reference to the belief of early peoples in moon-lore), that it is known both to high and to low, seem to establish this solution as in all probability the true one. It is certainly the best that has been offered, for in no point is the interpretation strained.

<sup>1</sup> Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, xix.

<sup>2</sup> Tupper, *Modern Language Notes*, xxi. (4).



## APPENDIX I

TABLE SHOWING POINTS OF VARIATION IN THE NUMBERING  
OF THE RIDDLESTh.=Thorpe's *Codex Exoniensis*, 1842.Gr.=Grein's *Bibliothek der ags. poesie*, 1858—as far as the riddles are concerned, based on Thorpe.Tr.=Trautmann's *Anglia*, Beiblatt.W.=Wülker's edition of Grein's *Bibliothek*.

—,=denotes fragment existing in MS. omitted by Thorpe and Grein.

Dotted vertical lines denote that the numbering proceeds quite regularly between the upper and lower numbers.

Thorpe's First Series *Codex Exoniensis*, pp. 380-441

Th.	Gr.	Tr.	W.
1	1	1	1
2	2		2
3	3	2	3
4	4		4
5	5	3	5
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
36	36	34	36
			36A.
37	37	35 (1-8)	37
		36 (9-14)	
38	38	37	38
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
60	60	59	60

Thorpe's Second Series, *Codex Exoniensis*, pp. 470-73

1			
2	61	60	61
3			

## THE ANGLO-SAXON RIDDLES

Thorpe's Third Series, Codex Exoniensis, pp. 470-500

Th.	Gr.	Tr.	W.
1	62	61	62
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
6	67	66	67
—	—	67	68
7	⋮	68	⋮
8	68	69	69
9	69	70	70
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
16	76	77	77
—	—	78	78
17	77	79	79
18	78	80	80
19	79	81	81
—	—	82	82
20	80	83	83
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
25	85	88	88
26	⋮	⋮	⋮
—	—	89	89
27	86	90	90
28	87	91	91
—	—	92	92
29	88	93	93
—	—	94	94
30	89	95	95

## APPENDIX II

A SHORT REVIEW OF THEORIES, PAST AND PRESENT,  
EXPLAINING THE SO-CALLED 'FIRST RIDDLE'

THE idea that the first poem was a riddle seems to have been originally due to Thorpe's inclusion of it under the heading 'riddles' in his *Codex Exoniensis*. It was a brief poem, and it displayed an obscurity naturally to be expected in an enigma; but in his notes he frankly confessed, 'Of this I can make no sense, nor am I able to arrange the verses.'<sup>1</sup> Leo in 1857 was the first critic to link the name of Cynewulf with the poem, and he set forth a theory that the 'riddle' was a charade upon that poet's name. Dietrich eagerly accepted Leo's solution, and did much to increase its plausibility by supposing the last riddle to be one on the 'wandering singer,' and by reading into the 90th a play on the last syllable of 'Cynewulf.' So reinforced, the theory was generally accepted, until Trautmann in 1883 made a strong attack upon it. Leo's interpretation was shown to be based upon an inaccurate rendering of the text, a reading of forced meanings into words, and an unwarranted tampering with words quite clear in the MS.

Briefly stated, Leo's theory<sup>2</sup> was as follows:—

1. 'waelhreowe' suggests 'cēne' (= 'fierce').
2. The woman mourning suggests 'coen' ('mulier nobilis').
3. The 'wudu' of lines 16-19 suggests 'cēn' ('a torch').

These three words, 'cēne,' 'coen,' and 'cēn,' are intended to give the first syllable of the name Cynewulf.

4. The 'e' joining 'cyn' to 'wulf' is darkly suggested by the initial letter in the word 'Eadwacer.'
5. 'Wulf' in lines 4-7, 16-19 is either mentioned or suggested as an animal, while in lines 8 and 15 it is a man's name. In this way the last syllable is supplied.

This interpretation was too devious and subtle for it to commend itself as probable.

Trautmann,<sup>3</sup> however, was scarcely more happy in the solution he proposed. According to him 'the riddle' was the answer to both the 1st and 95th riddles. He interpreted the first riddle as follows: The 'wolf' was the guesser, the speaker was the riddle itself, the fen was the darkness surrounding the answer to the riddle. 'Thy seldom coming has made me sick at heart, yet not for lack of food'

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe's *Codex Exoniensis*; preface, p. x.

<sup>2</sup> Leo's *Que de ipso Cynewulfus poeta Anglosaxonicus tradierit*.—Halle, 1857.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, Anzeiger vi. pp. 158-169, 'Cynewulf und die Rätsel.'

is the riddle's way of saying, 'Thy wild and far-fetched answers have made me weary, not at all lack of guesses'; 'uncer giedd' and 'uncerne hwelp' refer to the solution. Since the noun 'raedelle' is in Anglo-Saxon feminine, it was fitting that it should be represented as a woman; and 'wulf' suitably represented the guesser, because throughout Germanic folklore the wolf is ever the symbol of delight in strife and struggle.

This, however, placed upon the poem an interpretation quite as intricate as that of Leo, while the subtly figurative nature of the language which this reading implied was altogether alien to the spirit of Anglo-Saxon poetry.

The next suggestion came from Professor H. Morley,<sup>1</sup> who proposed 'the Christian teacher.'

Since 1888 a number of scholars have attacked the problem and, arguing entirely on a basis of style, verse structure, and language, have commenced an entirely new line of explanation. The language of the poem is certainly strange and unusual in many ways, *e.g.* :—

1. The phrase 'on þreat cuman,' and the word 'aðeegan' are distinctly unusual, and do not occur anywhere else in Anglo-Saxon.
2. None of the usual meanings of 'to þon' will suit it in the context in which it occurs.
3. 'Ig,' through an Anglo-Saxon word, is of extremely rare occurrence.
4. 'Earne' is a strange form, if it is an oblique case of either 'earh' (cowardly) or 'earn' (swift).

The verse structure of the passage is unusual—indeed, Trautmann<sup>2</sup> had already mentioned the disordered state of the metre and the strange occurrence of half lines, while Hicketier<sup>3</sup> had noticed its apparently strophic structure.

In 1888 Dr. Henry Bradley<sup>4</sup> accounted for the style of the poem and its apparently unfinished form by supposing that it was 'not a riddle at all, but a fragment of a dramatic soliloquy like 'Deor' and the 'Banished Wife's Complaint': the speaker was a captive woman in a foreign land, 'Wulf,' her lover and an outlaw, Eadwacer her tyrant husband. Dr. Bradley also called attention to the parallel between 'on þreat cuman' and the Norse idiom, 'on þrot koma.' Though no suggestion was offered concerning the origin of the soliloquy, the theory explained satisfactorily the occurrence of a proper name in the

<sup>1</sup> In keeping with the solutions suggested for riddles 90 and 95—'Lamb of God' and 'Word of God' respectively. The solutions of both Morley and Trautmann for riddles 1 and 95 seem based on the erroneous idea that the Anglo-Saxon riddle collection is a pre-conceived whole which commences and ends with riddles on the same, or similar, themes.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia*, Anzeiger vi.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, x. p. 567.

<sup>4</sup> *Academy*, xxxiii. p. 829.



'riddle,' and gave a reasonable interpretation to the last lines which had stretched the ingenuity of Leo and Trautmann to the utmost. Professor Gollancz,<sup>1</sup> taking up this suggestion, evidently made either some modification or development of it, for in 1893 he 'explained for the first time the absurdly misnamed 'first riddle,' . . . and showed that it was a lyric yet highly dramatic poem in five fittes, a life drama in five acts.'

The full significance of the form and language of the poem was, however, first made clear by Professor Lawrence.<sup>2</sup> He suggested that :—

1. The 'short' lines are not imperfect lines, for there is no hiatus in the sense of their context.
2. The verse is of strophic character—there is a marked regularity in the occurrence of the short lines, and they bear a refrain.
3. Such short lines and such a verse structure is especially characteristic of Old Norse poetry, and differentiates it from that of other Germanic peoples.
4. The linguistic peculiarities of the poem can be accounted for by supposing the Anglo-Saxon poem to be a rather literal translation of Old Norse verse, *e.g.* :—
  - (a) 'Ig' owes its presence to a desire to preserve the unsyllabic and commonly used Norse 'ey.'
  - (b) 'Earne' preserves the duosyllabic character of the Norse 'orvan' ('orr').
  - (c) 'On preat cuman,' as Bradley had already noticed, is a literal rendering of 'on þrot koma.'
  - (d) The imperfect alliteration of 'hwæðre' and 'wyn' is to be explained by a tendency towards literal exactitude in translation.
  - (e) 'Eadwacer' is a transliteration of the Norse epithet 'Auðvagr.'

Thus the 'riddle' bears upon it the marks of an alien influence. Its strophic metre, its strange syntax and word-forms are not entirely concealed by its Anglo-Saxon garb. Since most of its irregularities can be explained by reference to Norse literal equivalents it seemed very probable that the passage originally had a Norse form, and was subsequently translated into Anglo-Saxon.

Before the results of Professor Lawrence's research were made public, his colleague, Professor Schofield,<sup>3</sup> succeeded in identifying the incidents so lightly and indistinctly referred to with incidents described in the Volsunga Saga, and the poem received from him the name it seems destined henceforward to bear, viz., 'Sigmy's Lament.'

<sup>1</sup> *Academy*, xliv. (3rd Dec. 1893)—report of meeting of Philological Society.

<sup>2</sup> Publications of Modern Language Association of America, vol. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

The precise place in the story that the incidents occupy is a matter of some doubt. Professor Schofield thinks that our poem represents the utterance of Signy when, on finally parting with Sinfjotli, her share in the scheme of revenge is complete; she has taken him to Sigmund to be disciplined in all manly exercises before the final deeds are accomplished, and she triumphantly exclaims:—

Gehyrest þu Eadwacer uncerne earne hwelp  
bireð wulf to wuda

This interpretation is supported by the further light it throws upon the occurrence of the word 'wulf.' Sigmund the Volsung was chief of the Wulfings, and therefore correctly addressed as 'Wulf.'

Though the discussion has resulted in a final abandonment of the idea that the first poem is a riddle, Professor Schofield's identification of the incidents to which it refers has not passed unchallenged. The mere fact that the incidents of the Anglo-Saxon poem are to be paralleled by incidents in the Sigurd cycle must not be taken to prove a direct and necessary relationship. 'Identity of story does not imply identity of actors. Nothing is more common in heroic legend than for a set of incidents to be transferred from one set of personages to another belonging to a different cycle.'<sup>1</sup> But when, over and above this general correspondence of story, some actual identification of person or place can be made, then a direct relationship is much more probable. Now one of the weakest points in Professor Schofield's theory is his explanation of 'Eadwacer'; 'Auðvagr' is a purely fictitious and hypothetical form created to account for 'Eadwacer.' In view of these facts, both Professors Gollancz and Bradley are inclined to identify 'Eadwacer' with Odoacer, the 'Otacher,' of the Lay of Hildebrand. If this identification be accepted, the poem must be considered as belonging to the Theodoric rather than to the Sigmund cycle. 'Wulf and Eadwacer,' as Professor Gollancz prefers to call the poem, must then be considered as a lay shaped from transferred material, and based upon the thirty years' exile which Theodoric endured in consequence of Odoacer's enmity.

Since the Schofield-Lawrence theory was published, the question of a possible connection between the Norse Helden-sage and the Anglo-Saxon fragments in the Exeter Book has received further attention. The poem usually called the 'Husband's Message,' composed of what Thorpe divided into riddle and fragment, has been compared by Professor Schofield<sup>2</sup> with a situation arising in the Tristram Saga, while Miss Rickert<sup>3</sup> has shown that 'a certain parallelism' exists between the 'Wife's Lament' and a portion of the Offa Saga. 'Signy's Lament,' if this be the subject, is therefore not an

<sup>1</sup> Professor Bradley in *Athenæum*, 6th Dec. 1902.

<sup>2</sup> *Eng. Lit. Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Philology*, vol. ii. 365 ff.

isolated instance of material being found in Early English which occurs later in an elaborated Norse form. It may be that in the few fragmentary poems of the Exeter Book we have all that has survived of very early English lays dealing with the great figures of Northern legend-lore—lays whose incidents have reappeared later collected, elaborated, and modified in the great Germanic Sagas.





SOME ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS  
NEAR ABERYSTWYTH, WITH NOTES ON  
EARLY COMMUNICATIONS

BY

FRANK S. WRIGHT



# SOME ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS NEAR ABERYSTWYTH, WITH NOTES ON EARLY COMMUNICATIONS

## INTRODUCTION

NORTH CARDIGANSHIRE is a land of deep valleys cutting a plateau into a maze of broad-shouldered hills, over which the sea winds sweep with such fury that trees dare not lift themselves above the valley sides. The valley bottoms are, as usual, filled with boulder clay which has kept them damp at all times, and the plateau tops are thus the only portion of the country which was habitable by early man.<sup>1</sup> The woodlands of the valley slopes were the abode of wolf and wild boar, the valley bottoms were wet and treacherous because of woodland patches wherein enemies might lurk. The open moorland on the other hand, gave scope for movements of flocks and herds along its ridgeways, and there were defensive sites suitable for habitation by our forefathers who had not yet been softened by civilisation. Their defences were chiefly earthworks, of which Cardiganshire possesses a large number. It is fairly certain that these defences have been used at various periods by various peoples, and it seems essential that we should feel our way towards a better understanding of their types and features so as to attain to a chronology of them. The present article is an attempt in this direction, and will be followed by others until the survey is as complete as it can be made. It cannot be more than hinted at present that some of the earthworks date back to the later Stone Age ; when the survey is more complete we may know enough to make trial excavations, and they will doubtless lead to important and perhaps even surprising increases of our knowledge of our country's past.

### PEN DINAS CONTOUR CAMP, NEAR ABERYSTWYTH (FIG. 1)

ONE of the finest and best preserved of Welsh contour camps is that which crowns the hill known as Pen Dinas (Pen-y-Dinas—

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæology and Anthropology*, H. J. Fleure, *Arch. Camb.*, April 1913.

'the Head of the Fortress'), which is situated close to, and immediately south of the town of Aberystwyth, between the rivers Rheidol and Ystwyth, near their common outlet to the sea.

This hill attains a height of four hundred feet at its southern extremity, where the Wellington Monument now stands, and here was the stronghold to which the defenders retreated to make a last stand against an enemy.

In plan the defences resemble the figure 8, and the interior of the camp seems to be divided into three portions, viz., a circular northern enclosure, the stronghold in the south, and a narrow median isthmus connecting these two parts. Along the western side of the stronghold the slope is very abrupt, and one slight scarp, with its accompanying and very narrow terrace, was sufficient for its defence. On the east the slope is less steep, and there have been made two very formidable terraces, which eventually run into the two screens protecting the eastern side of the communication-way between the northern and southern defences; two other screens, one of which is very large, protect the western flank of this way.

The northern defences consist of a single vallum and fosse (slight traces of a shallow fosse still exist on the eastern side of the 'isthmus'): this vallum also encloses the narrow central portion of the hill, the isthmus mentioned before.

Two methods of construction have been employed in making the defences of Pen Dinas camp. On the north, where the gradient is slight, the vallum has been built up, and this involves a much greater expenditure of labour than at the south, where the slope is steeper, and the hillside has been scarped, and terraces have been formed by the material (probably) thus removed. A considerable amount of stone appears to have been used in building the vallum in the north, and stone is seen at one place where the outer slope of the terraces has been dug into, but this latter dry-walling is almost certainly modern.

The large area of the Pen Dinas fortress would render its adequate defence difficult, and at first sight the motive which caused the northern portion of the hill to be fortified is not apparent. Tradition, however, very commonly asserts that camps of this description near the coast were built as a defence against the Danes—*i.e.* any sea rovers. It is significant in this connection that one part of the shore at Aberystwyth is known as Wig-y-Gwyddel (=Goidel, and, more particularly Irishman), which name perhaps



commemorates a landing of the Irish or Danish-Irish, at or near this spot. The shore at Aberystwyth yields the only convenient landing-place for some considerable distance north and south. It was necessary that this landing-place—which was probably somewhere in the vicinity of the present Pier Pavilion—should be watched, in order to give the occupants of Pen Dinas camp timely notice of the approach of raiders. This harbour cannot be seen from the citadel, but is overlooked by the northern part of the hill, and this fact may have led to the maintenance of the northern defence. No very determined resistance would or could be offered here, ere the defenders retired within the stronghold. It is worthy of note, however, that at the two most vulnerable points in the whole defensive scheme—on the east and west of the isthmus—the defences curve rather sharply inwards, thus allowing a severe cross-fire of missiles to be delivered against an assailant. This shape, however, may be due in part to the configuration of the ground at these points.

But whether Pen Dinas was improved and extended for defence against Dane or Gwyddel or not, the fortress, or a portion of it, must certainly be regarded as having been occupied since the latter part of the neolithic phase, or the dawn of the bronze period, especially in the light of a recent discovery near the shore just below, and to the north-west of the camp. When the foundations of the present Isolation Hospital at the mouth of the Ystwyth were being excavated in 1911, a neolithic chipping-floor (fig. 1) was uncovered, and many hundreds of flint and chert cores, flakes, and some roughly-finished weapons were found. Practically the only source of flint in Wales is the seashore, where flints, deposited on what is now the floor of Cardigan Bay by the ancient glaciers, have since been heaped up on the storm beaches. The flints were presumably roughly chipped on this site, probably by the inhabitants of the Pen Dinas fortress-settlement, before being carried away to be finished at their leisure. The site was discovered by Professor O. T. Jones of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and a large number of flints have been collected by Mr. Roger Thomas, and are now in the Ethnographical Museum of the above-named institution.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient roadway from Pen Dinas camp to the shore seems to have led from the old entry into the defences, which is situated

<sup>1</sup> In Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* (1810) a bronze ornamented palstave is figured, which was found on Pen Dinas Hill, Aberystwyth,

on the south-east (facing the modern village of Penparke) somewhere near the 300-foot contour-line along the east. It bisects the pathway from Trefechan to Pen Dinas, and continues for some distance in a north-north-westerly and then in a north-westerly direction, and, though lost in one place, and partly masked for the greater part of its course by the modern hedge that has been built along its outer border, it is on the whole very distinct. Near the bottom of the slope, this old way is to be seen for a short distance quite unaltered, and deeply worn below the general level of the ground. Its present shoreward termination lies between the neolithic chipping-floor and the fishing village of Trefechan.

Before the draining of the marsh on which much of the present town of Aberystwyth has been built, one of the outlets of the Rheidol, though perhaps not the main one, was situated near the southern slope of Constitution Hill, Aberystwyth. The river reached it apparently by way of Plas Crug, Alexandra Road and Queen's Road. Both the Rheidol and the Ystwyth have been diverted near their outlets in order to form a harbour for ships. It must be remembered that, probably long into neolithic times, a low land with mounds and pools may have existed seaward of the present mouths of these two rivers. The shallows and pools of brackish water thus formed would teem with various species of estuarine fish, and these, together with the other products of the shore, would form an important source of food-supply to the inhabitants using the camp. The food-supply and the flint and chert supply, together with the defensive position, would give Pen Dinas a considerable importance in early times.

It can scarcely be doubted that Pen Dinas was in either constant or intermittent use later than the Roman occupation, and the roadway from the interior (with its mineral wealth, which was known and used in quite early times), may have been even then much used. This roadway is controlled by the fortress. It may in those early times have been the old roadway along the east of the fortress described above. Its importance may also have been in a measure connected with the importance of the site of the Wig-y-Gwyddel landing-place, as already shown.

In all times the essential needs of mankind have been the same, and the earthworks, whether they are late or early, whether in use intermittently or constantly, must have had some communication with each other. It has been observed that cattle

in search of water often wear lanes down hillsides, or when seeking fresh pasture naturally follow the brow or crest of a hill, where in early times the forest would tend to be less dense, owing to natural reasons which need not be discussed here. Man, subject to the same conditions, would follow a similar course. Many important ridgeways which must have had such a beginning are yet to be found, and many of the later *hillside* roads have had a similar origin, their main function being that of cross-linking the downhill tracks. The camps were probably not entirely self-contained, and trade between them in the few necessities of these early times, such as flint, salt, and perhaps skins, and later metals, must certainly have commenced at a very remote period indeed. Trade means communication, which would generally follow the upland ways, though sometimes forced to cross valleys. A cogent reason for believing in the antiquity of many of the present roadways is that it can scarcely be fortuitous that many of the earthworks are in such close proximity to these ways, or else connected with them by tracks which often seem to bear the impress of some antiquity.

On examination, the map of the Aberystwyth region reveals the fact that not only the present roads, but also the important mediæval ways, and many of the ancient ridgeways within a considerable area, seem to converge on Aberystwyth, Llanbadarn Fawr, or Pen Dinas. If such is really the case, probably Llanbadarn was their chief objective in the middle ages, but earlier it would have been either Pen Dinas itself or the shore near the fortress.

A few of the more noteworthy of these ridgeways may now be mentioned. One of the finest is that which leads from the high moorland east of the fine hill-fortress of Darren, past the camp, and is continuous with a roadway running in the valley. Another ridge roadway, coming from the moorland of the high plateau in the east, passes a small and simply defended ringwork—it can scarcely have been intended for military purposes—situated about a mile east of Penrhyn-côch.

These ways are all situated north of Aberystwyth: to the south the same hypothesis seems to hold good, the antiquity of some of the present lines of the roads being attested by the earthworks, pre-Roman and Norman, situated on or near them. The road from Aberystwyth to Devil's Bridge (Pont ar Fynach) follows in the main the precipitous left side of the Rheidol Gorge,



and the O. S. map of the district records two earthworks as occurring near its course. One of these camps is that situated in a fir-wood on the Old Warren Hill, slightly north-west Nant-Eos; the other<sup>1</sup> is placed on a hill situated about a mile west-north-west of Devil's Bridge, and just above Rhiwfron Station. All these camps, as well as the Pen Dinas earthwork, are probably more or less intimately connected with the roadways. Vegetation is generally sparse on Pen Dinas, owing to its exposure to the sea winds, though the terraces are covered with bracken during the warmer months, while much scrub grows on the northern and western slopes of the hill. Woodland may once have covered the landward slopes to some extent. Springs and ponds exist at several points near the defences—on the south, west, and east.

Several 'caerau' are visible from the enclosure, among them being Allt-Gôch camp, Broncastellan, Daren, Bwa-drain (near Rheidol Falls), etc.

The remarks relative to Pen Dinas must be regarded as being of a somewhat tentative character, as it is impossible to speak authoritatively until the site has been carefully examined. It is to be hoped that parts of the earthwork may be excavated under adequate supervision in the near future, when valuable results might reasonably be expected. Some approximate dimensions of the Pen Dinas site are given below :—

Area of camp,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  acres.

Greatest length, N.N.E. and S.S.W., 1400 feet.

Greatest height of eastern escarpments, lower 20-22 feet, upper 16 feet.

Greatest breadth of terraces on east, lower 54-60 feet, upper 40 feet.

<sup>1</sup> 'Camp' above Rhiwfron Station, near Devil's Bridge. This so-called 'camp' is, in the opinion of the writer, a purely natural formation. It surmounts a steep and narrow hog-backed ridge running in approximately a north-south direction, and situated near the main road from Aberystwyth to Devil's Bridge. The ridge slopes steeply down to Rhiwfron Station, on the southern bank of the Rheidol. When seen against the sky-line from Devil's Bridge Station, this supposed earthwork presents a striking picture, and resembles a steep-sided mount defended by a deep fosse, the whole appearing as though in section. However, a closer view is disappointing, and the two vertical cleavages across the summit of the rocky ridge, which isolate a central rocky portion—that which has the semblance of a mount when viewed from a distance,—can scarcely have been intended as *fossae*. Considered in relation with the hill, it seems improbable that the formation can be an artefact.



DARREN CONTOUR CAMP, NEAR CWM SYMLOG, ABERYSTWYTH  
(FIG. 2)

THE fine contour fortress of Darren is distant about six miles east-by-north of Aberystwyth, and surmounts the long, narrow ridge between Nant Silo on the north and the Afon Peithyll on the south. The highest point reached within the enclosure is 961 feet above sea-level. To the east of this earthwork lies the wild moorland country of the western side of Plynlimmon, and in its more immediate vicinity are numerous lead workings, all of which are now disused. From the moorland a path leads westward near the summit of the ridge, and passes close by the southern confines of the Darren fortress. This roadway is probably one of the finest local examples of a ridgeway, and must be of considerable antiquity. It leads on to the bottom of the slope where, near the farm of Cefn-llŵyd, it passes immediately north of Castell Stradpeithyll, a Norman castle-mount, which is situated on the Afon Peithyll near this place. The hill-road here terminates in the valley roadway, which leads on to Llanbadarn *via* the Waûn Fawr, as already stated.

The camp itself is remarkably well preserved, and its western vallum forms a conspicuous feature against the skyline; it is visible from a great distance. The defences have been built around a knoll that rises above the ridge. The slope of the ground outside the camp is steep on the north and south, in fact the northern declivity is precipitous. The well-preserved western vallum reaches a height of twenty feet above the bottom of the fosse, which is still traceable in the north-west. Near the foot of the inner face of the rampart much soil, which was doubtless used in building the breastwork, has been removed. Outside the eastern vallum there is a slight, and probably natural, terrace, beyond which there is a short but abrupt slope down to what appears to have been marshy land at no very remote date. The outer slope of the north-east and eastern vallum is steep, and its height here is about 20 feet. On the south its outside height is 12 feet. Breaches through the vallum are found in the west and south-east of the defences, and of these the latter may be regarded as the old gateway. The circumference of the vallum is approximately 800 feet. Bracken, gorse, and scrub are almost absent from the enclosure of the Darren earthwork. Water exists near the defences, from which a wonderful view of the surrounding country

and of the sea is obtained. The small circular earthwork near Penrhyn-côch is visible on the northern side of the Nant Silo valley, while the almost obliterated defences of another small contour camp surround a hilltop near Goginan-fâch. This latter camp is so badly mutilated that it has been found impossible to make a reasonably accurate plan of its defences.

ALLT-GÔCH CONTOUR CAMP, NEAR TALYBONT, ABERYST-  
WYTH (FIG. 3)

ALLT-GÔCH contour camp is situated upon a portion of the ridge of high land that forms the steep, wooded right bank of the Afon Leri between Talybont and Dol-y-Bont. The camp is roughly one mile as the crow flies from Talybont. The ridge which the camp defends is slightly over three hundred feet above sea-level.

The defences are much worn, and portions of the camp have been extensively quarried. Two sloping terraces, the lower of which is fairly broad, defend the north-eastern side of the camp. These commence near the entry, which is situated in the north-east, and they eventually merge into the single slight scarp that forms the protection along the south-east: this scarp, although it has been somewhat altered to form a hedge, probably forms a part of the original scheme of defence. Rock outcrops at several places within the enclosure, and along the summit of the enclosure there is a long, rocky 'sill,' running in a north-easterly and south westerly direction. Much quartz occurs mingled with this stone. Remains of the two lines of valla that once defended the north-east of the earthwork may still be discerned, and the old entry into the camp passes through them.

This camp is situated on Allt-Gôch farm; it commands an extensive view of the Leri valley, Borth, and the sea. Water exists at one or two places within a short distance of the site. A hillside roadway passes close to its north-eastern confines, and leads in the direction of Dol-y-bont, near Borth.

Caer Lletty-llŵyd is situated due east of this camp, on the left bank of the Leri, and is overlooked by it. Other ancient military earthworks in the vicinity are Caer Pwll-glâs and the Norman motte and bailey fortress of Castell Gwallter, which commands the approach to the coastal plateau at Llanfihangel-geneu'r Glyn.

PLATEAU CAMP, BRONCASTELLAN, BOW STREET,  
ABERYSTWYTH (FIG. 4)

EAST of the village of Bow Street, Aberystwyth, a hill rises fairly steeply to a height of five hundred feet, and its south-western slope is thickly wooded. On the summit of this hill, overlooking its south-eastern and steepest slope, is placed a rather large plateau camp. Although much of the hilltop has now been reclaimed, some of it is still given over to the gorse and bracken which formerly covered much of its surface, and this wilder portion faces towards Clarach Valley and the sea. A small pond exists near the north-east of the site. The height of the outer face of the vallum along the west of the camp is between eleven and twelve feet above the bottom of the fosse, which is still traceable here for some distance. All along this western side, just within the vallum, and running parallel to it, there is a banked hedge. This has probably been built of earth removed from the vallum, and this would explain the latter's weakness along this, the most assailable portion of the defences. The old gateway into the camp is placed in the north-west, and before it has been built a large mound or 'screen' for its better protection. This screen has been erroneously recorded as a tumulus on the ordnance survey maps. Other breaches in the vallum exist in the north and east, the latter being *possibly* a sally-port, while the former is certainly of modern date. The outer face of the vallum along the east is from eighteen to twenty feet high.

The area of the Broncastellan earthwork is roughly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres, almost the whole of which is thickly overgrown by gorse, scrub, and trees, causing great difficulty in the accurate planning and description of the site. Among camps visible from the Broncastellan fortress are those of Allt-Gôch, Darren, the small ring-work near Penrhyn-côch, etc. To the north-east of Broncastellan is an ancient trackway now forming for some distance the side of a field. From the trackway a lane, still in use, and, judging from its banks, of some antiquity, leads down towards the valley in which the village of Bow Street lies. From the junction of lane and trackway, a modern country road occupies the central part of the latter for a while, but farther on the trackway follows a very direct course along a low ridge. Finally, it mounts up the side of the Leri Valley, above Elerch, without reaching the very exposed ridge, and it can thence be followed right on to the high



moorlands. Of its great age in some parts there can be little doubt. It is interesting to note that two great blocks of white quartz stand or lie near it about halfway between Broncastellan and an earthwork (Pen-y-Castell contour camp) near the edge of the moorland. These blocks may be merely erratics, but in the case of one this seems unlikely. If they have been placed there by man, nothing is known as to their date or meaning. Similar blocks occur elsewhere (*e.g.* near Caer Fawr, Trawscoed) in some connection with earthworks and trackways.

Broncastellan is one of the most westerly of the earthworks, a sort of outpost of the others, and an outpost towards Pen Dinas, in the neighbourhood where the ridgeways were forced to leave the ridges projecting from the open moorland above the valley woodland and swamps.

#### LLETTY-LLŴYD CONTOUR CAMP, NEAR TALYBONT, ABERYSTWYTH (FIG. 5)

CAER LLETTY-LLŴYD is situated on the western and most gently sloping side of Cynull-Mâwr, a mass of high land which attains a height of upwards of 1000 feet in Ffynnon-ward,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles away to the south-east.

The camp is about a mile south-south-west of Talybont. The mass of rising ground, some  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles in area, is practically encircled by important roads, and is bounded on the east, north, and north-east (where another contour camp overlooks the edge of the plateau) by the Afon Leri, and on the south by a small tributary of the Clarach stream. Outside the defences of Caer Lletty-llŵyd, on the south and south-east, a small stream, Nant Groglwyd, has cut a fairly deep gorge, and the slope into which the lower rampart merges here forms the bank of this stream. East of the caer, which has been built just below the 300-foot contour line, the ground rises fairly sharply to Argoed fawr, which is over 800 feet.

The ground on which this earthwork stands is of such moderate elevation that much of it must have been formerly covered with trees in prehistoric times. From this fact, together with its unusual and somewhat elaborate defences, and its apparent connection with an ancient hillside roadway, we may reasonably suppose this camp to be of somewhat later date than some of the other earthworks described in this account. The ancient hillside



roadway just mentioned is conceivably Roman, as will be stated hereafter. It runs parallel with the modern road for some distance, but is lost in the present highway near Talybont, though it reappears beyond the village. In plan the Lletty-llŵyd camp is almost circular, with two terraces (on the east there appear to be traces of a third terrace), which have been formed by scarping the hillside. From the north, along the east towards the south, the vallum that formerly defended the lower terrace is still intact, and at the north-east, where it is best preserved, it still rises 9 feet above the floor of the terrace, from the inside. In the west and south the vallum has been obliterated, and the lower terrace slopes away to the road and the brook. Advantage has been taken of the shape of the ground to the east of the camp to form a large pond : this pond may possibly be ancient. The old entry into *Caer Lletty-llwyd* is not now apparent. The area is treeless.

PLATEAU CAMP OR RINGWORK, NEAR GARTH PENRHYN-  
CÔCH, ABERYSTWYTH (FIG. 6)

THIS so-called 'camp' is a small and roughly circular earthwork, situated just beyond the western termination of the moorland, on the spur of high land between the valleys of *Nant Salem* on the north and *Nant Silo* on the south, about a mile east of *Garth Penrhyn-côch*, a small hamlet near the village of *Penrhyn-côch*, *Aberystwyth*.

This earthwork can scarcely have been intended for purely military purposes, so simple and weak are its defences. Its construction probably post-dates that of some of the other sites dealt with in this account, and its chief function may have been that of safeguarding cattle, at a period when both wild animals and cattle-stealers were still numerous. Along the west the escarpment rises about 6 feet above the ground, and here the vallum has utterly disappeared. The rampart is just discernible in the south, its outer face reaching a height of about 11 feet. Along the south-east, east, and north the height of the defences above the level of the ground varies between 3-7 feet. What may be the old gateway is situated in the south-east of the site, and near it lies a heap of broken stone—the fragments of some large weathered boulders. The enclosure of this earthwork is rather thickly overgrown with gorse. Water does not seem to be present in any quantity quite near the site, but much of the ground in

the vicinity must have been boggy in the past, and before it was drained. Outside the earthwork the ground slopes away fairly steeply on the north, west, and south; eastwards it rises to Pen-y-Garn-Wen, two miles distant. From this latter place a ridge-way runs along the ridge, and passing near the south of the Penrhyn-côch earthwork, eventually meets the valley road. From the earthwork at Penrhyn-côch the Broncastellan fortress can be seen, as well as Darren camp, to the south-west, and the remains of a contour camp (Pen-y-Castell) on the east-north-east. The height of the ringwork above sea-level is about 400 feet.

#### PLATEAU CAMP, NANT-EOS, ABERYSTWYTH (FIG. 7)

THERE is an earthwork of rather large size, situated in a fir-wood on the Old Warren Hill, west-north-west of Nant-Eos, near Aberystwyth. It is located near the main road on the left side of the Rheidol Gorge, and its distance from the town of Aberystwyth is about three miles; it is approached from the road by way of the pathway to Pen-y-Cwarel farm. This pathway ends in a track which leads on in the direction of the old gateway of the camp, near which it passes over bed rock: it may thus be fairly old. The entry is placed on the north-west side of the defences.

This plateau camp, singularly enough, does not appear to have been previously known as such, and it is not recorded by the ordnance survey maps: it was brought to the writer's notice by Mr. Mervyn Griffith, of the U. C. W. Aberystwyth.

The ground on the west, immediately outside the defences, slopes away very abruptly, while on the south and south-east the gradient is less steep: along the bottom of the slope flows the Paith Brook. The greater portion of the enclosure slopes away to the south, and much of it is now densely wooded, making its accurate planning a matter of the utmost difficulty. Consequently the plan of the site which accompanies this account must be regarded as subject to correction. The defences of the Nant-Eos site appear to be of a military character, and its connection with the Aberystwyth-Devil's Bridge road seems to be unquestionable. These facts give a certain degree of confirmation to the hypothesis which has already been advanced, of this road's development from a ridgeway. At the north, and for some distance along the western side of the camp, the defences consist of

the usual vallum and fosse ; in the north the fosse is still rather formidable. We should naturally expect to find the artificial defences stronger here than elsewhere, as they protect the weakest portion of the scheme of defence. Along the north-east and east the hillside has been scarped, and there is (now) no built-up vallum, but a bank of earth runs along the foot of the eastern escarpment, becoming lost near the south-east, where the defences are continuous with the steep slope of the hill. On the south and south-west the slope becomes yet steeper, and the slight parapet that probably once protected the camp here has long since disappeared. The circumference of the defences is approximately 800 yards. In the north the top of the vallum is still about 12 feet above the floor of the fosse. Near the north-east of the enclosure there is a rocky outcrop which forms a marked rise or low knoll.

#### CONTOUR CAMP, NEAR CAPEL BANGOR, ABERYSTWYTH (FIG. 8)

JUST to the north of the village of Capel Bangor, Aberystwyth, there is a ridge of high land running in an east-west direction. This ridge attains a height of rather more than 500 feet above sea-level at a place distant about one half-mile north of the church of this village. Here, built about a knoll, are the remains of a small contour camp.

Although the site is of moderate elevation when compared with that of many of the other hill-forts of North Cardiganshire, it is of some strategic importance, as, on the north, west, and south the hill slopes away rather sharply. East of the camp the ground is comparatively level, and here, as one might reasonably expect to find, the defences are better preserved than elsewhere. Such a vulnerable portion would call for greater strengthening by artificial means, in order to ensure tolerable security from attack.

The defences of this hill-fortress are in no way remarkable, and consist of only a single vallum, much of which has been utterly destroyed, largely owing to the fact that the knoll which the camp defends is rich in quartz, which has been extensively quarried in the past. Several of these stone workings are within the camp enclosure, and some buildings on Llwyn-Iorwerth-uchaf farm (on which the camp is situated) have been built almost wholly of the material thus removed. There is now no trace of the fosse at any point. The highest portion of the knoll is approximately



near the centre of the enclosure, which is treeless, although much overgrown by gorse. The northern vallum is now scarcely discernible, and the scarp, though still fairly steep, soon merges into the declivity of the hillside. In the north-east and east the top of the rampart is in places 2 feet above the area, its steep outer face measuring between 6-7 feet in height. The vallum has disappeared in the south, only the scarp now remaining, and this sometimes attains a height of about 5 feet above the ground. No trace of the western defences remain, but judging from the incomplete plan of the rest of the fortress, we may suppose the site to have been roughly circular in form. The site commands a wide view of the locality, and also of Pen Dinas and the sea. An abundant water supply exists in the form of a small stream which flows near the north of the camp. The old gateway of the camp is not now apparent, and this points to its having been situated in the west, the part which is destroyed.

The road which passes near the north of the camp, running for a time parallel with the course of the small stream mentioned above, leads eastwards to what is probably an old ridgeway on the northern edge of the valley of the Afon Melindwr. It was probably connected with other important ridgeways at a remote period, by means of that portion of an ancient roadway (the 'Roman road') which leads northwards from Capel Bangor towards Penrhyn-côch. Much of the land in the vicinity of this camp is under cultivation, which fact in itself accounts for much that is vague in the mention of ancient means of communication and their connection with the Capel Bangor earthwork.

CAER PWLL-GLÂS, LLANFIHANGEL-GENEU'R-GLYN,  
ABERYSTWYTH (FIG. 9)

CAER PWLL-GLÂS, near Llanfihangel-geneu'r-glyn, Aberystwyth, must rank among the very finest examples of early military engineering in North Cardiganshire in several respects, such as the elaborate nature of its defences, and their wonderful state of preservation. The camp is situated towards the steep south-eastern slope of a small plateau, immediately north of Pont Rhyd-y-pennau, where the main road from Aberystwyth branches to Talybont and Borth *via* Llanfihangel. It is placed at the summit of this hill, which reaches an elevation of 400 feet above sea-level,



and the earthwork overlooks the road which leads on to Talybont. The gradient on the north and west is gentle.

This caer is roughly circular in form, though the plan of the site which accompanies this article must be regarded as subject to correction in minor details owing to the difficulty encountered when surveying it; an almost impenetrable undergrowth covers much of the defences. The enclosure is also thickly wooded, and this camp is by far the most overgrown of the North Cardigan-shire earthworks. Its defences consist of two concentric valla, *between* which there is a well-marked fosse, which has been partly formed by excavation, sometimes in the solid rock—notably in the south-east, at the base of the escarpment of the ditch, where the rock has been scarped to form the fosse for a short distance. In the south-east the declivity of the hill is abrupt, and the scarp is soon lost in the slope of the hillside: in this place all trace of the parapet has been removed, the earth and stone of which it was formed having probably been washed down the slope by the action of rain and other destructive agencies. The area inclosed by the ramparts is level, except where the ground has been disturbed by burrowing animals, or in the removal of large trees: in such loose soil much stone is seen to be intermingled. The extreme length of the enclosure between north-west and south-east is over 300 feet. What is undoubtedly the original entry into the fortress is situated at the south-west, where the fosse is interrupted for a space of some 18 feet, thus forming a slightly inclined way leading into the enclosure. The height of the inner rampart above the area along the west and north is about 4 feet, while it stands about 12 feet above the fosse in this place. On the north-west the defences are much worn. Portions of the outer rampart have been incorporated in a modern banked hedge in the south-west. In the north-east the inner vallum is only slightly raised above the area, its height above the bottom of the fosse being 6 feet: the fosse is here 12 feet across, the outer vallum standing from 3-4 feet above it. The circumference of the inner vallum is approximately 350 paces. Water is found near the north of Caer Pwll-glâs in the form of a small spring.

This camp was probably connected with an old east-west road which crossed the hill near the northern confines of the camp. The existence of this roadway may be inferred from a portion which still persists for a short distance. This way seems to have

terminated westwardly near what is now Llanfihangel village. Owing to the isolated position of the hill defended by *Caer Pwll-glâs*, any communication with neighbouring heights would lead across valleys, but as these are for the most part narrow in the neighbourhood of the earthwork, they could not have proved very serious obstacles to communication, more especially as the plan of the site, its elaborate fosse, and above all its wonderful state of preservation, show it to be relatively later in date.

It is interesting to note that, within a radius of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles of *Pwll-glâs* there are no less than four examples of early military engineering, namely the contour camps of *Allt Gôch* and *Llettyllŵyd*, the *Broncastellan* plateau earthwork, and the Norman mount and bailey fortress of *Castell Gwallter*.

The connection of the North Cardiganshire camps with the lead and copper mines of the region has been the subject of some speculation, and the matter is of great interest. Some of the workings are known to have been used during the Roman Occupation, and perhaps prior to it. The matter is a closed book, however, and must long continue so, although some knowledge bearing upon the subject might possibly be gained by the analysis of the composition of the locally-discovered metallic implements.<sup>1</sup> Such finds are rare, however, and most of them appear either to be now widely scattered or irretrievably lost. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of the connection between the earthworks and the mines. The application of this idea should therefore be limited for the present to camps which, from the moderate elevation of the sites which they occupy, or for other reasons, can scarcely be earlier than the commencement of the metallic period and may probably be still more recent. Such are *Caer Llettyllŵyd*, which crowns a hillock of moderate elevation, with its elaborate and unusual defences, and *Caer Pwll-glâs* with its double circumvallation. Another feature which points to the relatively late date of some of the sites is the manner in which their *fossae* have been clean-cut in the rock, and to illustrate which we may cite as examples the *Pwll-glâs* and *Pen-y-castell* earthworks, although the removal of the debris which now partially fills the ditches of most of the camps would undoubtedly yield many

<sup>1</sup> Texture of locally-found bronze implements. The Ethnographical Museum of the U. C. W., Aberystwyth, possesses two local celts, which, though differing from one another in colour, yet are both extremely hard, and by cursory examination appear to be considerably harder than other celts in the Museum.

others. It will be conceded that such excavation in stone—much of the work persists as clean-cut as at the time of its execution—implies the use of metallic implements. Plateau camps usually depend far more upon their artificial defences for protection than do contour camps, and their construction involves a greater expenditure of labour than such an earthwork as, say, Allt-Gôch contour camp, which defends the summit of a ridge. Here the hill slopes have been simply scarped, and the debris (probably) used in building the sloping terraces thus formed. Where the gradient is slight, and this method was not practicable, the valla are generally simple, and show great economy of labour, and there seem to be few, if any, rock-cut *fossae*. All this evidence implies a more primitive mode of fortification, as it restricts the choice of a site to a few of the more barren or exposed hill-tops and their (generally) greater antiquity is often attested by the more dilapidated condition of their remains. The latter fact is the more significant when considered in relation with their situation, which is usually away from the present-day haunts of man, and generally useless for agricultural purposes. These remarks need some modification in the case of Allt-Gôch camp, because some of the destruction which has been wrought within its defences is the result of the quarrying for stone within its area.

To judge from the number of the memorials which he has left in the form of camps and other monuments, the district near Caer Pwll-glâs seems to have been peculiarly suited to the needs of early man, and we have not far to seek to discover the reasons for this. In the pre-metal-using days, man was powerless against the primeval forest that covered most of the lowlands and much of the hill slopes, and was forced to dwell upon the uplands, choosing, whenever such were available, heights of moderate elevation when these were fairly free of wood. Much of the coastal plateau in this region seems to have been comparatively open from a remote period (the trees occurring on most of the sites are of modern planting, and are not of indigenous species), owing to the effect of the sea winds. The hills, despite these facts, provide good pasture and abundant waters. The presence of two important mediæval (or older) roadways, namely the 'Roman road' and the road between Aberystwyth and Borth, *via* Wallog, near the western edge of the coastal plateau, lends support to this view, and the higher portions of the first-named way *may* possibly mark the upper limit of the woodland at the



time of the greatest importance of the roadway as a means of communication. Therefore, as regards situation, pasture, and water-supply, these heights were admirably suited to the requirements of the small pastoral communities who built and used the camps. Some of them were probably stations on knolls in the woodland, useful in migrations from the greater moorlands down towards the sea beaches.

CONTOUR CAMP, PEN-Y-CASTELL, NEAR ELERCH, ABERYSTWYTH  
(FIG. 10)

THE remains of a small contour camp surmount a hill known as Pen-y-Castell, about a mile south-south-east of the village of Elerch (Bont-gôch), Aberystwyth. The head about which the defences have been built reaches a height of 800 to 900 feet above sea-level. The valleys on the north and south of the hill have been formed by the action of two small streams, that on the south, the Afon Stewy, being the more important, and receiving the water of the smaller stream just west of the caer. Below the earthwork on the south-east, two reservoirs have been formed by the damming of the Stewy brook, and these formerly supplied the motive power to the various lead workings in the vicinity, now all closed down. Hills of superior elevation overlook the camp on the east and south, and of these Craig-y-Pistyll, which is about a mile and a half east of the earthwork, is the greatest. Northward the camp is afforded much protection by the ridge known as Banc Lletty-Evan-hên. Thus, although the western outlook is comparatively uninterrupted, the site, despite its altitude, is well sheltered.

The defences surround the summit of the hill, and are roughly oval in plan; they consist of the usual vallum and fosse, both of which are greatly mutilated in parts. The fosse is particularly interesting, as it has persisted to the present time, in one or two places, in a splendid state of preservation; much of it also has been excavated in the rock. The highest portion of the hill is within the enclosure, which slopes gently away to the vallum in all directions. In the west the vallum is now only slightly marked, though the scarp is still sharp, standing about 6 feet above the bottom of the ditch along this side of the fortress. The fosse is only just discernible on the west. A modern breach exists in the rampart at the north-west. To the north the top of the rampart



is about 2 feet above the area, its outer face sloping steeply for about 11 to 12 feet to the ditch, here very well defined, and having a depth of about 1 foot. The least mutilated portion of the vallum is that on the east, where it stands about 4 feet above the camp enclosure, and 12 feet above the floor of the fosse : the depth of the counterscarp of the fosse just north of east is 4 feet. The southern and south-eastern defences are now faint, though the scarp may still be followed, but it soon becomes lost in the general slope, which is steepest towards the south. There is a large depression in the south-east of the enclosure, and as the scarp can be traced crossing this, it may be older than the building of the caer. The old entry into the Pen-y-Castell earthwork is situated just north of east, where the vallum and fosse are interrupted by a pathway passing through them, the former for a space of 15 feet, and the latter for a length of about 30 feet. (See also entry of Caer Pwll-glâs, Fig. 9.) What appears to be a second gateway exists in the east-south-east of the defences, but this is probably recent, and perhaps marks the termination of the fosse in the scarped rock face in this place. The enclosure is treeless, and very little scrub grows near the site, while the surrounding heights are also practically devoid of scrub. We cannot assume that the whole area was bare in early times, but it is probable that the knolls were bare, and the hillsides near them more or less covered. Owing to the narrowness of the valleys near the Pen-y-Castell earthwork, communication with the old ridgeways which run along the neighbouring heights was probably always possible.

Near the foot of the north-western slope, and close to the track which connects the camp with the ancient way that leads eastward along Banc Lletty-Evan-hên, there stands a large rectangular monolith (*maen hir* ?) of fine grained grit, the top of which is deeply scored. This stone appears to bear the marks of considerable age, though it is difficult to imagine what its use could have been. The ridgeway along Banc Lletty-Evan-hên seems to connect, just south of Elerch, with one of the finest examples of a ridgeway in the region, and one which has retained its importance as a means of communication to the present day, namely the present road from Elerch to Bow Street (Bron-castellan). From this roadway, near Mynydd-gorddu farm, a vein of quartz is visible on the southern slope of the plateau (Cynnull-Mâwr). This quartz vein is again visible on the nor-

thern slope of the plateau, to the west of the contour camp known as Pen Dinas, Talybont, and the lode of lead seems to run parallel with it. When the lead workings near Elerch were in use the need of communications naturally gave the ridgeway a renewed importance as an artery of trade, and largely owing to this fact it was improved, and still retains its importance. At the north of Bow Street village a lane runs eastwards and connects with the ridgeway north-east of Broncastellan, which see for further matter dealing with this ridgeway).

The quartz monolith, which has already been mentioned as occurring near the course of this ridgeway, if it is ancient, may have functioned as a 'pointer' in the direction of Pen-y-Castell or as a midway or boundary stone between that and, perhaps, Broncastellan. A short distance west of this quartz block, near Pen-y-cwm, the ridgeway bisects the 'Roman road' running along the western side of Cynnull-Mâwr in the direction of Talybont.

#### PEN DINAS CONTOUR CAMP, WAUN-Y-GWYDDEL, NEAR TALYBONT (FIG. 11)

THE contour camp known as Pen Dinas, near Talybont, is built around a rocky knoll overlooking the steep left side of the Leri gorge, where this river suddenly bends and flows westwards towards Talybont, from which village this earthwork is distant about two miles east-south-east. Near the camp, and more especially on the west and south, the ground is boggy, and is known as Waun-y-Gwyddel (= 'the marsh of the Irishman'). Two small streams take their rise in this marsh, and flow down the northward slope of the hill, at the foot of which they join the Leri; the larger of these bears the name of Nant-y-Gwyddel. Near the north-east and east the declivity becomes very abrupt. The rocky knoll, enclosed by the defences, stands out from the marsh at this extremity of the plateau, and a height of over 900 feet O. D. is attained at the rocky summit of the knoll, which may perhaps be termed the citadel of the caer. The long axis of the defences is orientated north and south. The defences are much worn, and it is a matter of no small difficulty to define just where the artificial defences merge into the natural slopes. An inner scarp and steeply sloping terrace surrounds the rocky citadel, though the existence of this terrace along the west is

somewhat doubtful. This inner defence still carries a slight rampart in the north. The scarp becomes somewhat indistinct in the west, below the citadel, and it seems to have been strengthened here by the addition of another small scarp, which slopes away to the marsh beneath. Adjoining the northern end of the main defences, there is another and smaller crescent-shaped enclosure, defended by a well-preserved scarp and rampart. A second scarp and (also sloping) terrace extends along the eastern side of the knoll or citadel, at the south of which its outer margin carries a high rampart, which defends the eastern side of the gateway into the camp, and its western flank is safeguarded by a similar rampart. Faint indications of yet a third terrace are discernible to the south-east of the citadel. From the entry in the south, a causeway of earth and stones extends across the marsh (here very wet) for a short distance in roughly a southerly direction. This causeway meets some ridges of drier ground. Trackways across the plateau, which is even now of a wild and savage character, and has probably always been treeless, probably connected the caer with various ridgeways, such as that between Pen-y-Castell and Broncastellan (*q.v.*) and also with the 'Roman road,' which leads along the western foot of the plateau on which the caer is placed.

Where the valla have been mutilated they are seen to be composed largely of stone. Quartz abounds near the site, and evidence of the search for lead exists in the form of trial pits. The ramparts are rather overgrown with scrub in places. The situation occupied by this interesting and peculiar earthwork is of great strategic importance, and its natural and man-made defences combine to make the position one of great strength. Its occupation may well date from very early times, and as its name of 'hill-city' or 'hill-refuge' would lead us to suspect, its final abandonment is, relatively speaking, not a matter of very many centuries, and thus the name may be a fairly clear case of 'folk memory.' Near the entry, and slightly west of the causeway leading up to it, two silver coins were discovered some thirty years ago by a woman peat-digger. They were subsequently disposed of to an Aberystwyth resident, the woman receiving ten shillings from the transaction. Since then all trace of them appears to have been lost.



‘Y DOMEN-LÂS,’ A MOUNT AND BAILEY FORTRESS, YSGUBOR-Y-COED, NEAR BORTH (FIG. 12)

THE well-preserved mount and bailey fortress known as ‘Y Domen-Lâs’ (=the green mound) is situated near the water’s edge on the left bank of the Afon Dyfi (River Dovey), where the river suddenly bends northwards before it empties itself into the head of the Dovey Estuary. The site is distant about one mile north of Ysgubor-y-coed (Eglwys-fâch), from which village it is approached by the road which, crossing the Einion brook, connects near Plas Ynys-hir with another way that runs for some distance in a northerly and southerly direction along the side of a ridge: this way has the appearance of having been used for a considerable period. It terminates, after crossing the railway by a bridge over a cutting, in a track leading to within a short distance of the site of the Domen-Lâs castell. The fortress is placed at the northernmost extremity of the more easterly of the two rocky ridges which rise above the marsh, and run parallel with each other in the direction of the river. The marsh, though probably never very treacherous here, defends the fortress along the east and west. The ridge on which this earthwork is placed is everywhere below 50 feet O. D. A ford across the Dovey seems formerly to have existed near the north-east of the site, on the testimony of the old Welsh chronicles, and although the river is *now* too wide to be fordable in this place, it is probably here that a crossing would be attempted. Therefore we cannot doubt that this castell was built here in order to safeguard the crossing, which owed much of its importance to its nearness to the old roadway between Ysgubor-y-coed, Talybont, Penrhyn-côch and Capel Bangor. This is the northernmost portion of the so-called ‘Roman road,’ which follows the western side of Foel-fâch and Moel y Garn between Ysgubor-y-coed and Talybont. It can be traced southward past Capel Bangor practically to the Sarn Elen at Lledrod. The Domen-Lâs castell consists of a mount and bailey of the usual shape, though their preservation is somewhat remarkable. The fosse which surrounds the motte has been formed partly by excavation in the north-east and west, while at the south it is enclosed by a built-up vallum, the height of which varies between 2 to 4 feet above the floor of the ditch. This vallum has been obliterated in the south-east, and a recently-formed breach has been made through it in the north. The



circumference of the summit of the mount is approximately 40 paces, its height above the ditch being about 16 to 18 feet. As is so frequently found to be the case in Welsh examples of the mount and bailey type of fortress, the earthwork has been built about an outcrop of rock. The fortifications are orientated north-east and south-west, the north-eastern end of the base-court thus overlooking the river. A remarkable feature is found in the south-east of the fosse, where a narrow neck of rock, which has been cut on its northern face, connects the bailey with the mount. This is the more noteworthy as it really forms a weak point in the defensive scheme, and it is an interesting speculation as to whether the defences of this castell were ever finished as originally planned, because it appears fairly obvious that the moat was intended to surround the mount completely. The bailey measures about 30 yards extreme length, its greatest breadth being nearly 18 yards. Its scarp is still fairly distinct, but no traces remain of the vallum that once defended its edge. The whole earthwork is somewhat overgrown by trees and scrub.

The old chronicles seem to attribute the building of the Domen-Lâs fortress to Cadell and his brothers Maredudd and Rhys, the sons of Gruffydd ap Rhys, who in 1151 were striving for the possession of North Cardiganshire. They secured the whole of Penweddig shortly after this date, and Rhys, upon hearing rumours in 1156 of a threatened invasion by Owain Gwynedd, built a fortress near Glandovey and the old ford across the river. This is identified with Domen-Lâs. The 'building' of Maredudd and his brothers may, however, simply mean that he rendered defensible an already existing mount and bailey fortress. It seems unlikely that a people so thorough as the Normans had left such an important place as the so-called ford across the Dyfi unguarded, and this castell may be yet another of the Strongbow chain of fortresses in North Cardiganshire, the site of some of which remain unknown. When the fortress at Ystrad Meurig, Aberystwyth (Tan-y-Bwlch), Llanfihangel Geneu'r-glyn, etc., were built the seat of the Welsh power lay temporarily north of the Dyfi, and Domen-Lâs, if built by the Normans, not only guarded a vital point, but also acted as the northernmost 'tentacle' to the others, being constantly in touch with any hostile movements of the Welsh of Gwynedd (North Wales).

The surveying of these earthworks has been much facilitated

by the generous permission and assistance given by Sir Edward Webley Parry Pryse, Bart., Mr. E. A. L. Powell, Mr. D. H. Owen, Mr. Griffith Jones, Mr. Arthur Morgan, Mr. Edwards and others, while Mr. F. Hutchings of Southgate, Penparke, has supplied valuable information on several occasions. Mr. C. L. Walton, Mr. L. E. Sulston, Mr. Mervyn Griffith and Mr. J. Ll. Jones—all of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and Mr. D. Rees Davies of Aberystwyth, have helped with the surveying work. To all these my best thanks are due.

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NOTE.—After writing the article Mr. Richard Elles, M.A., called my attention to the list of camps or *caers* in Peniarth ms. 118. Pendinas is there called Castell Maylor, and Tanybwlic camp (see *Aberystwyth Studies*, i. p. 121) is called Castell Cornippin. Other castles mentioned as being in Cardiganshire are Castell Grugyn, in the parish of Llanilar, Bwba, near Llanbadarn-fawr, Edwyn, probably Castell Odwyn in Llanbadarn Odyn, and Garwed, near Strata Florida.

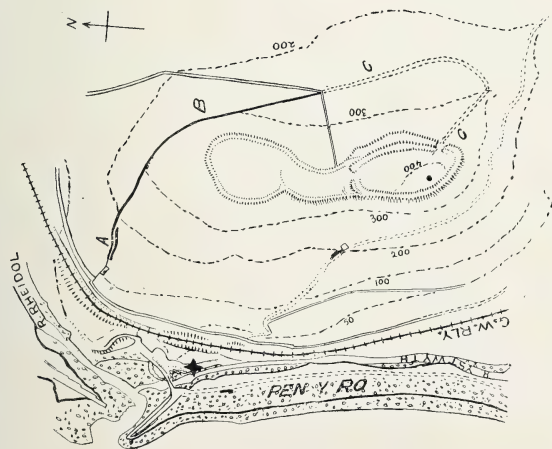


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF PEN DINAS CONTOUR CAMP, ABERYSTWYTH, AND SURROUNDINGS.

† Site of Neolithic Chipping Floor.

A. Unaltered portion of the probable old roadway from the camp to the shore.

B. Continuation of old roadway, the outer border of which is here masked by a banked hedge.

CC. Probable course of old roadway from *b* to entry.

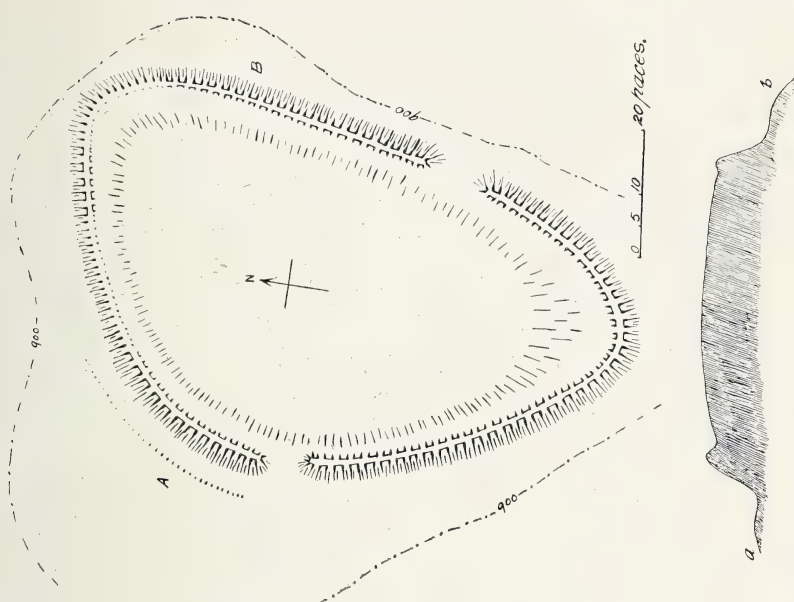


FIG. 2. DARREN CONTOUR CAMP, NEAR CWM SYMLOG, ABERYSTWYTH.  
Vertical Scale=Horizontal.





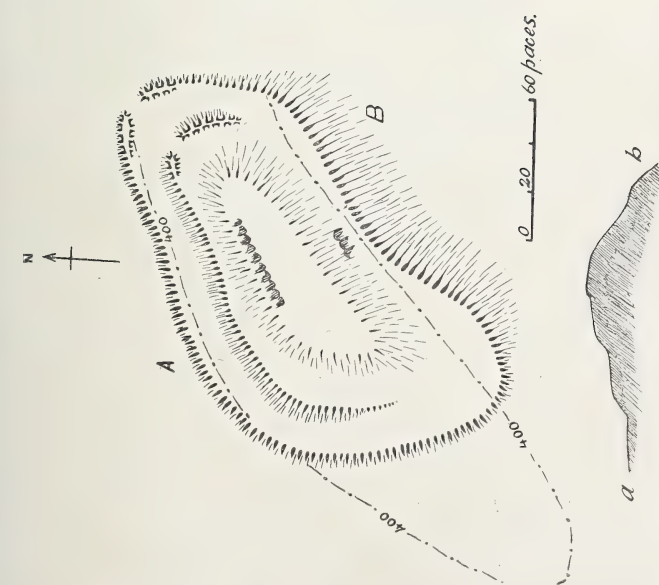


FIG. 3.—ALLT GÔCH CONTOUR CAMP, NEAR TALYBONT, ABERYSTWYTH.  
Vertical Section = Horizontal.

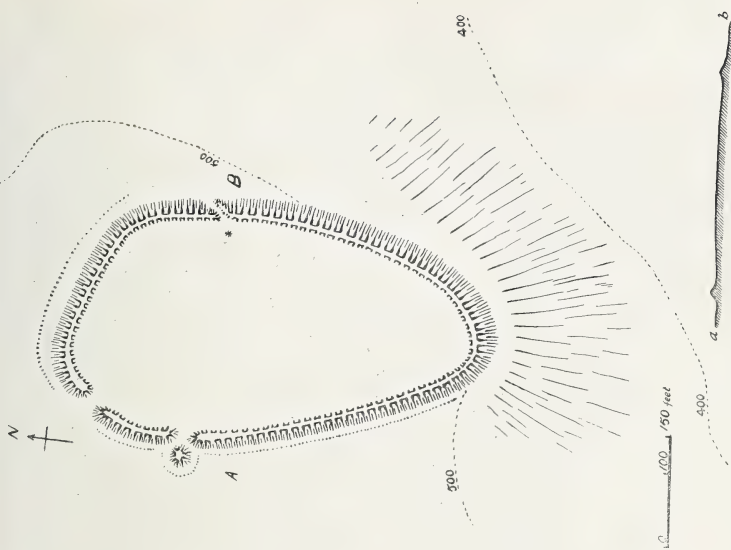


FIG. 4.—PLATEAU CAMP, BRONCASTELLAN, BOW STREET, ABERYSTWYTH.  
\* Sally-port?  
Vertical Scale = Horizontal.



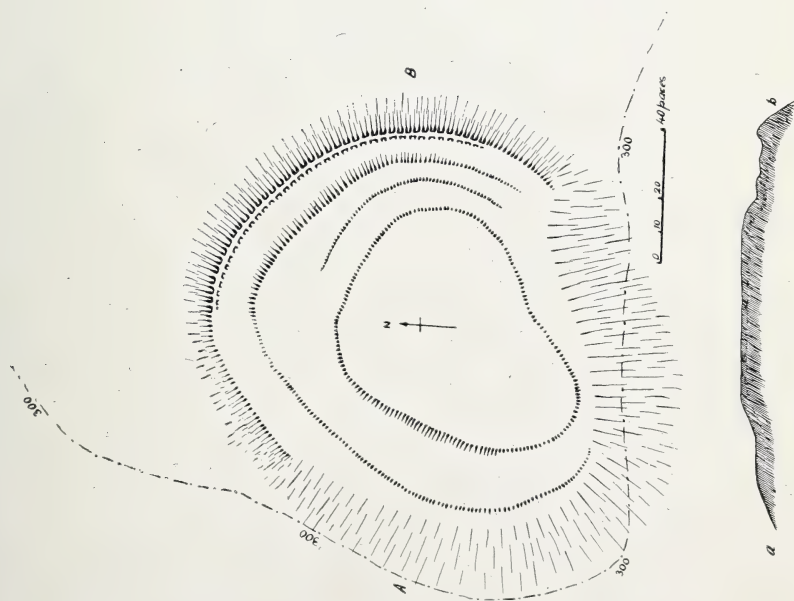


FIG. 5.—LLETTY-LLYŴYD CONTOUR CAMP, NEAR TAL-Y-BONT, ABERYSTWYTH.  
Vertical Scale = Horizontal.

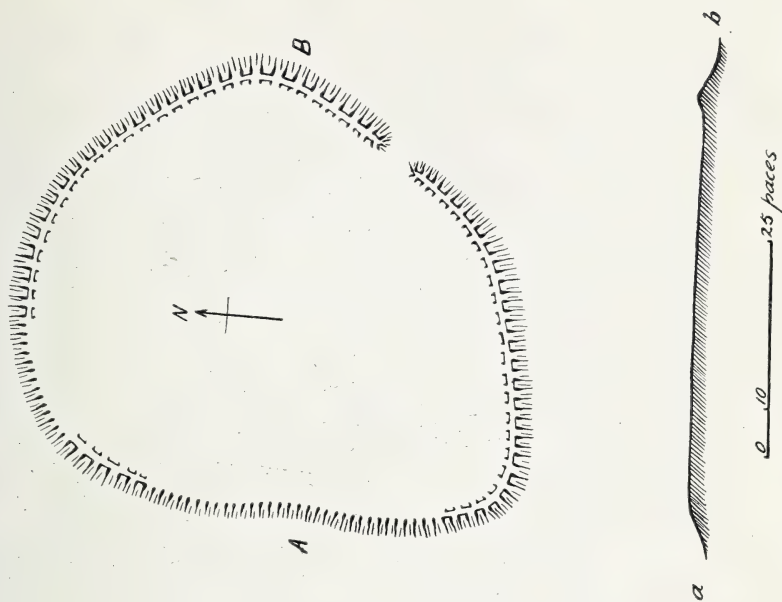


FIG. 6.—PLATEAU CAMP (?) NEAR GARTH PENRHYN-CŌCH, ABERYSTWYTH.  
Vertical Section = Horizontal.





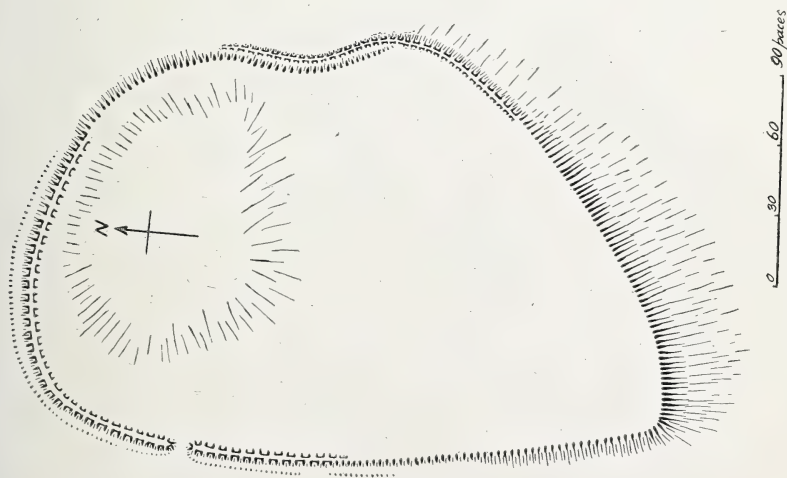


FIG. 7.—PLATEAU CAMP, OLD WARREN HILL, NANT-EOS, ABERYSTWYTH.

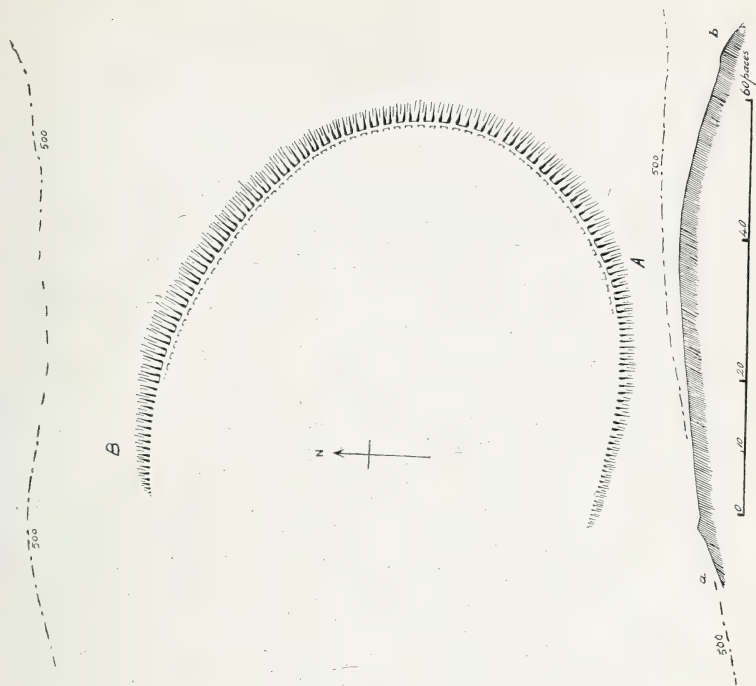


FIG. 8.—CONTOUR CAMP, NEAR CAPEL BANGOR, ABERYSTWYTH.

Vertical Scale = Horizontal.



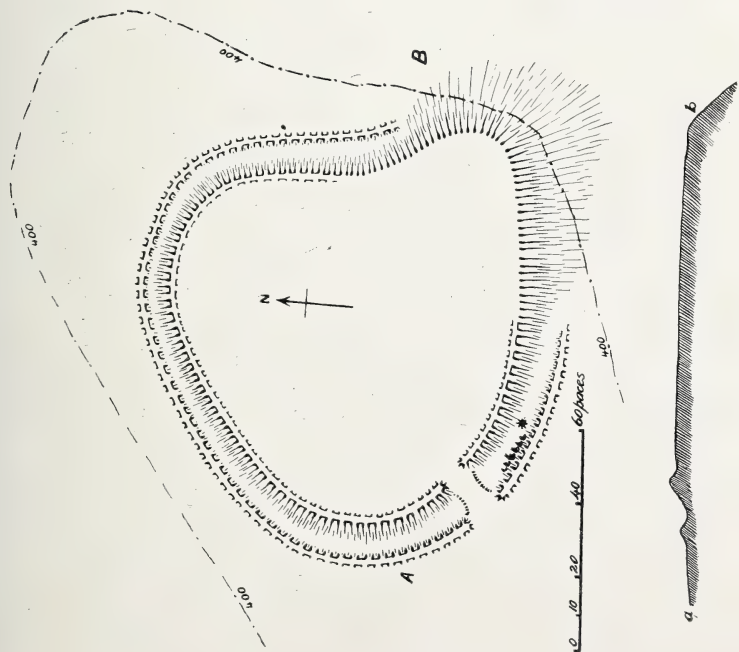


FIG. 9.—CAER PWLL-GLÂS, NEAR LLANTHANGEL-GENEU'R-GLYN,  
ABERYSTRWYTH.

\* Worked rock face.

Vertical Scale = Horizontal.

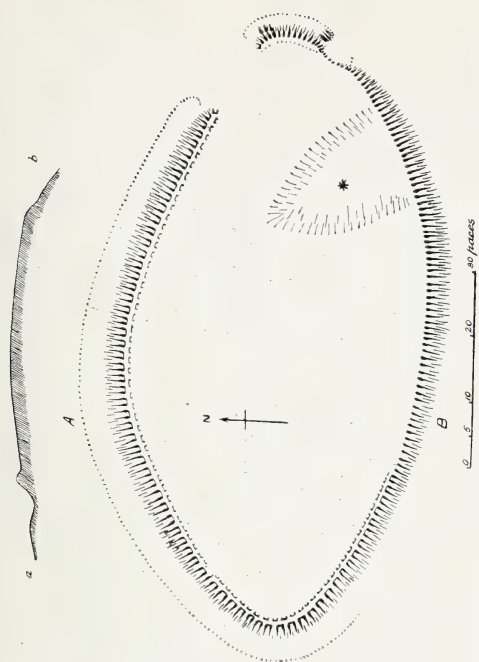
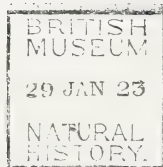


FIG. 10.—PEN-Y-CASTELL CONTOUR CAMP, NEAR ELEROH (BONT-GÔCH),  
ABERYSTRWYTH.

\* Depression, probably natural.

Vertical Scale = Horizontal.





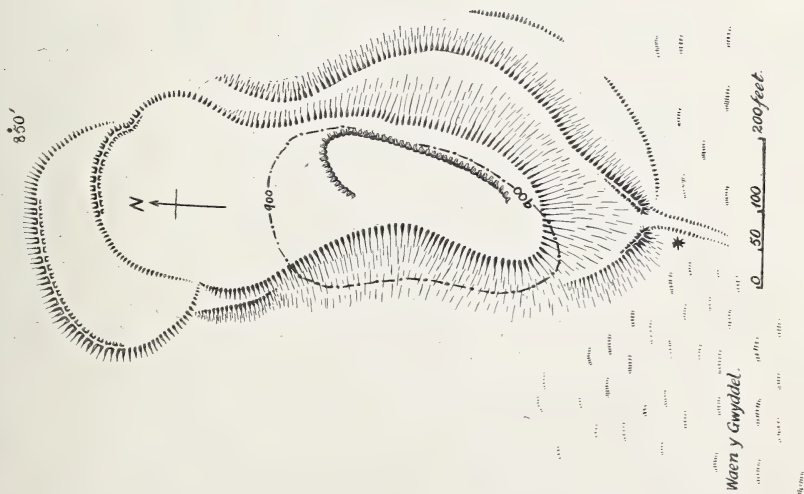


FIG. 11.—PEN DINAS CONTOUR CAMP, WAUN Y GWYDDEL, NEAR TALYBONT.

\* Causeway.

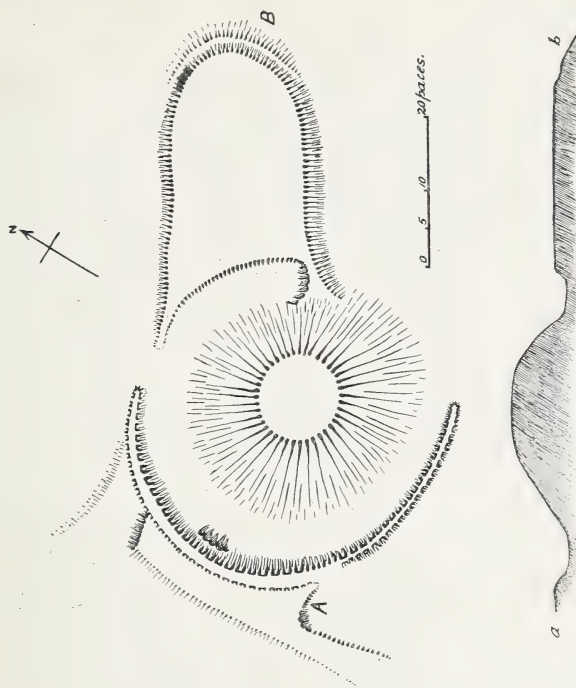
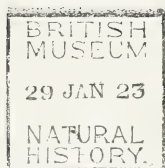


FIG. 12.—DOMEN LÁS, A MOTTE AND BAILEY FORTRESS, YSGUBOR-Y-COED (EGLWYS-FÂCH), NEAR BORTH.

Vertical Scale=Horizontal.



WHITMAN AND VERHAEREN

BY

P. M. JONES, B.A.





## WHITMAN AND VERHAEREN

Walt Whitman, auquel il faut toujours revenir quand il s'agit de Verhaeren, bien que celui-ci—disons-le expressément—ait accompli une évolution pareille mais tout à fait indépendante.'—STEFAN ZWEIF, *Emile Verhaeren*, p. 147.

### INTRODUCTION

WHITMAN and Verhaeren are considered by the younger generation of Continental poets as the twofold source of inspiration in contemporary poetry. And if of the two influences that of Emile Verhaeren is as yet the more deeply felt in France, the young poets of Germany have a cult for Whitman which is reflected in the most vigorous productions of contemporary German poetry. It is, therefore, not surprising that the finest appreciation of Emile Verhaeren, coming from the pen of a young German poet, should dwell upon the constant resemblances between the visionary of Belgium and the American prophet-poet.

Moreover, these resemblances in thought and expression are so numerous and frequently so striking as to suggest the idea of a more or less definite influence. But a close study of the question reveals the truth of Stefan Zweig's conclusion, quoted above, which we accept for two excellent reasons. First, we confess that the length of our comparison has but too often prevented us from touching upon the vast dissimilarities which exist between certain phases of the two poets' work, and which are not so evident in their ideas or even in their art—although Verhaeren is undeniably a greater artist than Whitman—as in the treatment similar subjects get from the hands of two writers whose mental outlook is often profoundly different. In the second place, not only have we been unable to find any one in France to support the idea of Verhaeren's debt to Whitman, but the Belgian poet himself assured us that the suggestion was groundless, explaining that he was no linguist and could not read Whitman in the original. And as M. Bazalgette's complete translation of *Leaves of Grass* did not appear in France till 1909, Verhaeren had already written the greater part of his work before Whitman became intelligible to

him, except perhaps through a few renderings made from time to time in French reviews.

In comparing the work of these two writers, we must note at the outset a fundamental dissimilarity which will in no wise interfere with the comparison, though it must modify our methods of treatment. The work of Verhaeren is an evolution in itself. His first volumes are examples of the purely objective art of the Parnassians. The trilogy which follows deals with the personal theme of his own sufferings and is more and more symbolic in style. After this personal phase, Verhaeren becomes for the next few years the poet of Socialist aspirations, the prophet of the new industrialism ; while his last volumes, the most important of all, no longer deal with the world in its isolated manifestations : they endeavour to enclose the universe in a new law. A corresponding development is traceable in the form of these works. The rigid metres of the Parnassian period give way to the free verse of the Symbolists. In the hands of Verhaeren this becomes the purely personal medium in which the majority of his works are written. Finally, there appears a marked tendency to revert to the classical alexandrine.

The poetry of Walt Whitman shows no such evolution. In his thoughts as in his modes of expression, it is not possible to find any strongly marked progress. So that while it is perfectly legitimate to speak of the poetic evolution of Verhaeren, the same terms cannot be applied to Whitman. Having admitted this difference, we shall endeavour to show that Verhaeren's evolution was a development in the direction of Whitman whom he finally surpasses as a ' singer of the modern.'

## CHAPTER I

## WHITMAN AND VERHAEREN AS NATIONAL POETS

I heard that you asked for something to prove this puzzle,  
 The New World,  
 And to define America, her athletic Democracy,  
 Therefore I send you my poems . . .  
 WHITMAN, 'To Foreign Lands.'

Je suis le fils de cette race  
 Tenace  
 Qui veut après avoir voulu  
 Encore, encore, et encore plus !  
 Races d'Europe et des soudaines Amériques,  
 Ma race !

VERHAEREN, *Les Forces tumultueuses*.

In considering together Whitman and Verhaeren, it is at once evident that they are, so to speak, poetic anomalies: they are alike in being unlike most other poets. And their importance lies in the fact that they are great not by the standards and virtues of the past, but because they have rebelled greatly and conquered.<sup>1</sup> Yet that which distinguishes them from the vast majority of poets unites them more closely to one another. Both have chosen as themes, not any of the so-called 'poetical subjects,' but the world as it is to-day, the world of commerce and industry, of democracy and science. But apart from this modern, universal aspect of their work, each finds in the development of his country a source of inspiration which offers many points of similarity.

As young as America, Belgium is still adolescent and feels the joy of newly-acquired strength. As in America, the mixture of peoples and the fertility of the soil have engendered a superb and powerful race. Walt Whitman was the cry of America, at last conscious of her power. Verhaeren proclaims the triumph of the Belgian—the European race. Each is the first adequate singer of his country. For this audacious task, both poets were by nature equally well equipped. Each embodies his country's two main sources of character: French and Flemish in the case of the Belgian poet, English and Dutch in that of the American. More-

<sup>1</sup> Of the Belgian poet, M. Léon Bazalgette says: 'Un Verhaeren ne peut être jugé que d'après cet unique étalon: lui-même.'—*Emile Verhaeren*, p. 8. Burroughs came to the same conclusion concerning Whitman: 'We can make little of Whitman unless we allow him to be a law to himself and seek him through the clews he himself brings'—*Whitman*, p. 9.

over, their composite characters were moulded by similar environments: both combine, in a striking manner, a whole-hearted worship of nature with a love of 'populous pavements.' They have given the people—their needs and aspirations—a primary place in their works. Verhaeren truly loves the life of the humble. Though he belongs by birth to the middle-classes, his sympathy for the lowest in the social scale enables him to transform the commonplace details of their life into poems of extraordinary beauty and tenderness. He is one of them, says Zweig, and they feel their nearness to him.

Even more justly has it been said that Whitman was of the people, the common people, and always gave out their quality and atmosphere.

I advance from the people in their own spirit,<sup>1</sup>

he declares in his first poem. The importance attached to the life of the peasant, and the interest shown in the routine of his daily employment offer one of the few points of similarity between Verhaeren's first volume *Les Flamandes* and Whitman's work. This interest in the common needs of humanity increases and intensifies in Verhaeren's later volumes,<sup>2</sup> and culminates in the collection entitled *Toute la Flandre*, which, although not the masterpiece of Verhaeren's genius, seems to realise in striking detail, Whitman's ideal of a modern epic in which the poet celebrates every aspect of his country's life.

Verhaeren's second volume, *Les Moines*, is noteworthy as containing the germs of an idea which was to be a dominant theme of the finished work of both poets. In the monks, Verhaeren celebrates the last of the romantics. He loves them as 'chercheurs de chimères sublimes.'<sup>3</sup> But he sees their uselessness in the life of to-day. It is the poets who are to be the priests of the future. It is 'les poètes venus trop tard pour être prêtres' who will preach the new religion of humanity. All forms of ecclesiasticism will vanish before this glorious faith of man in himself.

Car il ne reste rien que l'art sur cette terre  
Pour tenter un cerveau puissant et solitaire  
Et le griser de rouge et tonique liqueur.

<sup>1</sup> 'Starting from Paumanok,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 21: references to *Leaves of Grass*, in three volumes, edited by Bucke, Harned, and Traubel, published by Putnam's Sons, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *Les Campagnes hallucinées*, *Les Villages illusoires*, editions of the Society of the Mercure de France.

<sup>3</sup> *Aux Moines*, *Les Moines*.



In this magnificent anthem to poetry, Verhaeren begins to return from the Middle Ages and to face the world of to-day and to-morrow.

The idea that poets are to be the priests of the future is one that recurs throughout Whitman's work. Religion must be liberated from ecclesiasticism. It must be consigned to democracy and literature: 'It must enter into the poems of the nation.'<sup>1</sup> As in a dream Whitman foresees a new race of poets, 'varied, yet one in soul—nor only poets, but newer larger prophets—larger than Judea's and more passionate.'<sup>2</sup> Under the spell of these new and powerful feelings, poetry is conceived of as a duty, a mission, no less important than religion. 'In its highest aspect,' says Whitman, 'essential Poetry expresses and goes along with essential Religion.'<sup>3</sup> And gradually verging toward the goal reached by the American prophet-poet, Verhaeren relinquishes the narrow naturalistic point of view for the ideal of the identification of poetry with religion.

In *Les Flamandes* and *Les Moines* Verhaeren paints the two most opposite pictures of his country's life. But it seems as if the poet's sympathies had to be deepened and broadened by personal suffering ere he could awaken to a full revelation of the life of his country and of the world of to-day. It is with the grim trilogy of *Les Soirs*, *Les Débâcles*, and *Les Flambeaux noirs*, that the greatness of Verhaeren begins. There is not the faintest resemblance between the drear pessimism of these volumes and the unfaltering optimism of Whitman's work, but they must be mentioned as showing the first indications of Verhaeren's use of a new method of writing,<sup>4</sup> which, however much removed from Whitman's lawless line is based on similar principles. These are indeed poems of torment. But in them the poet has finally abandoned the position of the purely external observer. The old beauty, the old delight in the past have been abandoned. The

<sup>1</sup> *Complete Prose* (Appleton, 1910), p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291. Cf. *Democratic Vistas*: 'Viewed to-day from a point of view sufficiently over-arching, the problem of humanity all over the civilised world is social and religious and is to be finally met and treated by literature. The priest departs, the divine literatus comes.'—*Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 524.

<sup>4</sup> A poem in *Les Débâcles* (1888) entitled 'Là-bas' marks in its first part Verhaeren's transition to free verse. 'Les Flambeaux noirs' are written in free verse—at least as free as Verhaeren has ever written. His 'vers libre' is peculiar to himself, and he has employed this strictly personal form throughout the majority of his works.

poet's Catholic faith, his conception of his country, and of the world have all been annihilated in the disaster these poems depict. But in 1891, Verhaeren published *Les Apparus dans mes chemins*, at the end of which comes a wonderful lyric to 'Saint Georges.' The vision of Saint George is the triumph of action over passivity in Verhaeren's soul, and marks the beginning of a sublime confidence in the future. It is really here that the resemblance between Verhaeren and Whitman commences. For the intimacy between the poet and the external world, which is henceforth the secret of Verhaeren's power, is essentially characteristic of Whitman.

Step by step Verhaeren's development tends towards the serenity of Whitman's outlook. The latter is pre-eminently the poet of democracy. Verhaeren, too, becomes for the next few years the poet of Socialism, first in *Les Campagnes hallucinées* (1893), followed in 1894 by *Les Villages illusoires*. The intention realised in the latter volume is to choose, as heroes, the ordinary work-people, the poor artisans and labourers of the Flemish villages and to magnify them into types of humanity. In magnifying the average man, Verhaeren not only attaches himself to the tradition of Meunier, Millet, and Rembrandt, he also adopts an art truly democratic and modern. There are few better instances of the close kinship between him and Whitman. For it was essentially Whitman's purpose to extol the average man; and a strong resemblance in this respect has frequently been pointed out between him and Millet whose pictures he greatly admired.<sup>1</sup>

In Whitman the common man has grown haughty, almost aristocratic. He is Whitman's hero. 'There is no trade or employment,' he says, 'but the young man following it may become a hero.'<sup>2</sup> Common occupations are one of his favourite themes. He sings the joys of the farmer, woodman, mason, or engineer. For Whitman these ordinary employments have a divine significance: he wishes to 'teach the average man the glory of his daily walk and trade.'<sup>3</sup> Nay the common man is himself divine; for

Never was the average man more like a God.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, passim.

<sup>2</sup> 'Song of Myself,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> 'Song of the Exposition,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> 'Years of the Modern' (*Song of Parting*), *Leaves of Grass*, vol. ii. p. 272.

## CHAPTER II

## THE NEW BEAUTY

Mightier than Egypt's tombs,  
 Fairer than Grecia's, Roma's temples,  
 Prouder than Milan's statued, spired cathedral,  
 More picturesque than Rhenish castle-keeps,  
 We plan even now to raise, beyond them all,  
 Thy great cathedral, sacred industry, no tomb,  
 A keep for life for practical invention.

WHITMAN, 'Song of the Exposition.'

UNTIL the time of Whitman and Verhaeren, it was a commonplace to talk of the dangers which industrialism and democracy impose upon art. For most poets, the new creations of industry—engines, railways, gigantic cities, the telegraph, and telephone—have arrested the production of poetry. Ruskin headed a campaign against them, calling for the destruction of factories and the suppression of their stacks and chimneys. But a radical and almost violent change in this respect is indicated by Whitman—a change which is in unison with many things in modern life and morals, but which fairly crosses the prevailing taste in poetry. Whitman's ideal poet possesses to an eminent degree the power of seeing beauty in new and unlikely objects.<sup>1</sup> 'The true Poet,' he says, 'is not the follower of beauty, but the august master of beauty,'<sup>2</sup> and his mastery consists in commanding and causing things which were not before considered beautiful to become so.

It was unconsciously yet precisely the work of Verhaeren to complete the transvaluation of the poetic element begun by Whitman. After his long isolation, he suddenly awakens to feel the full force which emanates from society, and to conceive a poetry which draws its inspiration from the cities, inventions, and social forces of our day. His sublimest achievement, says Zweig, was the discovery of the new beauty which is enclosed in new things. One of his finest poems in this style describes a journey by train:

<sup>1</sup> 'Each precise object or condition or combination or process exhibits a beauty—the multiplication table its—old age its—the carpenter's trade its—the grand opera its—the huge-hull'd, clean-shap'd New York clipper at sea under steam or full sail gleams with unmatched beauty—the American circles or large harmonies of government gleam with theirs—and the commonest definite intentions and actions with theirs.'—Whitman, *Complete Prose*, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> 'Song of the Answerer,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 205.



Et le lent défilé des trains funèbres  
Commence, avec ses bruits de gonds  
Et l'entrechoquement brutal de ses wagons,  
Disparaissant—tels des cercueils—vers les ténèbres.

Des cris!—et quelquefois de tragiques signaux,  
Par au-dessus des fronts et des gestes des foules,  
Puis un arrêt, puis un départ,—et le train roule  
Toujours avec son bruit de fers et de marteaux.

La campagne sournoise et la forêt sauvage  
S'absorbent tout à coup en leur nocturne effroi ;  
Et c'est le mont énorme et le tunnel étroit  
Et la mer tout entière, au bout du long voyage.<sup>1</sup>

A quotation from Whitman's poem, 'To a Locomotive in Winter,'<sup>2</sup> will reveal at once some essential points of resemblance and dissimilarity. Though Whitman, too, finds the æsthetic aspect of his subject, his optimism will not allow him to see anything frightful or tragic in the departure of a train. To him the engine speeding over the snow-steeped prairies is a thing of beauty and delight.

Fierce-throated beauty !  
Roll through my chant with all thy lawless music, thy swinging lamps  
at night,  
Thy madly-whistled laughter, echoing, rumbling like an earthquake,  
rousing all,  
Law of thyself complete, thine own track firmly holding  
(No sweetness debonair of tearful harp or glib piano thine),  
Thy trills of shrieks by rocks and hills return'd,  
Launch'd o'er the prairies wide, across the lakes,  
To the free skies unpent and glad and strong.

Both poets see beauty in energy and character rather than in harmony. They prefer the modern to the antique, our great industrial centres to such towns, beloved of the Muse, as Rome and Florence. Verhaeren's delight is to participate in the energy of the crowds that throng our great thoroughfares.

En ces villes d'ombre et d'ébène  
D'où s'élèvent des feux prodigieux ;  
En ces villes où se démènent,  
Avec leurs pleurs, leurs chants, et leurs blasphèmes,  
A grande houle, les foules ;

<sup>1</sup> 'Plus loin que les gares, le soir,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>2</sup> 'From Noon to Starry Night,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. ii. p. 254.



En ces villes soudain terrifiées  
 De révolte sanglante et de nocturne effroi,  
 Je sens grandir et s'exalter en moi  
 Et fermenter, soudain, mon cœur multiplié.<sup>1</sup>

And just as the Belgian poet identifies himself with the feverish soul of the town, so the American ever claims identity with all the manifestations of industrial life around him :

Factories, machinery, the mechanical forces, the windlass, lever, pulley, all certainties . . .  
 Cities, labours, death, animals, products, war, good and evil—these me.<sup>2</sup>

But Whitman cannot compare with Verhaeren as a singer of modern towns. He cries loudly and frequently that they shall be 'in his poems,' but nowhere does he treat them so exhaustively as Verhaeren does in his epic of Oppidomagne, *Les Villes tentaculaires*. Moreover, the outlook of the two men is different. Verhaeren is an optimist only in regard to the future : the present does not commend itself to him, in fact, he often seems incapable of seeing the good that is in it. Even when he is most deeply stirred by the vision of activity and energy revealed in our great centres of commerce and industry, he is never unconscious of the gloom, oppression, and misery associated with them. His point of view is adequately expressed in two lines from *Les Villes* :

Le siècle et son horreur se condensent en elles  
 Mais leur âme contient la minute éternelle.

Whitman, on the other hand, is a thorough-going optimist, and his optimism cannot be impeached on the grounds that he did not know the worst sides of society, or the reality of suffering. All manifestations of modern life inspire him by what they are as well as by what they lead to. In his first poem, he says he 'will show there is no imperfection in the present and can be none in the future.'<sup>3</sup>

Another difference between the two poets is that while Whitman is a democrat, Verhaeren is a Socialist. In the strict sense of the term it is hard to justify calling either a social reformer. If Whitman is to be considered a reformer, it is only in the very

<sup>1</sup> 'La Foule,' *Les Visages de la Vie*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Our old Feuillage,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. pp. 211, 212.

<sup>3</sup> 'Starting from Paumanok,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 25.

widest sense. He himself counsels the reader of his *Democratic Vistas* to 'bear in mind that they are not the result of studying up in political economy, but of the ordinary sense, observing, wandering among men, these States, these stirring times of peace and war.' Verhaeren, however, has a more direct relation to the social movements of our time. It was Socialism that acted as a stimulant upon him when he was recovering from the spell of a prolonged state of morbid introspection. Since then, obedient to the vision revealed to him by his efforts, he has turned them into poetry, raising them above politics and the present to the rank of great events which affect the whole of humanity.

Among poets he is perhaps the only one whose sensibility is in keeping with the spirit of our days. There lies all his merit. He is stirred to the depths by the problems of the masses; he has understood the significance of the new social formations, the greatness of mechanical production; in a word, *the poetry of material things*. Here once again he joins issue with Whitman who declares in his first poem:

I will make the poems of material things, for I think  
they are to be the most spiritual poems.<sup>1</sup>

The volumes of Verhaeren's Socialist period contain many ideas which are also found in Whitman's writings. But beside this, there is, between the two poets, a *rapprochement* in the way these ideas are expressed. This is revealed in a similarity of devices of style rather than in the adoption, on Verhaeren's part, of anything analogous to the actual form of *Leaves of Grass*. Here again, as ever in this comparison, it is the case of an underlying principle being grasped by both poets, but developed according to the natural bent of each.

Modern lyric poetry has a tendency to revert to the characteristics of primitive poetry.<sup>2</sup> It does not confine itself to the solitary appeal of soul to soul, but often addresses the crowd. Nietzsche in Germany, Hugo in France, Whitman in America, have made this wider appeal. The latter spoke of *Leaves of Grass* as a 'new and national declamatory expression,' and of his three adjectives the latter is the most weighty. 'Not to apprehend *Leaves of Grass*

<sup>1</sup> 'Starting from Paumanok,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> 'The poets have passed from the lyric to a grander, more harmonious epic structure, midway between speech and song, where both thought and passion find their common home.'—O. L. Triggs, *Browning and Whitman*, p. 132.

as a man speaking is to miss its purport.'<sup>1</sup> To-day Verhaeren is the greatest representative of this tendency. His poems produce the same effect as an orator's speech.<sup>2</sup> Certain images return continually; numerous adjectives are repeated and the reader feels himself urged on by the poet's stirring exclamations. This ejaculatory style of writing is notoriously characteristic of *Leaves of Grass*, and a comparison of passages from this point of view brings out some striking resemblances. Verhaeren has written nothing more typically Whitmanian in form than

Son or ailé qui s'enivre d'espace,  
 Son or planant, son or rapace,  
 Son or vivant,  
 Son or dont s'éclairent et rayonnent les vents  
 Son or que boit la terre  
 Par les pores de sa misère,  
 Son or ardent, son or furtif, son or retors  
 Morceau d'espoir et de soleil—son or !<sup>3</sup>

The device illustrated in this passage is exaggerated in almost all Whitman's longer poems, which present the appearance of long paragraphs of lines of various lengths, all beginning with the same word or words :

Land of coal and iron ! land of gold ! land of cotton, sugar, rice !  
 Land of wheat, beef, pork ! land of wool and hemp ! land of the apple  
 and the grape !  
 Land of the pastoral plains, the grass-fields of the world !  
 land of those sweet-air'd interminable plateaus !  
 Land of the herd, the garden, the healthy house of adobie !  
 Lands where the north-west Columbia winds, and where the south-west  
 Colorado winds !  
 Land of the eastern Chesapeake ! land of the Delaware !<sup>4</sup>

Such a passage is also a fair illustration of Whitman's ' catalogue style.' The same love of enumeration is characteristic of Verhaeren :

Voici les cargaisons chargeant les vieux pavés,  
 Et des ballots de laine échoués dans la boue,  
 Et des ponts tout à coup jusqu'au ciel soulevés,  
 Et des tournoiements fous de chaînes et de roues,

<sup>1</sup> Bliss Perry, *Walt Whitman*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Whitman (in translation) and Verhaeren's poems are frequently recited to assemblies of French and Belgian workmen.

<sup>3</sup> 'Le Banquier,' *Les Forces tumultueuses*.

<sup>4</sup> 'Starting from Paumanok,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 27.

Et des Malais bronzés et des Arabes blancs,  
 Et leurs cris gutturaux et leurs chansons barbares,  
 Et leur travail rapide ou leurs pas indolents  
 Autour des bricks légers et des lourdes gabarres.<sup>1</sup>

A poem entitled 'Le Chaland'<sup>2</sup> bears a close resemblance to some of Whitman's, not only in the above-mentioned devices, but in the tendency to introduce a string of local names as Whitman does in 'Our Old Feuillage':

Otherwise there atwixt the banks of the Arkansaw, the Rio Grande, the Nueces, the Brazos, the Tombigbee, the Red River, the Saskatchewan, or the Osage, I with the Spring waters laughing and skipping and running.

Here is a verse from Verhaeren's poem :

Quai du Miroir, quai du Refuge  
 A Bruges ;  
 Quai des Bouchers et quai des Tisserands  
 A Gand ;  
 Quai du Rempart de la Byloque  
 Quai aux Sabots et quai aux Loques  
 Quai des Carmes et quai des Récollets  
 Il vous connaît.

## CHAPTER III

### THE COSMIC POEM

I chant the world on my Western sea  
 WHITMAN, 'A Broadway Pageant.'

Réunir notre esprit et le monde  
 Dans les deux mains d'une très simple loi profonde  
 VERHAEREN, 'l'Attente.'

THOUGH Verhaeren has given the current world of commerce and industry the most striking poetic revelation of itself in *Les Villes tentaculaires*, his thought had greater heights to reach. In *Les Visages de la Vie* he has magnified the eternal forces: joy, strength, activity, enthusiasm. In *Les Forces tumultueuses* he has sung the mysterious union which pervades all forms of reality;

<sup>1</sup> 'L'or,' *Les Rythmes souverains*.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Villes à pignons*.



in *La multiple Splendeur* the ethical rôle of admiration; while *Les Rythmes souverains* gives the world its most august ideal in the struggle of man to reach divinity and free himself from the sway of chance and the supernatural. These works are full of a magnificent optimism which bears the poetry of Verhaeren infinitely beyond the bounds of literature into the realms of philosophy and religion. Dealing no longer with things but thoughts, he endeavours to give a metaphysical idea of the universe, to realise the cosmic poem :

Son cœur grandi avait changé à un point tel  
Qu'il ne s'angoissait plus que des forces profondes  
Qui font d'un cœur humain le cœur même du monde.<sup>1</sup>

Once again Verhaeren realises in a remarkable manner, Whitman's ideal as expressed in *Democratic Vistas*: 'The culmination and fruit of literary expression are in metaphysics. . . . Standing on this ground and sternly criticising all works either of literary or any art, we have peremptorily to dismiss every pretensive production, however fine its esthetic or intellectual points, which violates or ignores, or even does not celebrate, the central divine ideal of All, suffusing universe, of eternal trains of purpose, in the development . . . of the physical, moral, and spiritual cosmos.'<sup>2</sup> It has been said that the modern world could be reconstructed from *Leaves of Grass*, so compendious and all-inclusive is it in its details. Its author is 'Walt Whitman, a Kosmos.'<sup>3</sup> Like Verhaeren, he discovers the laws underlying the manifestations of the natural universe, being mainly occupied with the universal side of things, and the human and spiritual values that may be extracted from them. In a word, the goal of his endeavour is the cosmic poem, for he 'will make poems, songs, thoughts with reference to the ensemble.'<sup>4</sup> Addressing the poets of the future he asks, 'Why not fix your verses henceforth to the gauge of the round globe?' 'I would inaugurate international poems,' he continues, 'I have thought that both in patriotism and song we have adhered too long to petty limits and that the time has come to enfold the world.'<sup>5</sup> He himself strives to obey the loftiest command a poet has ever heard :

<sup>1</sup> 'Les Attirances,' *Les Rythmes souverains*.

<sup>2</sup> *Complete Prose Works*, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> 'Song of Myself,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> 'Starting from Paumanok,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Complete Prose Works*, p. 290.

Come, said the Muse,  
Sing me a song no poet yet has chanted,  
Sing me the universal.<sup>1</sup>

Whitman and Verhaeren are lyric poets, yet they have not limited themselves to domains of pure lyricism, but have animated all forms of literature with the ardent breath of their inspiration. They are lyric poets in the higher sense of being men for whom everything becomes a source of lyrical emotion and who are in communion with the universal soul of things. The spirit of one of Verhaeren's finest poems is that in which the masterpieces of both have been conceived :

Mais quand il travaillait, sous la lampe, le soir,  
Ivre de ses calculs, fiévreux de ses conquêtes,  
Et que le monde entier lui battait dans la tête  
Avec ses docks, avec ses ports, avec ses mers,  
C'était le rythme immense et clair de l'univers  
Qu'il sentait s'exalter, jusqu'au fond de ses moelles ;  
O les pôles, les équateurs et les étoiles,  
Comme ils gelaient, brûlaient et s'éclairaient en lui  
Et comme, en son cerveau, chantait leur infini ! <sup>2</sup>

To vitalise the universe with poetic thought and joyous enthusiasm is the rare and lofty ideal of both poets ; rare because it distinguishes them from the mass of modern poets who infuse their verse with griefs, longings, or perplexities of their own hearts. Stefan Zweig sees in Verhaeren a poet of daylight as contrasted with our modern poets who exult in darkness. In happy oblivion of his first gloomy vision of the world, Verhaeren now pours forth his contempt for ' les lamentables fous ' who blunder into suicide when they possess

deux yeux divins, deux yeux  
Pour voir, là-haut, la merveille des cieux  
Et, sur terre, la douce et fervente lumière.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike Verhaeren, Whitman was *ever* a poet of daylight for the good reason that he had sunshine in his soul :

Dazzling and tremendous, how quick the sun-rise would kill me,  
If I could not now and always send sunrise out of me.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ' Song of the Universal ' (*Birds of Passage*), *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> ' Les Attirances, *Les Rythmes souverains*.

<sup>3</sup> ' Les Souffrances, ' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>4</sup> ' Song of Myself, ' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 65.

And now that Verhaeren, too, has attained a clearer vision of the world, his glance penetrates the cause beneath the appearance, and his increasing knowledge of the laws that regulate the universe enables him to grasp a supreme principle, a cosmic law :

Toute la vie, avec ses lois, avec ses formes  
—Multiple doigt noueux de quelque main énorme—  
S'entr'ouvre et se referme en un poing : l'unité.<sup>1</sup>

The end of knowledge is to discover the supreme law of the universe, and the goal of our striving to live by that law :

Et s'enivrer si fort de l'humaine bataille  
  
Qu'on vit en tout ce qui agit, lutte ou tressaille  
Et qu'on accepte avidement, le cœur ouvert  
L'âpre et terrible loi qui régit l'univers.<sup>2</sup>

Here more than ever do the two poets see eye to eye with one another. Whitman's ideal poets, the poets of the Kosmos, 'advance through all interpositions and coverings and turmoils and stratagems to first principles.'<sup>3</sup> They must have 'a perfect sense of the oneness of nature.' Moreover, 'the whole universe is absolute Law. Freedom only opens entire activity and licence *under the law*. . . . Great, is the Will, the free Soul of man ! At its greatest, understanding and obeying the laws, it can then and then only, maintain true liberty. For there is to the highest, that law as absolute as any, the Law of Liberty . . . the fusion and combination of the conscious will, or partial individual law, with those universal, eternal, unconscious ones, which run through all time, pervade history, prove immortality, give moral purpose to the entire objective world, and the last dignity to human life.'<sup>4</sup>

For him I sing  
I raise the present on the past . . .  
With time and space I him dilate and fuse the immortal laws  
To make himself by them the law unto himself.<sup>5</sup>

But both poets perceive that there is an external element, an obstacle to the supremacy of man in the universe. This element,

<sup>1</sup> 'La Conquête,' *Les Forces tumultueuses*.

<sup>2</sup> 'La Vie,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>3</sup> *Complete Prose*, pp. 263, 264.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 331, 332.

<sup>5</sup> 'Inscriptions,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 9.

which is opposed to the development of humanity, is, for Verhaeren, the domination of nature, the subjection of man to Fate, in a word the Deity who overrules man. The struggle of man to win his independence is the great metaphysical conception which proceeds from the work of Verhaeren :

L'homme dans l'univers n'a qu'un maître lui-même,  
Et l'univers entier est ce maître, dans lui.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of man as master of himself and the universe is one of the main themes of Whitman's writings :

Me imperturbe, standing at ease in Nature,  
Master of all.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, he calls upon his readers to be masters in their own right 'over Nature, elements, pain, passion, dissolution.'<sup>3</sup> For, he says, 'I only am he who places over you no master, owner, better, God, beyond what waits intrinsically in yourself.' Whitman's idea of God is, to say the least, indistinct. In a striking poem entitled 'Gods' he says :

Thou, thou, the Ideal Man,  
Fair, able, beautiful, content, and loving,  
Complete in body and dilate in spirit  
Be thou my God.<sup>4</sup>

But in the same poem, he also makes death, 'all great ideas,' 'aught of mightiest,' his gods. Verhaeren's idea would be almost as vague, but for the fact that, even more often than Whitman, he makes God 'le Dieu qu'est toute âme humaine.' And if it cannot be said of Whitman with the same confidence as of Verhaeren that his final conception of the universe excludes the idea of any other god save man, he is frequently seen to make man of more importance than God to himself :

Nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's-self is . . .  
Nor do I understand who there can be more wonderful than myself.<sup>5</sup>

Whitman's ideal is 'to be indeed a God !' <sup>6</sup> In his last volume

<sup>1</sup> 'La Ferveur,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Inscriptions,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> 'To You' (*Birds of Passage*), *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 286.

<sup>4</sup> 'By the Roadside,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> 'Song of Myself,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> 'Song of Joys,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 221.



the ideal is reached: he realises himself to be divine and exclaims:

To be this incredible God I am!<sup>1</sup>

But how is man to arrive at this final mastery of himself and the universe? Verhaeren has seen that in reaching out toward Divinity, man's first step must be to rid himself of the sway of chance and the supernatural. To triumph over fate and to substitute for its caprices the law of our own will is the grand effort which is to be ours in the future. But in this point, too, Verhaeren has been forestalled by Whitman who declares:

Henceforth I ask not good fortune, I myself am good fortune.<sup>2</sup>

In his first preface, he proclaims man supreme over all the forces and vicissitudes of the world around him and adds: 'The whole theory of the supernatural and all that was twined with it or educes out of it, departs as a dream. What has ever happen'd—what happens and whatever may or shall happen, the vital laws inclose all. . . . It is also not consistent with the reality of the soul to admit that there is anything in the known universe more divine than men and women.'<sup>3</sup>

Both poets unite in proclaiming man master of his fate. Verhaeren maintains that his pride will endow him with sufficient strength for building his own destiny. In fact, Verhaeren joins issue with Frederick Nietzsche in proclaiming the superman. Yet here again the case is one of parallelism rather than influence. It was Georges Brandes, the Danish critic, who first mentioned Nietzsche's name to Verhaeren,<sup>4</sup> and at that time the latter had already hailed the new Christ who is to turn the misery of the present-day 'Oppidomagne' into the prosperity of the Millenium-City:

Et qu'important les maux et les heures démentes,  
Et les cuves de vice où la cité fermente,  
Si quelque jour, du fond des brouillards et des voiles  
Surgit un nouveau Christ, en lumière sculpté,  
Qui soulève vers lui l'humanité  
Et la baptise au feu de nouvelles étoiles.<sup>5</sup>

Whitman's ideal was the average man. But it was to be a 'divine average', and, as has been shown, Whitman makes him

<sup>1</sup> 'Song at Sunset,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. ii. p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> 'Song of the Open Road,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Complete Prose*, pp. 261-263 *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> On the evidence of the poet himself.

<sup>5</sup> 'L'Ame de la Ville,' *Les Villes tentaculaires*.

almost arrogant and aristocratic. Again, as if in agreement with the German philosopher, he cries, 'Produce great individuals, the rest follows.'<sup>1</sup> And in his first poem Whitman, too, puts the trumpet to his lips and cries :

I announce the great individual fluid as Nature, chaste, affectionate, compassionate, fully arm'd.<sup>2</sup>

Thus over and above many dissimilarities of standpoint and phraseology, both poets seem once more to be tending towards the same goal. Verhaeren has expressed his ideal in the new Christ :

le tranquille rebelle  
Que les siècles aurent subtilement formé,  
Pour découvrir, à coups d'audace et de génie,  
Les mots qui recèlent toute harmonie  
Et réunir notre esprit et le monde  
Dans les deux mains d'une très simple loi profonde.<sup>3</sup>

Whitman's Poet, the true son of God, is to perform the same task :

Finally shall come the poet worthy that name,  
The true son of God shall come singing his songs.  
Then not your deeds only, O voyagers, O scientists and inventors, shall  
be justified  
All these hearts as of fretted children shall be sooth'd  
All affection shall be fully responded to, the secret shall be told, . . .  
The whole earth, this cold, impassive, voiceless earth, shall be completely justified . . .  
Nature and Man shall be disjoin'd no more,  
The true son of God shall absolutely fuse them.<sup>4</sup>

## CHAPTER IV

### SCIENCE AND THE FUTURE

peser, jauger et définir  
Se confondant comme une flamme, dans la lumière  
Et la lucidité qui seront l'avenir.

VERHAEREN, *La Science*.

In the tremendous struggle with fate and the supernatural, all men who conscientiously toil and strive, whether their scope be

<sup>1</sup> 'By Blue Ontario's Shore,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. ii. p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> 'So Long !' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. ii. p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> 'L'Attente,' *Les Visages de la Vie*.

<sup>4</sup> 'Passage to India,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. ii. p. 191.

large or limited, are soldiers fighting for the affranchisement of humanity :

Héros, savant, artiste, apôtre, aventurier,  
Chacun troue à son tour le mur noir des mystères.  
Et grâce à ces labeurs groupés et solitaires,  
L'être nouveau se sent l'univers tout entier.<sup>1</sup>

In the front rank of those who have devoted themselves to enlarging the circle of our knowledge, stand the scientists. Verhaeren is perhaps the only modern poet who has succeeded in raising science to the level of poetry ; though it is only necessary to consider what Whitman says in his first preface to be convinced of the kinship of the two poets : ' Exact science and its practical movements are no checks on the greatest poet, but always his encouragement and support. . . . The sailor and traveller, the anatomist, chemist, astronomer, geologist, phrenologist, spiritualist mathematician, historian, and lexicographer, are not poets, but they are the law-givers of poets, and their construction underlies the structure of every perfect poem.' <sup>2</sup> ' The words of true poems,' he says elsewhere, ' are the tuft and final applause of science.'

The works of both poets furnish abundant examples of ' the entire revolution made by science in the poetic method,' and no better instance can be given than the way in which they unite in making men of science the saints of a new religion.

A worship new I sing,  
You captains, voyagers, explorers, yours,  
You engineers, you architects, machinists, yours . . . <sup>3</sup>

These lines from Whitman find an echo in Verhaeren's hymn to ' La Science.' <sup>4</sup>

Qu'ils soient sacrés par les foules, ces hommes  
Qui scrutèrent les faits pour en tirer les lois.

Whitman expresses his personal views on this subject in a passage which reveals the beginnings of that new religion so grandly proclaimed in Verhaeren's last volumes : ' With science the old theology of the East, long in its dotage, begins evidently to die and disappear. But (to my mind) science—and may be such will

<sup>1</sup> ' Vers le futur,' *Les Villes tentaculaires*.

<sup>2</sup> *Complete Prose*, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> ' Passage to India,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. ii. p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Forces tumultueuses*.

prove its principal service—as evidently prepares the way for One indescribably grander—Time's young but perfect offspring—the new theology—heir of the west—lusty, loving, and wondrous beautiful.' <sup>1</sup>

After his appeal to the artist, scientist, scholar, prophet, Verhaeren sings of the merchant, captain, adventurer—all those who are planning the conquest of the world at the hands of civilisation. And lastly he calls to the workers in a superb poem to labour entitled 'L'Effort,' which surges with the same enthusiasm as inspired Whitman's 'Song of Occupations,' celebrating :

All occupations, duties, broad and close,  
Toil, healthy toil and sweat, endless, without cessation.<sup>2</sup>

All this labour is directed toward a mighty consummation, the fashioning of a new world :

recréer les monts et les mers et les plaines  
D'après une autre volonté.<sup>3</sup>

Or as Whitman puts it :

Fresh come to a new world indeed, yet long prepared,  
I see the genius of the modern, child of the real and ideal,  
Clearing the ground for broad humanity, the true America heir of the  
past so grand,  
To build a grander future.<sup>4</sup>

This lofty vision imposes upon the poet a noble but severe responsibility. He has to write *for* the future, to explain to his descendants the hopes and efforts of the men of his day. Verhaeren has realised this responsibility. To the men of coming centuries he addresses one of his finest poems, never doubting that they will be anxious to listen to him :

Celui qui me lira, dans les siècles, un soir,  
Troublant mes vers, sous leur sommeil ou sous leur cendre,  
Et ranimant leur sens lointain pour mieux comprendre  
Comment ceux d'aujourd'hui s'étaient armés d'espoir,

Qu'il sache, avec quel violent élan, ma joie  
S'est, à travers les cris, les révoltes, les pleurs,  
Ruée au combat fier et mâle des douleurs  
Pour en tirer l'amour, comme on conquiert sa proie.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Complete Prose*, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> 'Song of the Exposition,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> 'L'Effort,' *La Multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>4</sup> 'Song of the Redwood Tree,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> 'Un soir,' *Les Forces tumultueuses*.



Once again, the comparison with Whitman comes into prominence. It has been said that Whitman's chief significance is prophetic. He, too, projects himself into the life of generations to come and feels his responsibility to them :

I am with you, you men and women of a generation or ever so many generations hence . . .

I considered long and seriously of you before you were born.<sup>1</sup>

From the first Whitman had a strong faith in the future fame of his poems.<sup>2</sup> He even goes a step further and imposes a duty upon the poets of the future to whom he looks for justification :

Poets to come ! orators, singers, musicians to come ! . . .

Arouse ! for you must justify me.<sup>3</sup>

With this glorious idea of a goal which may be unattainable, but must be striven for with all one's energies, Verhaeren conceives of life as an ever upward march :

La vie est à monter et non pas à descendre.<sup>4</sup>

In this ascent, Verhaeren finds not only the true meaning, but the real joy of life. Whether the goal will ever be reached or whether, when attained, it will come up to man's expectation, are questions of no significance. Effort is more than attainment, struggle more than victory :

Il faut vouloir l'épreuve et non la gloire.<sup>5</sup>

Hence, those who, through no fault of their own and after years of conscientious toil, have failed in the object of their efforts, are not really beaten. To them Verhaeren cries with Whitman, ' Vivas ! to those who have failed ! ' <sup>6</sup>

' Vivre pour s'en aller ! ' Such is the motto which urges Verhaeren to strive for the sake of striving and to awaken his

<sup>1</sup> ' Crossing Brooklyn Ferry,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 129 and p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> See projected through time,  
For me an audience interminable.—

' Starting from Paumanok,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> ' Inscriptions,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> ' Les Rêves,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>5</sup> ' La Joie ' *Les Visages de la Vie*.

<sup>6</sup> ' Song of Myself,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 55.

fellow men to 'l'action qui sauve et qui délivre,' with such stirring appeals as :

Partons quand même, avec notre âme inassouvie,  
Puisque la force et que la vie  
Sont au delà des vérités et des erreurs.<sup>1</sup>

This is the true spirit of Whitman. His tireless appeals to his fellow-men to tramp with him the highway of life and to know the universe itself as a road for travelling souls, were inspired by the same impulse as prompted the 'vivre pour s'en aller !' of Verhaeren :

*Allons !* through struggles and wars !  
The goal that was named cannot be countermanded.  
Have the past struggles succeeded ?  
What has succeeded ? Yourself ? Your nation ? Nature ?  
Now understand me well—it is provided in the essence of things that  
from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth  
something to make a greater struggle necessary.  
My call is the call of battle, I nourish active rebellion.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER V

### PANTHEISM

My spirit has passed in compassion and determination around the whole earth.—WHITMAN, 'Salut au Monde !'

L'homme respire et sur la terre il marche seul  
Il vit pour s'exalter du monde et de lui-même.  
VERHAEREN, 'Les Cultes,' *Les Forces tumultueuses*.

THE final metaphysical ideal to which Verhaeren has attained is the unity of life. When interviewed on his poetic programme, he referred to this idea in these words : 'La poésie me semble devoir aboutir prochainement à un très clair panthéisme. De plus en plus les esprits droits et sains admettent l'unité du monde. Les anciennes divisions entre l'âme et le corps, entre Dieu et l'univers, s'effacent. L'homme est un fragment de l'architecture mondiale. Il a la conscience et l'intelligence de l'ensemble dont il fait partie.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'L'Erreur,' *Les Forces tumultueuses*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Song of the Open Road,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> 'Le Cardonnell et Vellay,' *La littérature contemporaine* (1905)

This was one of Whitman's dominant ideas from the beginning. In 'Starting from Paumanok,' he declares :

Behold the body includes and is . . . the soul.

'He treats the body and soul as one,' says Burroughs. But for Whitman the soul is everything :

Was somebody asking to see the soul ?

See your own shape and countenance, persons, substances, beasts, the bees, the running rivers, the rocks and sands.<sup>1</sup>

The sublimest pantheism suffuses the works of both poets. With Verhaeren pantheism attains its highest expression. He is not content with communicating with the external world, with seeing himself reflected in it : he lives the life of the universe :

J'existe en tout ce qui m'entoure et me pénètre.<sup>2</sup>

This truth which the Belgian poet grasps in a moment of ecstatic vision is revealed to Whitman by a less sudden, but no less penetrating insight. He recognises that his development from childhood has been a gradual appropriation to himself of the external world :

There was a child went forth every day

And the first object he looked upon that object he became . . .<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, to both poets the phenomena of the external world appear as manifestations of their own activity :

Oh ! les rythmes fougueux de la nature entière

Et les sentir et les darder à travers soi !

Vivre les mouvements répandus dans les bois,

Le sol, les vents, la mer, et les tonnerres ;

Vouloir qu'en son cerveau tressaille l'univers.<sup>4</sup>

The same feelings had already been expressed by Whitman :

My spirit has passed in compassion and determination around the whole earth . . .

You vapors, I think I have risen with you, moved away to distant continents and fallen down there for reasons,

I think I have blown with you, you winds ;

You waters, I have finger'd every shore with you.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Starting from Paumanok,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> 'La Joie,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>3</sup> 'Autumn Rivulets,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> 'L'En-avant,' *Les Forces tumultueuses*.

<sup>5</sup> 'Salut au Monde !' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 175.

Just as it has been said of the American poet that deep world-currents course through him, Verhaeren's biographer declares that the ardent sap of the world bubbles in his veins. And so it seems. For the waves of enthusiasm become ever stronger until the poet is exhausted by his own ecstasy :

Je suis ivre du monde et je me multiplie  
Si fort en tout ce qui rayonne et m'éblouit  
Que mon cœur en défaille et se délivre en cris.<sup>1</sup>

Nor is it surprising that on one occasion he should have feared the loss of his own identity :

Mon âme était anxieuse d'être elle-même.<sup>2</sup>

For, as we have seen, Verhaeren's conception of the universe leads him to the conviction of the identity of himself with the external world. Identity, it need scarcely be said, is one of the dominant ideas expressed in *Leaves of Grass*, which has been described as a 'series of sorties into the world of materials, piercing through the ostensible shows of things to the interior meanings, and illustrating in a free and large way the genius and growth of a man, his free use of the world about him, appropriating to himself, seeking his spiritual identity through its various objects and experiences and giving in many direct and indirect ways the meaning and satisfaction of life.'<sup>3</sup>

But both poets go a step further. Not content with spreading themselves over the universe, they absorb it into themselves. In Verhaeren's case the identity between the world and himself is so perfect that when he wishes to exalt the beauty of the universe he is obliged to contemplate it in himself and in his own body :

Je ne distingue plus le monde de moi-même  
Je suis l'ample feuillage et les rameaux flottants,  
Je suis le sol dont je foule les cailloux pâles  
Et l'herbe des fossés où soudain je m'affale  
Ivre et fervent, hagard, heureux et sanglotant.<sup>4</sup>

The method of the *Leaves* is likewise egocentric. Whitman's anthropomorphism is not a projection of himself into nature, but an absorption of nature into himself.

<sup>1</sup> 'La Joie,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Le Mont,' *Les Visages de la Vie*.

<sup>3</sup> J. Burrough's *Whitman*.

<sup>4</sup> 'Autour de ma Maison,' *La multiple Splendeur*.



In me the caresser of life whenever moving, backwards as well as forward sluing, . . .  
Absorbing all to myself and for this song.<sup>1</sup>

Among Verhaeren's finest stanzas are those which voice his gratitude to his bodily faculties for having made possible this supreme appropriation :

Soyez remerciés, mon corps,  
D'être ferme rapide et frémissant encor  
Au toucher des vents prompts ou des brises profondes ;  
Et vous, mon torse droit et mes larges poumons,  
De respirer au long des mers ou sur les monts  
L'air radieux et vif qui baigne et mord les mondes.<sup>2</sup>

With equal fervour Whitman exults over the miraculous functions of his body :

The heart to jet the all-alike and innocent blood !  
To breathe the air, how delicious !  
To speak—to walk—to seize something by the hand !  
To prepare for sleep, for bed, to look on my rose-coloured flesh !  
To be conscious of my body, so satisfied, so large !

His 'Song of Sunset,' from which these lines are taken, mingles in 'unmitigated adoration,' the infinite and infinitesimal, nature, sunset, branches, leaves and 'even the tiniest insect,' in a way that recalls Verhaeren's exultant confession :

J'admire immensément la nature plénière  
Depuis l'arbuste nain jusqu'au géant soleil.  
Un pétale, un pistil, un grain de blé vermeil  
Et pris, avec respect, entre mes doigts qui l'aiment.<sup>3</sup>

When things appear no longer as objects of observation, but as vital sensations, when we can face the material universe with Whitman's cry of abandonment on our lips, 'We fathom you not—we love you !' there results such an enrichment of our natures that our lives become penetrated with a new voluptuousness, a continuous 'joie de vivre.' The art of Verhaeren does not tend to some indefinite pleasure, but to the consummate joy which life in all its variety provides. What he says about Juliers, the Flemish hero, is the expression of his own keenest desire,

<sup>1</sup> 'Song of Myself,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> 'La Joie,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>3</sup> 'Autour de ma Maison,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

'l'existence était sa volupté.' And such is the final message of Whitman's 'Mystic Trumpeter:'

joy in the ecstasy of life !  
Enough to merely be ! enough to breathe !

And death ? Death is but the full and final rendering of oneself to Nature. With a visionary's imagination, lit by gleams of science, Verhaeren follows the metamorphosis of his body, at last abandoned to the waves :

J'aurai l'immensité des forces pour cercueil  
Et leur travail obscur et leur ardeur occulte ;  
Mon être entier sera perdu, sera fondu,  
Dans le brasier géant de leurs tumultes,  
Mais renaîtra, après mille et mille ans,  
Vierge et divin, sauvage et clair et frissonnant.<sup>1</sup>

This audacious conviction is one of Whitman's beloved themes. Pensive on her dead, the Mother of All speaks :

Absorb them well, O my earth . . . my young men's bodies absorb,  
and their precious, precious blood,  
Which holding in trust for me faithfully back again give me many a  
year hence,  
In unseen essence and odor of surface and grass, centuries hence,<sup>2</sup>

Finally, through these tumultuous visions of Life's ecstasies and hopes breaks the broadening ray of Death's joy :

For not life's joys alone I sing, repeating the joy of Death.<sup>3</sup>

The joy of death, the lesson and goal of life :

Homme qui tue et qui engendre  
Il faut apprendre  
A jouir de la mort.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Vers la Mer,' *Les Visages de la Vie*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Song of Parting.'

<sup>3</sup> 'A Song of Joys.'

<sup>4</sup> 'Sur les Greves,' *Les Forces tumultueuses*.

## CHAPTER VI

## COMRADESHIP

Earth, my likeness,  
 Though you look so impassive, ample, and spheric here,  
 I now suspect that is not all,  
 I now suspect there is something fierce in you eligible to burst forth,  
 For an athlete is enamour'd of me, and I of him.

WHITMAN, *Calamus*.

Pour vivre clair, ferme et juste  
 Avec mon cœur, j'admire tout  
 Ce qui vibre, travaille et bout  
 Dans la tendresse humaine et sur la terre auguste.

VERHAEREN, 'Autour de ma Maison.'

PANTHEISM would be an arid enthusiasm did it not connect in some way with the life of man. We have already seen how their universal admiration led both poets to an intense rapture in the faculties which enable such emotions to be experienced. This is the first link connecting the marvels of the infinite with their finite observer, man. The second is revealed in a glorious poem wherein the cosmic emotions that inspired the 'songs of the universal' dictate a hymn of praise to the human body:

Dans la clarté plénrière et ses rayons soudains  
 Brûlant, jusques au cœur, les ramures profondes,  
 Femmes dont les corps nus brillent en ces jardins  
 Vous êtes des fragments magnifiques du monde.

Il est vous-même, avec son calme et sa douceur,  
 Le beau jardin qui vous prête ses abris d'ombre;  
 Et le rosier des purs étés est votre cœur,  
 Et vos lèvres de feu sont ses roses sans nombre.

Magnifiez-vous donc et comprenez-vous mieux !<sup>1</sup>

cries the poet, urging them to a full appreciation of themselves, now that he has revealed to them their greatness and beauty. Nothing is more Whitmanian than this desire to awaken the individual to a full sense of his own value, and the proud position he occupies as the centre of the world's existence. It is interesting

<sup>1</sup> 'La Louange du corps humain,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

to contrast the characteristic styles of the two poets in this respect. Whitman is less artistic but more direct :

Whoever you are, now I place my hand upon you, that you may be  
my poem, . . .  
O, I could sing such grandeurs and glories about you !  
You have not known what you are, you have slumber'd upon yourself  
all your life . . .  
Whoever you are ! claim your own at any hazard !  
These shows of the East and West are tame compared to you,  
These immense meadows, these interminable rivers, you are immense  
and interminable as they,  
These furies, elements, storms, motions of Nature, throes of apparent  
dissolutions, you are he or she who is master or mistress over  
them.<sup>1</sup>

And so out of an admiration of the universe proceeds a mutual  
admiration, which in turn broadens out into universal altruism.  
Love will be the final form of future relationships, the foundation  
of society:

L'amour dont la puissance encore est inconnue,  
Dans sa profondeur douce et sa charité nue,  
Ira porter la joie égale aux résignés ;  
Les sacs ventrus de l'or seront saignés  
Un soir d'ardente et large équité rouge ;  
Disparaîtront palais, banques, comptoirs et bouges ;  
Tout sera simple et clair, quand l'orgueil sera mort,  
Quand l'homme, au lieu de croire à l'égoïste effort,  
Qui s'éterniserait, en une âme immortelle,  
Dispensera vers tous sa vie accidentelle.<sup>2</sup>

*La multiple Splendeur*, that volume in which Verhaeren has expressed the definite formula of his ethical conceptions was originally to be entitled, *Admirez-vous les uns les autres*. The highest ideal here is self-sacrifice. For Whitman likewise, the spirit of the new era will be that of love, comradeship, and the 'boundless offering of sympathy.' He himself would participate in the realisation of this ideal. 'I also sent out *Leaves of Grass*,' he writes, 'to arouse and set flowing in men's and women's hearts, young and old, endless streams of living, pulsating love and friendship, directly from them to myself now and ever.'<sup>3</sup> This he says

<sup>1</sup> 'To You' (*Birds of Passage*), *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> 'Le Forgeron,' *Les Villages illusoires*.

<sup>3</sup> *Complete Prose*, p. 277.



is the special meaning of the *Calamus* cluster of the *Leaves* wherein he cries :

Come, I will make the continent indissoluble,  
I will make the most splendid race the sun ever shone upon,  
I will make divine magnetic lands  
    With the love of comrades,  
    With the life-long love of comrades.<sup>1</sup>

It is 'by a fervent accepted development of comradeship, the beautiful and sane affection of man for man . . . that the States of the future are to be effectually welded together.'<sup>2</sup> This ideal has been given its loftiest expression in a noble poem, which coming at the end of *La multiple Splendeur* seems to erect the 'ethics of admiration'<sup>3</sup> as a table of law :

Si nous nous admirons vraiment les uns les autres,  
Du fond même de notre ardeur et notre foi,  
Vous les penseurs, vous les savants, vous les apôtres  
Pour les temps qui viendront vous extrairez la loi.<sup>4</sup>

Both poets are enamoured of mankind and preach the ideals of universal altruism as the doctrines of a new Gospel, 'the evangel-poem of comradeship and love.' But it is evident that love in the sense of sexual passion does not enter into this conception. Modern as are the works of Whitman and Verhaeren, they seem from this standpoint to be estranged from our epoch and, as if by common design, to banish certain artistic preoccupations to which all other poets have yielded. The all-engrossing love of mankind and the universe seems to have left little room in their greater works for the narrower love of women. Yet the theme of love is far from being absent from the entire work of either. Verhaeren has written three volumes<sup>5</sup> which have been ranked among the tenderest love-poems of all times ; while two poems in *Les Forces tumultueuses* are important in this connection. The first, 'l'Amour,' traces the evolution of love, symbolised in Venus, first in its personal development from the carnal to the spiritual; then—from an altruistic standpoint—this personal sentiment expands into love for humanity, which, in turn, giving place to the spirit of revolt, finally becomes social and democratic :

<sup>1</sup> 'For You, O Democracy' (*Calamus*), *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Complete Prose*, 278.

<sup>3</sup> The term is borrowed from S. Zweig.

<sup>4</sup> 'La Ferveur,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>5</sup> *Les Heures claires*, *Les Heures d'après*, *Les Heures du soir*.

Vénus, recueille en toi cette ivresse angoissée ;  
 Que du fond de ta chair et de ton cœur  
 L'amour afflue et règne enfin dans ta pensée,  
 Aime l'humanité qui est l'âme meilleure  
 En tourments et en vertige vers le bonheur ;  
 Livre et prodigue-toi à tous ceux qui t'appellent,  
 Non plus parmi les dieux, ni à genoux  
 Devant les Christs—mais debout, parmi nous—  
 Et simplement humaine et maternelle.

The other poem, 'Les Femmes,' has been considered one of the finest sex poems of the century. In its rugged treatment of the theme of love, as well as in its mingling of natural and sexual images, it recalls the spirit of Whitman's love-poetry in the *Children of Adam*. Turning to *Leaves of Grass* we find that immediately after the *Children of Adam* comes *Calamus*; and one short poem from this collection seems to sum up this tendency to flee the love of woman and to find life's ideal in the broader love of mankind :

Fast-anchor'd eternal, O love ! O woman I love !  
 O bride ! O wife ! more resistless than I can tell, the thought of you !  
 Then separate as disembodied or another born,  
 Ethereal, the last athletic reality, my consolation,  
 I ascend, I float in the regions of your love, O man,  
     O sharer of my roving life.

The whole evolution of Verhaeren tends not to the limitation of the primordial instincts of man, but to their logical development. This may be shown by a comparison of Verhaeren's first volumes with his last, in which the passion that was formerly a rebellion has become a law, an instinct in which is manifested the joy of life. But none of Verhaeren's works can hold its own with *Leaves of Grass* as an utterance out of the depths of primordial human nature. Whitman has often been called the Adamic man reborn ; and though he is deficient as an artist, we can conceive of this defect as contributing to his supremacy as a primary, abysmal force in literature—a force unhampered by the refinements and restrictions of art. Yet fundamentally the relation of both poets to art is identical, being through the soul rather than through the intellect. For Verhaeren, the love of the universe, the joy of life are not intellectual emotions but physical pleasures. His poems have been described as 'Une décharge d'électricité

humaine.' <sup>1</sup> His convictions have been arrived at by intuition, not by intellect :

L'instinct me rive au front assez de certitude.  
Que l'esprit pense ou non avec exactitude,  
La force humaine, en son torrent large et frondeur,  
Mêle le faux au vrai, sous un flot de splendeurs.<sup>2</sup>

It is noteworthy how Whitman, in furnishing a 'last enclosing clue,' urges the reader not to construe his book 'as an intellectual or scholastic effort or poem mainly, but more as a radical utterance out of the Emotions and the Physique.'<sup>3</sup>

We are now approaching the termination of Verhaeren's ethical evolution. Formerly, Force appeared to him as the true meaning of the universe ; but a deeper knowledge has taught him that it is goodness and admiration. In this last power he sees not an instrument of conquest, but a source of boundless humility and devotion to mankind. To the author of *La multiple Splendeur* may be applied the words he himself applied to humanity :

La joie et la bonté sont les fleurs de sa force.<sup>4</sup>

It is equally remarkable how with all Whitman's glorification of pride and self-reliance, the final lesson of his life and work is service, self-denial—the free and lavish giving of himself to others.

I will scatter myself among men and women as I go.<sup>5</sup>

## CHAPTER VII

### WHITMAN AND VERHAEREN AS NATURE POETS

'Nature and Man shall be disjoined and diffused no more.'

WHITMAN, 'Passage to India.'

'J'aime l'homme et le monde.'

VERHAEREN, 'Un Soir,' *Les Forces tumultueuses*.

How much there is in common between the two poets' treatment of nature will have already been seen. Neither can be said to be a nature poet in the same sense as Wordsworth was. Wordsworth

<sup>1</sup> Bazalgette, *Émile Verhaeren*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Les Rêves,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>3</sup> *Complete Prose*, footnote, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> 'Les Mages,' *La multiple Splendeur*.

<sup>5</sup> 'Song of the Open Road,' *Leaves of Grass*, vol. i. p. 180.



turned away from city life with the cry, 'The world is too much with us.' With Whitman and Verhaeren, on the contrary, the main theme is man in his activities, and never nature unrelated to man. Yet nature is the background of their entire work; and although it is never described for itself, both poets excel in treating its human aspects and in endowing it with human and superhuman attributes. In the 'Lesson of a Tree,'<sup>1</sup> Whitman writes: 'How strong, vital, enduring! how dumbly eloquent! What suggestions of imperturbability and *being*, as against the human trait of mere *seeming*. Then the qualities, almost emotional, palpably artistic, heroic, of a tree; so innocent and harmless, yet so savage . . .' The final passage might almost have suggested one of Verhaeren's finest poems: Whitman is describing the effect of twilight on trees: 'In the revealings of such light, such exceptional hour, such mood, one does not wonder at the old story fables [Indeed, why fables?] of people falling into love-sickness with trees, seiz'd extatic with the mystic realism of the resistless silent strength in them—*strength*, which after all is perhaps the last completest, highest beauty.'

Verhaeren's great poem, 'l'Arbre,'<sup>2</sup> is, as it were, the glorious fulfilment of this theme. The poet is alone with a mighty tree which seems to embody all the energies of life, all the powers of superhuman endurance. He approaches, touches it, leans his breast upon it with such fervour that its deep rhythm and total strength pass into him:

Alors, j'étais mêlé à sa belle vie ample ;  
 Je m'attachais à lui comme un de ses rameaux ;  
 Il se plantait, dans la splendeur, comme un exemple ;  
 J'aimais plus ardemment le sol, les bois, les eaux,  
 La plaine immense et nue où les nuages passent,  
 Mes bras auraient voulu tenir en eux l'espace ;  
 Mes muscles et mes nerfs rendaient léger mon corps  
 Et je criais : ' La force est sainte.  
 Il faut que l'homme imprime son empreinte  
 Violamment sur ses desseins hardis :  
 Elle est celle qui tient les clefs des paradis  
 Et dont le large poing en fait tourner les portes.'  
 Et je baisais le tronc noueux, éperdûment,  
 Et quand le soir se détachait du firmament,  
 Je me perdais, dans la campagne morte,  
 Marchant droit devant moi, vers n'importe où,  
 Avec des cris jaillis du fond de mon cœur fou.

<sup>1</sup> *Complete Prose*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *La multiple Splendeur*.



To nature also—as well as to the revelations of modern science—both poets owe their ideas of vastness. Verhaeren's poetry is full of boundless skies, seas, and plains crossed by monotonous roads which go on to the world's end. *Les Flamandes* has for background, 'La verte immensité des plaines et des plaines.' Vastness is a dominant note in Whitman's writings, ever bringing him back to the great themes which most completely illustrate it: the 'huge and thoughtful night,' the broad, deep sea soothing or assailing the earth with its embrace, typifying the sea of life on which sails the immortal ship—'ship of the body, ship of the soul, voyaging, voyaging, voyaging.' It is remarkable how often, the two poets use this metaphor. Verhaeren has a poem 'Le Navire,'<sup>1</sup> which represents humanity as a ship sailing the oceans of time. And if for once we might change the order, we would say there is a ring of Verhaeren's grim triumph in,

Sure as the ship of all, the Earth itself  
Product of deathly fire and turbulent chaos  
Forth from its spasms of fury and its poisons  
Issuing at least in perfect power and beauty.<sup>2</sup>

There is also a striking resemblance in the two poets' artistic treatment of nature. The art of Verhaeren's first volumes—especially of *Les Flamandes*—is that of the old Flemish masters. Havelock Ellis reveals almost as close a connection between Whitman's art and that of the old Dutch masters. This is one element of Whitman's art. The other is modern—'a curious research for sexual imagery in Nature, imagery often tinged by bizarre and mystical colour.'<sup>3</sup>

Figures of this kind are often employed by Verhaeren :

Pistils dardés ! pollenés féconds ! flammes trémières !  
Un rut immense et lourd semble bondir dans l'air ;  
Les blancs magnolias sont des baisers faits chair  
Et les senteurs des lys parfument la lumière.<sup>4</sup>

Man and nature are the two main themes of their work, and have received similar treatment at the hands of both poets. Together they have enjoyed that mystic communion with nature in her most formidable aspects—oceans, rivers, mountains, plains

<sup>1</sup> *Les Rythmes souverains*.

<sup>2</sup> 'O Star of France' (*Autumn Rivulets*), *Leaves of Grass*, vol. ii. p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> *The New Spirit*, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> 'L'Amante,' *Les Forces tumultueuses*.

—which has permitted them now to enjoy solitude, now to exult in the splendour of summer mornings. But their delight in the external universe—absorbing as it is—seems but the whetstone of a more human enthusiasm, a passion for life, in all its modern, boisterous vigour. This enables them to participate in the life of ‘Oppidomagne’ even more intensely than those who actually live it, and whose activity they do not merely contemplate but *re-live* by that same profound sympathy as enabled them to share the existence of tree and cloud, of wind and wave.

These two themes have been powerfully combined by Whitman in a poem beginning, ‘Give me the splendid silent sun,’ wherein, having called for undisturbed communion with nature, he abruptly cries :

Keep your splendid silent sun,  
Keep your woods, O Nature, and the quiet places by the woods . . .  
Give me faces and streets . . .  
Give me shores and wharves, heavy-fringed with black ships !  
O such for me ! O an intense life full to repletion and varied ! . . .  
People endless, streaming, with strong voices, passions, pageants.<sup>1</sup>

Verhaeren condenses the double appeal in a striking stanza :

Vous existez en moi, fleuves, forêts et monts  
Et vous encor, mais vous surtout, villes puissantes  
Où je sens s'exalter les cris les plus profonds  
D'âge en âge, sur la terre retentissante.<sup>2</sup>

With this common enthusiasm for nature and man—the twofold inspiration we have been annotating all through this study—our comparison closes. As variations of this dominant theme we have tried to show that both poets have the same faith in the goodness of man and the greatness of his future, the same religion of humanity, the same worship of strength in physique, intellect, and character, the same belief in ‘Nature’s primal sanities.’

Surveying his work towards the end of his life, the author of *Leaves of Grass* said : ‘The word I myself put primarily for the description of them as they stand at last is the word Suggestiveness.’ And a last glance at Whitman’s work, so rough and unpolished, yet so rich in the stuff and substance of poetry, seems to drive home the conclusion that Whitman is the fountain-head whence, all unconsciously, Verhaeren proceeds. Yet there is no

<sup>1</sup> ‘Drum-Taps,’ *Leaves of Grass*, vol. ii. p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> ‘L’Or,’ *Les Rythmes souveraines*.

intention to suggest that the former is of less significance than the latter. For if the 'comradeship' of *Calamus* finds its reflection in the 'admiration' of *La multiple Splendeur*, and if, as a song of the modern, *Leaves of Grass* is excelled by *Les Villes tentaculaires*, if, finally, Verhaeren is a greater artist than Whitman, it must not be forgotten that many themes—like those of democracy and death—have been treated more fully by the American than by the Belgian poet.

To return to our subject, which is a comparison and not a contrast, we have seen how each has attempted to justify in poetry every aspect of the life of his country. *Toute la Flandre* seems to have realised, with more detail than anything comparable to it in Whitman's works, the latter's ideal of an exhaustive poetic treatment of modern national life. Further, just as Whitman did not confine himself to one State, but became the most characteristic poet of America, Emile Verhaeren has become the most essentially European poet of his age; and has aimed—as Whitman did—at writing the epic of industry, science, and all the manifestations of modern life.

But though ardent realists, they are, even to a greater degree, idealists and mystics. Not content with contemplating man in the home and at his work, they consider him in his relation to nature and God. Not satisfied with making the epic of his activities, they seek to tune their lyre to his motives, enthusiasms, aspirations. Having exalted 'the present and the real,' they become visionaries and prophesy the future. Thus, as poets of the cosmos, they make a universal appeal. Their nature poetry is inspired by the loftiest pantheism, their social poetry by the broadest altruism.

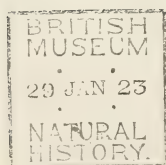
Yet although, time after time, Verhaeren employs, in his own way and sphere, ideas that are found in Whitman, we maintain that there is no influence of the latter on the former. Until the last few years, the inartistic nature of *Leaves of Grass* has so effectively militated against its popularity that it has been little read even in English-speaking countries. But without repeating our external evidence, we feel that to read Verhaeren after Whitman is to be convinced of the originality of the former: his art is infinitely superior, no verbal resemblances occur,<sup>1</sup> and, as our

<sup>1</sup> In 1881, Whitman employed the words 'By the Roadside' as a group-title for twenty-nine poems; in 1891, Verhaeren published a volume entitled, *Au Bord de la Route*; but there is no similarity in the contents.

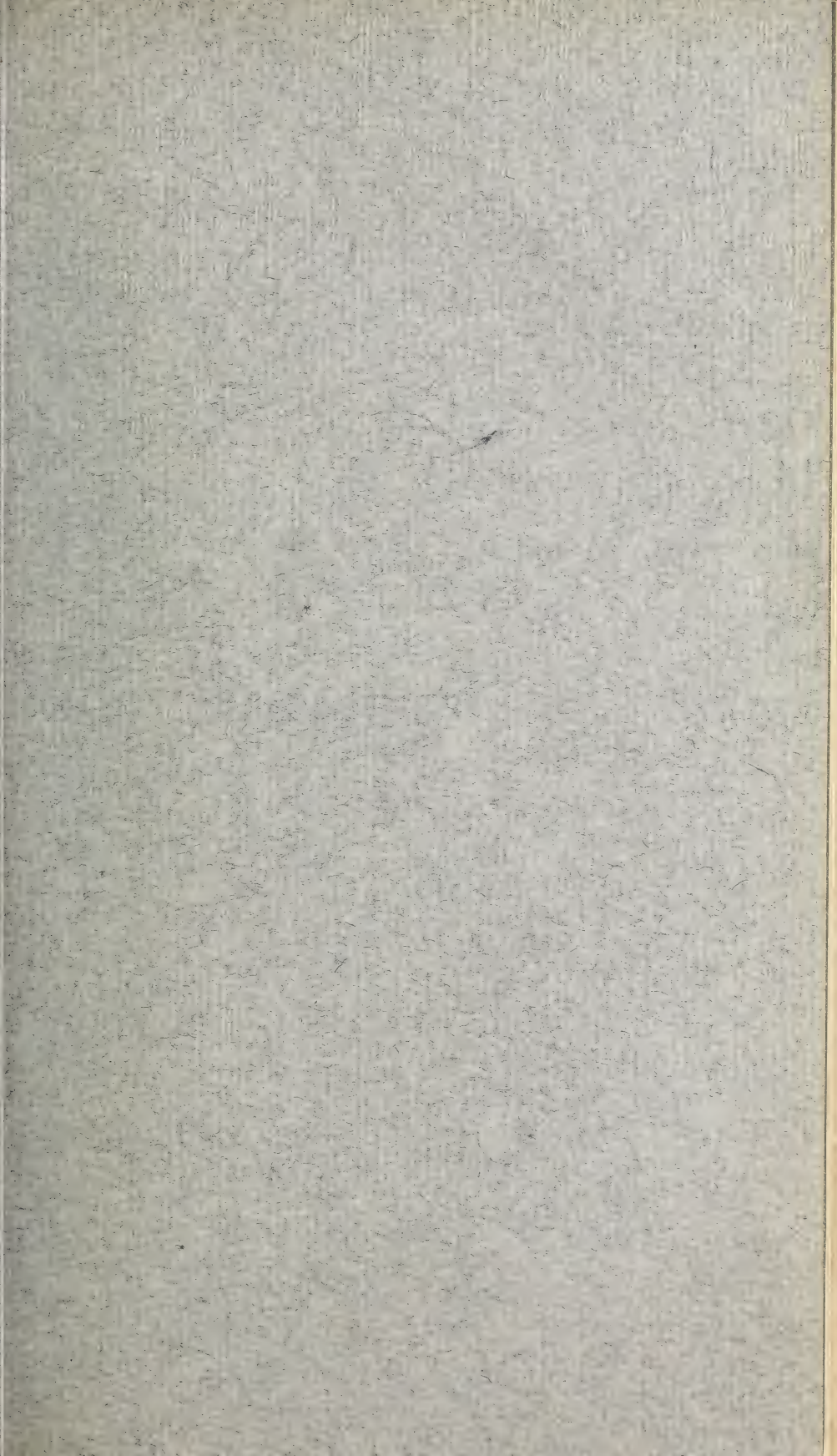
quotations have shown, the outlook of the two poets is often entirely different. Verhaeren has had to climb to Whitman's optimistic standpoint out of depths of despair reflected in poetry so morbid as not to have the faintest parallel in *Leaves of Grass*. Many of his later visions are tinged with the same gloom. The aspect of great towns, for instance, is as invariably tragic to Verhaeren as it is joyous to Whitman. In them we have an example of similar influences working on two minds, equally susceptible, yet constitutionally dissimilar. The resemblances between them do not indicate a debt but a similarity of inspiration: their social poetry is the outcome of similar social conditions, just as their nature poetry owes its characteristic quality to the vastness of their surroundings.

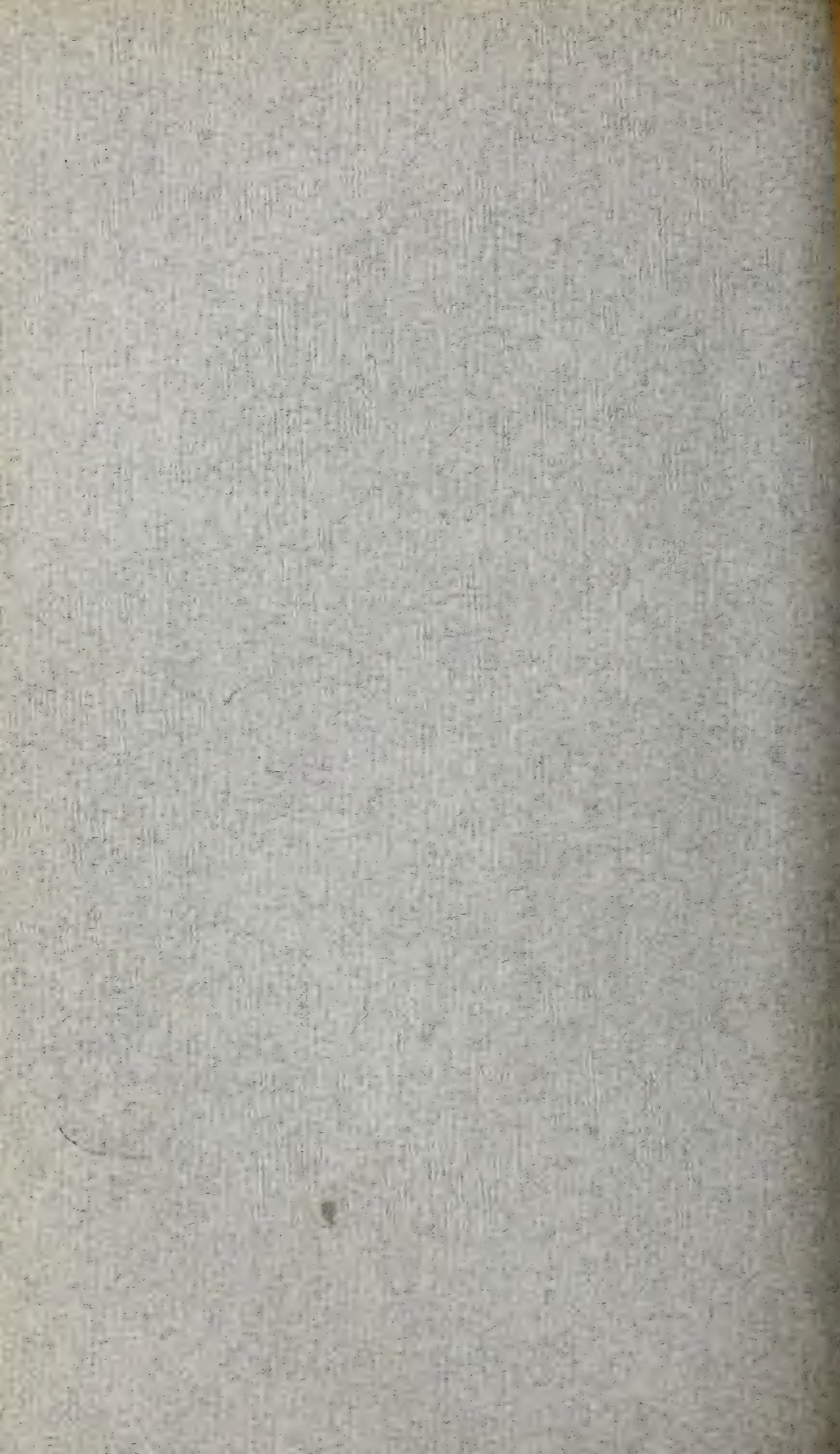
Broadly speaking, Whitman theorises, Verhaeren achieves. In spite of all the former has said on the subject of science and industry, he has written no poems like 'La Science' or 'Les Usines.' Many themes which have received full treatment from Verhaeren exist as hints or indications in Whitman's works. And although Emile Verhaeren is considered one of the most original of living Continental poets, his work so often appears to realise the ideals of the American prophet-poet that he seems, all unconsciously, to be the first to have answered Whitman's appeal to the 'Poets to Come.'

I myself but write one or two indicative words for the future . . .  
Expecting the main things from you.

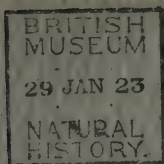












# ABERYSTWYTH STUDIES

BY

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF WALES

*Nid byd, byd heb wybodaeth*

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## FOREWORD.

In this, the third number of the "Aberystwyth Studies," an effort is being made to proceed with a scheme which was unfortunately interrupted by the War. The first number appeared in 1912: it was followed by a second number in 1914: and the intention then was to aim at an annual publication which should consist of contributions to learning—more especially in the Humanities—made by past and present members of the College. With the removal of some of the practical difficulties brought about by the War, it has now been found possible to renew the venture: and it is hoped that one, if not two, of such numbers may be published annually. That abundance of material is available is only too clear: and opportunities of publication will tend to increase that amount. Indeed, the time would seem to have come when a periodical of this sort is essential to the intellectual life of our community: and the co-operation of all interested, including students past and present, is, therefore, cordially invited by the Senate of the College.

J. W. H. ATKINS.



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# THE GREEK AGONES.

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The following article was written shortly before the War and intended for a new lexicon of ancient religion, to have been edited by Profs. Nilsson of Lund and Wünsch of Berlin. A little while before the first fascicule of this work was to have been ready the catastrophe came ; no more printing was done, and it was found ultimately quite impossible to continue publication at all. In any case, to contribute to a lexicon published in Germany and partly edited by a German would clearly have been out of the question for a British subject.

It remains only to make such use as is still possible of the materials collected. Prof. Nilsson, whose eminence as an investigator of all matters connected with Greek religion is too well known to need any enlargement on the topic, expressed a wish that I should publish my work on the Greek games in some form or other ; and I now take advantage of the re-issue of *Aberystwyth Studies* to do so. It fills, I think, a gap ; for while much good work has been done on this subject by British and Continental scholars, I know of no book or monograph which gives a full and critical account of the problem of the origin of the customs in question, and their supposed relation to religious ideas.

The last item in my bibliography is of interest, not only for its great intrinsic merits, but as indirectly showing the soundness of the criticisms on the second hypothesis of the origin of the Games. Mr. Gardiner wrote some two or three years after my article had been completed, but without knowing that it existed ; I have since read his, but have carefully refrained from altering anything I had written. This being so, it is noteworthy how nearly alike our lines of argument as well as our conclusions are. To my mind, this greatly strengthens both his case and mine ; for if our conclusions are false it is very curious that working quite independently we should both hit upon the same blunder : ἑσθλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς, παντοδαπῶς δὲ κακοί.

The sense of the word ἀγών under discussion is most probably to be connected with the normal Homeric meaning "assembly" ("certamen" is a possible translation in *θ* 259). It signifies an assembly in honour of the gods or a particular god or hero, or on a festal occasion of less definitely religious type, at which competitions, especially athletic and musical, take place (ἀγών γυμνικός, ἵππικός, μουσικός, κτε.). The existence of such assemblies at all periods of Greek history is fully attested. The word, however, applies most especially to a festival of this sort recurring at regular intervals of a year or more, usually under the presidency (ἀγωνοθεσία) of a city or amphiktyony. Of this, as has been repeatedly pointed out, e.g., by Rohde, *Psyche*<sup>4</sup>, p. 151, there is no trace in Homer, although he knows of annual sacrifices, B 550-1, and regularly recurring holy days, *φ* 258.

HOMERIC AGONES.—Two festivals of which athletics form a prominent part are fully described in the Homeric poems; the games in honour of Odysseus at Phaiakia, *θ* 94 sqq., and the funeral games of Patroklos in *Ψ*; besides repeated mentions of other funeral games, and one, A 698-702, of a horse-race apparently near Olympia (where it is possible that some sort of agon was held in prehistoric times) the occasion of which is not stated. The first of these agones is expressly stated to be undertaken with the idea of giving Odysseus an opportunity to see the prowess of his hosts. It is indeed preceded by a banquet which as usual in Homer is sacrificial (59), but the general tone of the assembly is distinctly secular; the people are there in order to see the distinguished visitor (12) and to enjoy themselves at the entertainment provided (98-9). This is significant in view of the problems discussed below. The athletic contests are of an informal nature, no prizes of any sort being mentioned; they consist of running, wrestling, jumping, disk-throwing, and boxing, followed after an interval by an exhibition of dancing and ball-throwing (370 sqq.). All these, except the last, which one gathers was normally a competition, although not on this particular occasion, are common events in the latter agones.

The funeral games of Patroklos, like those mentioned elsewhere in the poems, differ from those at Phaiakia not only in the solemnity of the occasion, but in the fact that prizes are given, all of some value, and many of great worth (ἀγών χρηματίτης, ἐπ' ἄλλοις, ἀθλοφόρος; for other technical names for this sort of agon, see

Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v., col. 847). The games follow the elaborate funeral rites ; Achilles presides and apparently provides most of the prizes. The contests themselves include those mentioned in *θ*, with weight putting substituted for the disk-throwing, and with the addition of a chariot-race, a shooting-match, apparently a javelin-throwing contest (884 sqq.) and a duel *au premier sang* (798-825). This, like the dancing at Phaiakia, is no regular feature of the athletic programme, whether of an ἀγὼν ἐπιτάφιος or not. Its significance will be discussed later. In the meantime, one remarkable feature, imitated by Vergil, Aen. V, 305, 308, may be noted. The number of prizes is as great as the number of competitors in every case. Further, the prizes in some cases (746, 800) had belonged to Patroklos himself. In view of these facts an ingenious suggestion (unpublished) has been made by Miss Barbara Freire-Marreco. It is quite conceivable that in these prizes we have a primitive method of dividing the dead man's property. If it were merely taken away from his house or the grave, the ghost might be expected to feel himself robbed and be angry with the robber ; but when the various articles are given to athletes who have taken part in the games in honour of the dead, the latter is in the position of a hospitable and generous host who sends his guests away with lasting mementoes of their visit. The fact that all are given prizes is easily accounted for if we remember that originally those present at the games would all be clansmen of the dead, i.e., those to whom the property would by ancient law, Roman as well as Greek, naturally belong. It is in fact the first attempt at a more rational bestowal of the property than that of burning or burying it with the corpse.

HISTORICAL AGONES.—In historical Greece we find a great number of agonistic festivals, the most famous being the four Great Games, Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia ; all established by about 570 B.C. They are distinguished from the Homeric agon by the following features :—(1) Definite association with a religious ceremony and a more or less important shrine, whether of a god or a hero ; (2) Many, though not all, reward the victor merely by a wreath, or, especially in later times, a palm-branch (ἀγὼν στεφανίτης) ; those which give valuable prizes, though often of considerable importance (Panathenaia at Athens, Heraia at Argos, &c.) are not in the first rank ; (3) Recurrence at regular intervals, either of a year (Iolaia), more regularly two or four years (Pythia ;

Olympia), or even eight years (Pythia originally, Sch. Pind., *ὑποθ. Πυθ.* p. 298 B). As a natural consequence of the importance and frequency of these festivals, the agonothetai are no longer private individuals, even of high rank, but representatives of states or amphictyonies, e.g., Kleonai and afterwards Argos for the Nemea. Very frequently, as at Olympia, two boards were appointed, one of agonothetai proper, another of officials (*ἱεροποιοί*), charged with the purely religious ceremonies, sacrifice, &c. As in other festivals, one of the regular magistrates might *ex officio* be charged with at least some part of the arrangements, as the Archon Eponymos for the Attic Panathenaia (Momm, *Feste.*, p. 124, &c.). In later times the position of agonothetes was one of the numerous burdensome posts which a wealthy citizen of a Greek state was expected to fill. See for details Reisch l.c., 865-873. The office can hardly be called a primarily religious one.

The constitution of every agon which we know in any detail is substantially the same ; a concourse of pilgrims to the shrine meet, protected by the sacred truce (*ἐκεχειρία*) ; sacrifices are made to the gods locally worshipped, especially to the god in whose honour the feast is held ; there is a great sacrificial banquet, the games are held, the prizes distributed, and the visitors, still protected by the truce, depart. The local variants amount to no more than slight differences in the relative order of the various events,—thus if the views of A. Mommsen (*Delph.* 206 sqq.) and Weniger (*Klio* IV. 150) be taken as substantially correct, some of the athletics preceded the great sacrifice at Olympia but not at Delphi,—in the length of the festival, or in the nature of the events themselves ; thus a regatta, elsewhere uncommon, is a prominent feature of the Panathenaia. Neither the details of the athletics nor the financial and official arrangements of the management of the festivals concern us here. The sacrifices and other purely religious ceremonies did not differ from those at other festivals. The main problem is the relation of the athletic sports to the rest of the festival, *i.e.* the question whether they were a mere adjunct, like the fair which was an outstanding feature of the Olympic Games (Krause, *Olympia*, p. 191), or an integral part of the whole ceremony, like the sacrifice. The answer to this question depends on the view we take of the origin and nature of agones in general.

(1). A view prevalent in ancient times and supported by prominent scholars in our own day is that all agones were in their



origin ἐπιτάφιοι. This is distinctly stated by Schol. Pind., ὑποθ. Ἰσθ. p. 514 B. and applied even to the games held ostensibly in honour of a god (ὁ μὲν Ὀλυμπιακὸς τῷ Διὶ διὰ τὸν Πέλοπα κτε.) Cf. Dion. Hal. V. 17 p. 885. As might be expected, this found favour with Euhemerizing Christian apologists : Aug. CD. VIII. 26, quoting Varro, uses the existence of *ludi funebres* to prove that the pagan gods are nothing but dead men, since they are honoured in the same way. Rohde, *Psyche*<sup>4</sup> 150, points out that the appearance of periodically recurring games in Greece coincides with the recrudescence of hero-worship in post-Homeric times. He adduces the statement of Pausanias, VIII. iv. 5, that the funeral games of Azan were the first games ever held ; the undoubted fact that agones were instituted, often as a result of an oracle, in honour of the dead of historical times (the Phokaians killed at Agylla, Hdt. I. 167, Miltiades, ib. VI. xxxviii. 1, Brasidas, Thuc. V. 11. Note also Plato's recommendation, *Legg.* XII. 947E, of a yearly agon in honour of the dead) ; the evidence from the use of the funeral wreath, myrtle, that the Iolaeia were really funeral games in their origin (Schol. Pind. Isth. III. 117, cf. Eur. *El.*, 323—5, 511—2) ; his further argument, that we have at Rhodes an actual case of the transference of games from a hero to a god, is wrong ; the Halieia there exist side by side with and do not supersede the Tlapolemeia, see Nils. p. 462. Many other traces of a possible origin in funeral rites of the Great Games are pointed out by ancient authors, generally in explicit support of this theory ; e.g., at the Isthmia, the use of the plant which formed the crown, parsely (σέλινον), in burial rites, Plut. *Timol.* 26, Q.C. V. iii. 2, and the connection of its later and supposedly also earlier equivalent, the pine, with the legend of the death of Melikertes, see Paus. I. xlv. 6—7 ; at the Nemea, the fact that the umpires wore mourning costume, Schol. Pind., ὑποθ. Νεμ. 4, p. 425 B ; besides the actual legends themselves, which definitely state that the Nemea were founded in memory of Opheltēs-Archemoros (e.g., Eur. *Hypsip.* 34 (60), 99—103 Hunt), the Isthmia in memory of Melikertes (Paus. I. c. and many other passages) etc. Finally we have to reckon with the existence of a considerable number of games admittedly in honour of heroes. Cf. also Frazer, G.B.<sup>3</sup> III. p. 92 sqq.

A more extreme form of the same theory has been put forward by Ridgway, J.H.S. xxxi. p. xlvii.; cf. *Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 36, 38. He would deduce not only agones but tragedy from the supposed

performance at the tombs of heroes of rites commemorative of their exploits while alive. Such writers lay great stress on the facts connected with Olympia, especially the prominence of Pelops, see Pind. O1. 1 90, Schol. Vet. on 93 (sacrifice made to Pelops before that to Zeus). Much prominence has also been given to the well-known legend of Pelops and Oimomaos (see Roscher s. vv.), together with the expression of Pindar regarding Olympia, ἐν δρόμοις Πέλοπος O1. I. 97; not a very cogent piece of evidence, as it is quite possible to construe Πέλοπος with κλέος, 97, taking δρόμοις with Ὀλυμπιάδων. The idea of Ridgeway is then, that the Olympic games consisted of a sort of ritual imitation of the famous race of Pelops, designed to please and placate him; that it was not till later times that they were regarded as sacred to Zeus; and by implication, that in the case of all the other early agones dedicated to a god we should find, if our knowledge of the facts were sufficient, an early ritual, more or less definitely mimetic, in honour of some hero.

This theory no doubt is true to this extent, that an agon was in historical times a common feature of hero-cult; also that agones frequently accompanied funeral rites. But to prove it universally applicable is scarcely possible, in fact of the following evidence.

(a) It is necessary to explain away a number of agones of considerable antiquity and wholly unconnected, so far as we know, with hero-cults, by the bare assumption that originally they were dedicated to a hero and not a god. Such are the Olympia at Athens, to Ge: the Delphinia at Aigina, to Apollo Delphinios (Nils. 172): the Argive Heraia: the Lykaia and Koreia in Arkadia: the Achaian Hermaia: the Spartan agones connected with the cult of Orthia (ib. 195), and many others. Indeed the number of long-established agones which can be definitely and indubitably connected with a hero-cult is small.

(b) The theory loses sight of the fact that although an agon was a prominent and regular feature of funeral ceremonies, whether for the reason suggested above or not, it was also common on other occasions. The Phaiakian games have already been mentioned, and are clearly not held in honour of any superhuman power. Weddings for example were sometimes attended by contests of various sorts, as in the famous story of Kleisthenes, Hdt. VI. 128 sqq.; and one need only glance at Homer to find examples of Greeks amusing themselves with just such exercises as those of the Games whenever a number of them happened to be together with nothing

in particular to occupy them. (B 773, δ 626). Again, to celebrate victory or deliverance, we find armies in historical times instituting an agon. A well-known example is found in Xen. Anab. IV. viii. 25, where the Ten Thousand, after arriving safely at Trapezus, perform their vows to Zeus Soter, Herakles, and other gods,—there is nothing said of the worship of any hero, which indeed would be unlikely, as they would not know anything of the local cults,—and then proceed to hold an informal ἀγὼν γυμνικὸς presided over by one of their number. Cf. *Hell.* IV. ii. 7. Thus we see that the legend which represents Herakles as founding the Olympia in thanksgiving for a successful campaign (Pind. 01. 11 3 and Schol. ad loc.), whether or not we take it as having any historical content, is perfectly consonant with actual Greek practice. It seems indubitable also that the Pythia owe their foundation in the form in which we know them to the action of a victorious general, see Paus. X. vii. 24 sqq., Schol. Pind. ὕμ. Πυθ. 1 and 2, pp. 297, 298 B. If we look at the numerous foundations of later times we can find abundant examples of games dedicated to other than heroes. Such are the Eleutheria at Plataea (Zeus Eleutherios) and many other commemorative festivals in Greece; the Ptolēmaia, etc., of the Macedonian epoch; the numerous Sebasteia, Augustea, Hadrianea, etc., in honour of deified Roman emperors; and such Roman foundations as Augustus' Actia (Apollo) and the Agon Capitolinus (Minerva). From these we may safely conclude that in the historical period at any rate if agones were frequently held in honour of heroes, it was merely because they were felt to be appropriate methods of celebrating any superhuman power, whether Olympian or chthonian, or any man whom superstition or flattery considered as more than mortal.

(c). Not only do agones occur in non-heroic ritual, but a few facts point to an actual feeling in some quarters that they were the prerogative rather of the gods. At Plataea, in commemoration of the great victory, two sets of rites were held, Paus. IX. ii. 5. One of these was the annual sacrifice to the "heroes," i.e., those who fell in the battle, see Nils. p. 455. The second was the pentaeteric festival of Zeus Eleutherios, whose central feature was a hoplite-race before the altar of the god. It is not without significance also that in his account of the Iolaeia, *Isth.* IV. 61 sqq., Pindar seems to distinguish sharply between the purely funereal rites in honour of the children of Megara and the games which followed next day. It may be questioned whether we have not here a superposition upon

an ancient chthonian rite of something approaching Olympian ceremonial; since Herakles, although regarded locally as a hero, not a god, always stands nearer actual divine rank than the other heroes. Noteworthy also is the direct statement of Plut., *Thes.* 25, that that part of the Isthmian ritual which was directly concerned with Melikertes "was nocturnal, more like a ceremony of initiation than a public spectacle."

(d). If we examine the ritual and legends of those agones of which we know most, the Great Games, we find in all cases a number of points unfavourable to this theory, especially in Ridgeway's form.

At Olympia, there is good reason to think that the story of Pelops and Oinomaos is not part of the earliest traditions of the games. The "tomb of Pelops" on being opened by the German excavators, proved to contain no body later than the neolithic period (Dörpfeldt, *Mith. Ath.* xxxiii. 189); that Oinomaos was king of Pisa or Pelops anywhere in the Peloponnesos in the oldest form of the story may reasonably be doubted, see Roscher s. vv. The overwhelming bulk of legendary testimony in Pindar and his scholiast, also Pausanias V, 8, 3 sq., connects the founding with Herakles, and with the cult of Zeus. Pelops' connection with it is very shadowy; he celebrates the agon in honour of Zeus, Paus. V. viii. 2, or Herakles, his descendant (a late genealogy) ordains that he shall be honoured above other heroes, *ib.* xiii. 2. The tabu on persons who had eaten of his sacrifice entering the temple of Zeus, *ib.* 3, militates against the notion that the whole ceremony was originally in his honour.

For the Pythia, we have to notice, besides the very definite legendary connection with Apollo, the fact that there is no hero at Delphi in whose honour the games may be supposed to have been celebrated. The only important hero buried there was Neoptolemos, and we have the clear testimony of Pausanias I. iv. 4, that he was not honoured until after the Gallic invasion. The ἀγὼν ποσειδῶν also, which was the earliest part of the contest, is most naturally connected with Apollo himself. See Paus. X. vii. 2, Schol. Pind. ἑπ. Πυθ. 1, p. 297 B.

The Isthmia and Nemea may be considered together. We have in the first place no real reason to suppose that the cults of Archemoros and of Palaimon-Melikertes are older in those localities than the worship of Zeus and Poseidon. Moreover, it is hard to say why the ghosts of children, mere babies, should be supposed to find



pleasure in athletic contests, or in what sense these could be a *mimesis* of any events in their lives. Contrast the *piacula* offered to the children of Medeia at Corinth, Paus. II. iii 7.

(e). On this supposition it is curious that we do not find in the agones of historical times one most characteristic feature of the worship of the dead among races of all grades of culture from the Australian aborigines to the Greeks and Romans. (Cf. Frazer *l.c.* The scholion he quotes—on Pind. Ol. I. 146—is clearly worthless). The most acceptable offering to the dead is blood; and among a warlike people a natural way to provide this is by means of a combat over the grave. That this was the underlying idea of the Etruscan and Roman gladiatorial shows has been held with much plausibility since the time of Varro, ap. Seru. Aen. III. 67. Examples of this in Greece in real or supposed sepulchral rites are the lithobolia at Trozen, Paus. II. xxxii. 2, the combat over the grave of Demophoon at Eleusis, Hom. *h. Cer.* 265, and the duel already mentioned at the funeral of Patroklos. Cf. also Gardiner, p. 21. Why, if agones originate in hero-worship, do we find no traces of such a combat in any of them, unless we accept the hesitating and unsupported testimony of Plutarch, Q.C., 675C, that there formerly was one at Pisa? The only athletic event which might reasonably be imagined to have developed out of a ritual armed combat is the hoplite-race, which does not seem to have been one of the early contests at all. (Krause, *Olymp.* 75-6).

(2). Partly in view of these difficulties, a modification of this theory has recently been put forth by Cornford in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, ch. VII. Like many other theorists on the subject, he pays attention principally to the Olympic games and starts from the legend of Pelops and Oinomaos. This he identifies, on the lines of the well-known hypotheses of Frazer and of Cook (*Zeus*; cf. *European Sky-god*, Folk-Lore, March, 1904, and *Zeus Jupiter and the Oak*, CR XVII and XVIII) with the contest between the old and the young king, or rather the old and young embodiments of the local vegetation-daimon. He supposes that originally an actual combat took place, on the authority of the passage of Plutarch already quoted. The races, etc., are ritual, having for their object the choosing of the embodiment for the next quadrennium of the vegetation-daimon. Probably the festival was originally annual, as the Lesser Olympia continued to be, Schol. Plat. *Phaedr.* 236—Siebenkees *Anecd. Graec.* p. 59 (misnumbered 95). The girls' race at the

Heraia, Paus. V. xvi. 2-4, has for its object the selection of a female representative of the vegetation-spirit. Thus we have, to use modern names, a King and Queen of the May, represented in the cult-legend by Pelops and Hippodameia. He suggests further, cf. Frazer *op. cit.* p. 91, that we have an astral element in the ritual. The union of Pelops and Hippodameia is the coming together of the sun and moon at the beginning of the enneateris, cf. Weniger, *Klio* V p. 18. This is indicated in another of the foundation-legends, that of the fifty daughters of Endymion, Paus. ib. i. 4, cf. viii. 1, which, with the similar tales of Danaos and of Antaios, Pind. Pyth. IX. 11 sqq., has the motif of a group of 48 or 50 maidens, explained as the number of months of a pentaeteris. Hence the bridegroom is in some sense solar, perhaps charged with the maintenance of the sacred fire which was intended to support the sun, while the bride is either connected with the moon, or, as the Danaides are perhaps water-nymphs, is charged with the supplying of water for rain-charms.

Besides this ingenious but precarious collocation of legends, Cornford appeals to certain facts of ritual as affording support to the general theory that vegetation-magic lay behind the athletics at the agones. The first of these is the honour done to the victorious athlete, who not only heads the komos at the scene of the games but enters his native city in triumph, through a breach in the walls, i.e., through a sacred entrance, not the ordinary non-sacred gate (details in Krause, *Olympia*, p. 197) ; i.e., as Cornford interprets it, is given regal and divine honours, as befits an incarnate daimon. He also draws attention to the *φύλλοβολία*. As the few literary notices of this and the one or two vases which show it teach us (v. Dar. et Sagl. s.v. *Certamina* p. 1084 and figs. 182, 1335), the victor was not only crowned but covered with garlands and festoons by the spectators ; a custom which suggests the dressing up of a mummer, representing the vegetation-spirit, in leaves and flowers, with which Mannhardt and Frazer have made us familiar. Finally, in support of the astral part of the theory, attention is called to the familiar fact that the 12 rounds of the longest races recall the 12 signs of the Zodiac or the 12 months of the year.

While put forward only as an explanation of the Olympic Games, it is evident that this theory will, if true, throw much light on the other festivals. The curious figures of Python, Melikertes, and Archemoros may all be explained as daimones, likely enough

connected with vegetation. This at once gets over the difficulties in (d) attending the application of (1) to these games: while the possible objection that the last two at least are consistently represented as having been human beings is easily met by the reflection that we have several examples of a local daimon being converted by mythologizers into a hero or heroine, e.g., Charila at Delphi, Damia and Auxesia at Trozen. It has the further merit of introducing, to explain the phenomena under discussion, rites and ideas which are not only common among other peoples but to be found in Greece. These are however serious if not fatal objections.

(a) Many of the arguments against (1) still apply with equal force. Those in (1, a) are untouched; supporters of this theory have still to get rid of a considerable number of agones dedicated, so far as we know, to gods and gods only, by the bare assumption that the dedication was changed in later times. To these is added another difficulty. Admittedly the Olympic Games early attained great celebrity, so great that even the extraordinary privileges granted to the Eleans on account of the festival went back to a legendary past. Similar remarks apply in a less degree to other agones. How can this be explained if the deity to whom the cult was directed were an insignificant local daimon? The only non-agonistic festival of pan-Hellenic importance was the Eleusinian Mysteries; and the deities worshipped there were adored by all Greece, quite independently of the local ritual. If the further suggestion is right, that the festival was a celebration of the new year or new cycle, a *lustratio* to enable Elis to begin afresh with all her spiritual debts cleared away, the problem becomes still more insoluble. The Elean year did not begin at the same time as that of many other states; why should so many of the Greeks join in celebrating a New Year which was not their own? One can understand, on the former theory, the whole Peloponnesos and later the whole of Greece coming together to do honour to Pelops; but no reason has yet been given why anyone outside of the state actually celebrating the agon should join in a ritual intended to secure prosperity for someone else's fields.

(b) The arguments under (1, c) again apply to some extent. Whether we assume Melikertes to be hero or daimon, the fact remains that his ritual was no part of the agon proper. At Delphi, Python is a prominent figure in the Stepteria, but all the ritual and legendary evidence points to Apollo as the god of the Pythian



games. It might very well be held that in three of the ἀγῶνες μεγάλοι we have a merely fortuitous combination of two sets of cults ; one local, the worship of daimones or heroes,—Melikertes, a god of apiculture (so Maas, *Griechen und Semiten auf dem Isthmus von Korinth* ; the old identification with Melqart is untenable) ; Python, the attendant snake-daimon of an oracle of Ge-Themis ; Opheltis-Archemoros, one of those odd child-figures connected with the chthonian serpent of which Sosipolis of Ellis is the best-known representative (Paus. VI. xx 4) ; all of whom have non-agonistic rituals ; and side by side with them, Poseidon with his attendant Palaimon ; Apollo, representing the new development of the mantic shrine ; and Zeus Nemeaios.

(c) The theory largely depends on an interpretation of the myth of Pelops ; but as has been already indicated, the connection of this with the Olympic Games is shadowy. It might indeed be a vague recollection of some ancient rite of marriage by capture, of the sort familiar from M'Lennan's *Primitive Marriage* and later works, connected with a ritual myth, like that of Salmoneus, concerning an old belief in divine or at least magic-working kings ; but to show a connection between such ideas and the Games it must be shown that the athletic events are reasonably derivable from magico-religious ritual.

One foundation-myth does, it is true, definitely connect what look like vegetation-daimons with Olympia. Paus. V. vii. 6 sqq., informs us, on the authority of "the Elean antiquaries," that at the birth of Zeus the Idean Daktyls, "who are also called Kuretes," watched over the child, and that the eldest of them, Herakles, set his brother to run races, rewarding the victor with a wreath of olive, whereof they had such abundance that they slept on it. But whether any safe conclusions can be based on a story which betrays its lateness by confusing the Daktyloi and Kuretes, introducing Herakles Idaios, and adorning his myth with details clearly borrowed from that of the son of Alkmene, is more than doubtful. It cannot be too clearly borne in mind that the later tales are often the most artificial combinations from all manner of sources, reflecting no real belief or ritual, and hence useless to support any theory.

(d) It remains, then, to look for examples of ageristic sports, whether running, wrestling, or what not, developed out of recognised magico-religious ritual. If any of the events in the actual agones can be traced back to such a source, it will become at least a legiti-



mate hypothesis that the rest either were similarly developed or are late introductions, made after the real reason for the races, &c., was forgotten. The following is a fairly exhaustive list of what may be called competitive ritual.

i. The lampadephoria. There can be no reasonable doubt as to the origin of this. The fact of the race being won, not necessarily by the first runner to arrive at the goal, but by the first to arrive with his torch alight (Paus. I xxx 2), shows clearly that the torch was the important feature. The object was to bring new fire from a particularly pure source to kindle the other altar-fires. The obvious way to do this quickly and effectually was to run with the torch as fast as possible; and a natural development of this among a sport-loving people was to turn the proceedings into a race. That it was not always a race, however, is clear from the fact that the holy fire was brought from Delphi to Plataea after the Persian War by a single runner (Plut. *Arist.* 20).

ii. The ritual of the Delphinia at Aigina goes back to just such an idea. Here we have, not fire, but water, to be brought as speedily as may be for ritual purposes. The race is on exactly the same lines as the lampadephoria, with a water-jar substituted for the torch. The staid Roman ritual contented itself with providing the Vestals with jars which could not be set down, to ensure their bringing them directly to the temple and not polluting them on the way by contact with the ground (Seru. Aen. XI 339).

iii. There are several examples of beauty-competitions for both sexes (see e.g. Nils. 57, 94, 336, 392, 1). Here, again, the root idea is ritual; for various purposes connected with the local worship an especially handsome person is wanted, and this method is adopted of discovering him. See the example on p. 57 Nils. for a particularly convincing instance.

iv. The scourging of the Spartan boys at the altar of Orthia had certainly some ritual significance, whatever it may have been. That it developed into an endurance-contest is clear, cf. Nils. p. 193.

v. Ritual dances being common, it is noticeable that the dance in θ 371 might have been competitive if Halios and Laodamas had not been recognised champions. They danced alone merely because "no man strove with them."

vi. One or two undoubtedly agricultural festivals are characterised by something like a race. The best-known instance is the ritual of the *σταφυλοδρόμοι* at the Karneia, Bekk. *Anecd.* I p. 305,

which consists in the pursuit of an obvious incarnation of a vegetation-daimon.

Little knowledge of the details of the chief agones is needed to see that a great deal of this does not apply at all. The torch-race until about the fifth century was peculiar to the ritual of Hephaistos, Prometheus, and Athena, see Farn. C.G.S. V 378 sqq. cf. Dar. et Sagl. *Lampadédromia* p. 909. The race of the water-carriers is found only in Aigina. There are no beauty-competitions in the Great Games. The savage ritual of Orthia is peculiar to Sparta. The agones do not include dancing. Finally the ritual of the staphylodromoi is not a real race, nor even a game of hare and hounds, for it did not matter which of the pursuers caught the incarnate daimon. That it ever developed into a race we have no grounds for supposing. There are, then, no sound reasons for holding that any of the familiar athletic events of the agones owe their origin to any ritual practices at all.

(e). While the fact that many agones are not annual, as we should expect a vegetation-festival to be, may be paralleled by the quadrennial mysteries of Demeter at Keleai, Paus. II. xiv. 1, it is noteworthy that we have, as pointed out in (1) (e), no bloody contests, and that blood is a characteristic offering to a vegetation-daimon, such being no doubt the real reason for the ritual of Damia and Auxesia and of Demophon.\*

(3). A third attempt to connect the agones with religious or magical ritual has been made by some members of the Panbabylonian school, of whom Fries may be taken as an example. In pursuance of his fundamental thesis "Die Hauptinhalt aller Mythologie ist die Himmelfahrt des Tagesgestirnes" (p. 3), he gives the following explanation (ch. vii). The idea of a contest between the powers of light and darkness is found in Greek as in other mythologies; for instance, the contest of Apollo and the serpent (δράκων in Hom. *hymn. Ap.* 300) where the opponent of the god, being female in the earliest tradition, is held to furnish a close parallel to Tiamut in the Babylonian story. The agon, commemorating this elemental combat, assumes at times the form of a horse-race, as we see from Persia (p. 158), and elsewhere. Granted this, it is further significant that many agones are at times of the year, such as the equinoxes and summer solstice, which are important landmarks in the annual course of the sun. Such, besides

\*For further criticism of this view, see Gardiner, *Alleged Kingship*, *passim*.

Greek examples, are the Roman Equirria and the *circenses missus* of Mar. 1. Coming to the details of the races we have the form of the hippodrome, which has been connected with the Babylonian representation of the heavens. See Eiseler in *Archiv* 1908 p. 150. The legend there discussed makes Solomon institute a series of 12 races, one for each month, and four parties, distinguished by colours, one for each season. Similar ideas are to be found on Greek soil in that form of the legend of Oinomaos (Malala Chronogr. VII. p. 173), which makes the hero and his opponents wear green and blue respectively, *i.e.*, the colours of earth and sea; while the colours of the Roman circus factions were similarly interpreted, and Cassiodorus (*Varia* III. 51, p. 605 Bottigne) speaks of astrological symbols in the equipment of the race-track. Finally the twelve rounds of the race recall the twelve months of the year, and (p. 174) the whole story of Pelops and Oinomaos is of solar significance, for the race goes across the Peloponnesos, *i.e.*, across the world, 13 unsuccessful suitors are slain, *i.e.*, the 12 months and one intercalary month of the year (Pind. *Ol.* 1 81), besides other features of a supposedly astral nature already mentioned under (2).

This explanation is not likely to find much favour outside of the school in which it originated. With regard to Greece, the following difficulties may be pointed out in addition to the general objections to the application of any wide-reaching solar hypothesis to the mythology and ritual of that people (cf. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon, passim*).

(a). The lateness of much of the evidence puts it entirely out of court. Myths, details of myths, and explanations of ritual of a distinctly astral tendency are precisely what one would expect in writers of the age of Cassiodorus or Malala, coming as they do long after a hypothesis very like that on which Fries and the other members of that school found their arguments, had gained wide acceptance. See Macrob. *Sat.* I. xvii., 2 omnes paene deos . . . ad solem referunt, and the succeeding chapters. To look to such writers for undistorted evidence of classical Greek belief would be like considering a treatise of Max Müller or Jeremias as an ancient document.

(b). Granted the solar character of the 12-round race, what is to be made of those races which extended to 1, 7,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , etc., of the length of the stadium? (see Gardiner p. 270). If Oinomaos for astral reasons slays 13 suitors, why have Pelops and Hippodameia



(Pind. *ib.* 93) only 6 sons? Almost anything can be proved by selecting those scraps of myth or ritual which happen to fit one's own theory and rejecting the rest; but this procedure is not science. In this case, the arguments for solar ritual in the agones are obtained by putting on one side the overwhelming bulk of ancient evidence.

(c). Looking at particular agones we find a considerable number, such as the Nemea, in connection with which we have no myth of a combat of gods, solar or otherwise. Others may be more or less plausibly connected with such a combat, such as the Panathenaia with Athena's overthrow of Poseidon, or of the Giants, and the Pythia, where we have the definite statement that the games arose out of the victory of Apollo over Python. But until the solar character of either Athena or Apollo becomes more than an unsupported hypothesis, little attention need be paid to these facts. Helios himself appears in connection with games only at Rhodes, where nothing is known of the details of the agonistic ritual or myth, and at the Isthmus (Paus. II. i. 6), where the Akrokorinthos, and not the locality of the agon, becomes his property.

In both the last two hypotheses, a further point should be noticed, namely the tendency to assume a fairly advanced calendar for the time when the festivals were founded. But, as has been recently shown (J.H.S. 1919, pp. 176 sqq.) by J. K. Fotheringham in his article on Kleostratos, Greek knowledge of such things was scanty before the period of that astronomer, *cir.* B.C. 550—500, who is said to have invented the oktaeteris and appears to have introduced many of the results of Babylonian observation. Hence not only such theories as that put forward by Cornford, *sup.* 2, with regard to the myths of Danaos, etc., but the suggestion of Mommsen, *Delph.* 153—4, that the Pythia were originally held at the beginning of the oktaeteris, are hazardous in the extreme.

(4). If then neither the cult of the dead nor that of vegetation-spirits nor solar beliefs will adequately explain the athletic parts of the agones, we are justified in regarding them as secular, since no other form of cult is claimed to have originated them. In this connection a striking fact may be mentioned. We have plenty of evidence that the programme of the games underwent all sorts of variations in course of time. A glance at Gardiner or Krause, or at the accounts of the growth of the Olympian and Pythian Games in Paus. V. viii. 6 sqq., and X. vii. 2 sqq., will illustrate this. Nothing could be in more outstanding contrast with the extreme conserva-



tism which marks all religious ritual. This fact alone is enough to furnish a presumption in favour of the secular nature of the athletics.

Another point is that not only athletic festivals but also markets and political assemblies were connected with the cult of various deities : which proves, if proof be needed, that actions regularly performed in the presence of a deity are not of necessity religious actions.

As indicated in the opening paragraph, the existence of an assembly (cf. the frequent use of *πανήγυρις* practically = *ἀγών*), will suffice to explain the athletics. Given an assemblage of Greeks under practically any circumstances, it would be almost inevitable that sports of some kind should be started. Hence the numerous agones, for the most part never repeated, in conjunction with funerals in the heroic age (and doubtless later), marriages, the end of a campaign, etc. ; all being occasions which would bring a considerable number of people together with no very pressing business to occupy them for a time.

Two kinds of assembly in particular would result in this way. The first was the regular gathering of pilgrims at the shrine of a god on the occasion of any great festival. This was no doubt the case, e.g., at Delphi, where the Pythia were held at a very holy time of the year. What was more natural than that an agon of some sort should be instituted spontaneously by the crowd of worshippers ?

Another, and one of some importance, was the assembly of a victorious army at a festival of thanksgiving. Here we have the religious festival and the agon resulting simultaneously. To find a probable origin for many of the well-known agones we have only to imagine the thank-offering of the Ten Thousand made into a perpetual annual ceremony as the thank-offering for Marathon was, and the perpetuation of the sports follows naturally. That this was the origin of many of the games (Nemea, Olympia, re-founding of the Pythia) we are assured by numerous legends ; and if Schol. Pind. *ὑπερθ.* Νεμ. 2 and 5 can be trusted, the first of these festivals bore for a while the impress of its military origin in the fact that only " soldiers or their sons " (i.e., descendants of the Seven and their followers ? so Krause, *Olymp.* p. 40 n. 15) might compete. But to endeavour to make all agones originate in this way would be too narrow a view.

To say that the athletics were not in their origin a religious ceremony is not to imply that they were in no way connected with

religion. For a number of reasons, the sports at the agones were differentiated from ordinary exercises and surrounded with a certain sacrosanctity.

(a) The keen delight in athletics and athletic prowess which characterised the Greeks and gave rise to the splendid amateur sentiments voiced by Pindar (Isth. I. 44 sqq.) naturally caused them to believe that similar feelings animated their gods and heroes. Thus Kastor, Polydeukes, and Iolaos, above all Herakles, were great athletes (Pind. ib. 17, Ap. Rhod. II. 20 sqq., and numerous other passages). The gods themselves took part in the first competitions at Olympia, Paus. V. vii. 10, Apollo being particularly successful. This being so, it was natural to suppose that the gods and heroes of the locality in which the agon was celebrated were well pleased to see displays of athletic skill. It should, however, be noticed that this in itself does not make the games into an act of worship. Among a tribe who appear not to worship or fear their dead in any way, the Wa-Kavirondo (*Man* 1906, 35) we find a rude sort of agon conducted at tombs to amuse and interest their occupants.

(b) In particular, the gods most interested in such sports were those most representative of Greek ideals of civilization. Hermes, says Horace, Od. I. x 1-4, voicing a widespread Greek belief, civilised the 'primaval savagery of mankind not only by speechcraft but *decorae more palaestrae*. Apollo as an athlete has already been mentioned. Herakles was felt to have acted most worthily of himself when he founded that great civilising institution, the Olympic Games (Lys. xxxiii., 1-2, cf. Tim. ap. Polyb. XII., xxvi. 2 = Müll. F.H.G.I. 97). On the other hand, as already shown, the more primitive and less civilised parts of Greek religion had little to do with the agones. Hence to appear as an athlete was to honour, if not exactly to worship, the gods most characteristically Hellenic.

(c) The mere fact that the games took place in sacred spots and amid prayer and sacrifice was enough to make the visitors, and in particular the athletes, in some sense the guests of the gods. This is why the wreath is from the deity's own tree,—olive at Olympia, laurel at Delphi, myrtle at the Iolaeia, &c. The god or hero is well pleased with the prowess of the athlete who has come to visit him, and honours him accordingly. It was only at minor agones that the old custom of giving valuable prizes was kept up,

for the most part ; and even here we find, in the Panathenaic vases filled with the oil from the sacred trees, evidence that the prize came from the god and was not a mere mortal gift. (See Momm. *Feste* p. 69, Gardiner 241.) Hence it was that the victor on his return was given such high honours by his city ; for he had not merely proved himself superior to his competitors but won the clear and unmistakable favour of a god.

(d). It is possible, though we are unable with our present material to prove it, that the athletes were conceived as making a sort of offering of first-fruits to the deity, parallel to the well-known offerings of hair, &c., on arriving at maturity. Competitors in all the events were classed by age alone, see Krause *Agon* p. 260 sqq., Gardiner 271 ; a procedure which obviously produced a great deal of unfairness in such events as boxing, wrestling, and the pankration. It may have been that the athlete who for the first time competed as ephebos, for instance, was dedicating his strength or speed to the deity. His victory would then be proof that his offering was gladly accepted : while defeat would imply something very like rejection.

(e) The connection of so many myths of various kinds with the games, which has given some support to the theories above mentioned, is due to no one cause but to several concurrent processes of assimilation. For example, the frequent legends connecting an agon with some hero or daimon, sometimes important, like Pelops, sometimes insignificant save in local cult, like Melikertes, are quite intelligible without postulating any actual connection between the hero and the games. The heroon was somewhere in or near the temenos of the god to whom the games were sacred. Therefore it was desirable to secure the favour of its indweller, especially desirable for the athletes to do so. The result was naturally sacrifice or other worship of the local deity not only as part of the festival, but as a private affair of the individual athlete.

One curious little group of heroes or rather Sondergötter actually grew out of a trivial accident in the build of the race-courses : these were the various Taraxippoi. At Nemea, says Paus., VI. xx. 19, the horses shied at the turn from a perfectly natural cause ; they were dazzled by the light reflected from a large stone. At Olympia a similar object was recognizedly a daimon of some sort to whom prayers were offered, but no one knew who he was, although various theories were current. But the



Isthmian Games enjoyed the presence of a nameable Taraxippos, no other than Glaukos, son of Sisypheos. Here, then, we have a pair of minor cults with no better foundation than the superstitions of charioteers.

The need of a patron for one of the sports very likely caused the introduction of more than one cult in connection with agones. It is at least an ingenious conjecture of Weniger (*Klio* IV., p. 131) that the introduction of the worship of Pelops at Olympia should be dated 01.25, the time of the introduction of the chariot-race. Zeus was not particularly interested in equestrianism, and Pelops, apart even from the myth, was honoured elsewhere as a great charioteer, cf. Paus. II. xiv. 4. Had the patron of the Olympic games been Poseidon Hippios, we should probably have heard little or nothing of Pelops. A similar and less known figure is Eudromos at Delphi (*B. corr. hell.* XXIII., p. 611) into whose *τέμενος* wine must not be brought. He is apparently the patron of runners in training.

It remains to discuss a few minor points in the constitution of the agones as sketched above.

(a) The Sacred Truce (*ἐκεχειρία*). It is unfortunate that we have so few details of this important and necessary feature of all agonistic festivals. Obviously no great concourse of pilgrims could possibly assemble in a country like Greece unless some sanction of a sort not to be disregarded by the most powerful or the most reckless protected them, not only against military forces hostile to the state through whose territories they might be passing or in which the agon was held, but also against brigands. This requirement was met by the solemn proclamation by the state celebrating the festival of an ekecheiria, to violate which would be felt by the common consent of Greece to be a gross impiety. It is probable both *a priori* and from the details we possess of the sacred truce of the Eleusinian Mysteries that the ekecheiria in the case of the Great Games lasted as long as two or even three months: it may have been sometimes under the special protection of a particular god. See Weniger *Klio* V. p. 201, Mommsen *Delph.* 163-5. Its existence did not of course mean that all military operations were suspended, but

(i.) To attack the assembled pilgrims was impiety of the worst sort, savagery fit only for Gauls or Scythians, says the Akarnanian ambassador at Sparta speaking of the violation of the Pamboiotia



by the Aitolians, Polyb. IX., xxxiv. 11. The athletes in particular were sacred, Plut. Arat. 28. The late date of the events recorded is a good testimony to the way in which the sentiment survived repeated violations of the truce.

(ii). An attack on pilgrims on their way to an agon was hardly less reprobated. At any rate, Philip II. of Macedon found it worth his while to make apology and restitution to Phrynon of Athens as the result of a piece of brigandage on the part of some of his men, Dem. xix., *ὑποθ.* ii. 3.

(iii). By a sort of extension of the ekecheiria, the territory of Elis was traditionally sacred. The legend preserved by Ephoros ap. Strab. VIII. p. 358, puts the origin of this inviolability in mythical times,—it was due to a pact between Oxylos and the Herakleidai, just before the celebration of the games by Iphitos. The fact that although the warlike activities of Elis herself caused her inviolability to be less respected (cf. Polyb. IV. lxxiv. 1, 2), several invasions were either punished or checked by religious fear (list in Krause *Ol.* p. 41 sqq., Weniger *l.c.*, p. 194) shows how real this sentiment was. It was a symptom of the decay of religious sentiment in the decadence that Machanidas of Sparta had thoughts of an invasion actually during the celebration of the games, and would have carried out his sacrilege but for the promptness of Philip V. (Liv. XXVIII. vii. 14). Besides these peculiar privileges other states celebrating important agones enjoyed a certain consideration until quite late times, being granted e.g., remission of tribute by the Romans (Julian Epp. xxxiv. 5).

It should be noted that the ekecheiria, though traditionally regarded as an invention of Iphitos (Paus. V. iv. 5) or Herakles (Lys. and Tim. *ll. cc.*) is not peculiar to Greece. Cf. the mediaeval *treuga Dei* and the Nukahivan custom cited by Frazer on Paus. *l. c.*

(b). The sacrifices. These were no doubt the original central feature of the agon, and the day of the chief sacrifice remained the great day of the festival, however much its relative importance in popular estimation might be lessened by the interest in the athletics. As in other festivals, offerings to lesser deities or heroes, especially those in some way connected with the power in whose honour the agon was held, often preceded. Sacrifices were made not only by the hieropoioi or agonothetai presiding but also by the official representatives (*θεωποῖ*) sent to attend the festival from various friendly states, and by individual athletes. These last include offerings

accompanied by prayers for favour and help in the games and also thank-offerings, often of a very elaborate nature (e.g., at Olympia, Schol. Pind. 01 V. 5). In many cases also at ἀγ. χρηματίζεται the prize was dedicated to the god, see Rouse p. 151 sqq. This might be done either at the place where the agon was held or at the victor's home. The practice of setting up statues of the victor is perhaps best explained as originally a form of thank-offering, although it soon became a mere method of honouring the victor himself. Other forms of dedication to the god were common; see Rouse *ibid.*

(c). The general management of the agon was entrusted to the ἀγωνοθέται (Hellenodikai at Olympia; βραβῆς Soph. *El.* 690 does not seem to be an official title). There might be of course only one such official; such are Drakontios in Xen. *Anab.* *l. c.*, Achilles in Ψ, Herakles, Pelops, Iphitos, Theseus, etc., in various foundation-legends. To appoint these persons was in historical times the prerogative of the corporation which managed the festival. Hence it was an honour jealously contended for and strictly guarded. We find a stronger state (Argos) usurping it from a weaker one (Kleonai), Krause *Pythien* p. 139, and the larger political unit (Amphiktyones) from the smaller (Delphi). *ib.* 42. On the other hand we find the Amphiktyones keeping the titular agonothesia even when the real management of the games was in other hands (Momm. *Delph.* 166-7).

(d). The crowning of the athletes. At ἀγῶνες στεφανῖται we can point to evidence of a double crowning. The first is informal,—the wearing of wreaths by the victor immediately after the victory, see Weniger, *Klio* IV. p. 147, or by him and his friends at the κῶμος, Pind. *Ol.* III. 6 and Schol. ad loc. Of the same sort was the phyllobolia already referred to under (2). Polybios' description of the manner in which the enthusiastic crowd at the Isthmia of B.C. 196 half-killed Flamininus (XVIII. xlv. 11-12) makes it unnecessary to suppose that it was anything more, in the case of athletes, than a form of vehement applause. But the formal crowning was a much more solemn affair with obviously religious details. The crowns were cut from a sacred tree by a child free from the pollution of death (see e.g. Krause *Pythien* p. 49, *Olymp.* p. 161), wound with fillets, Krause *Olymp. ib.*, sometimes at least hallowed by being laid upon altars, so at Olympia, cf. Weniger *l. c.* This, together with the occasional representations in art of the victor being crowned by the god (see Rouse 179) justify us in thinking that, as already stated,

the garland was a divine and not a human gift. To assume further with Weniger that the victor "wird dadurch dem (Gott) geweiht" is unnecessary. *νίκης πείρατ' ἔχονται ἐν ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν* (H 102) is explanation enough.

(e). The komos which followed upon the victory, perhaps at the end of the games, does not seem to have had any particular religious significance. It was so far as we can judge merely a glorified version of the merry-making which usually attended a Greek banquet, the occasion being further graced by the singing of the traditional song of Archilochos (Bergck fr. 119) in honour of the victor, or else of a new ode written for the purpose. It was a prelude to the more extensive celebrations on the return home. See Pind. 01. IX. init. and schol. ad. loc., cf. IV. 6 sqq., Krause *Olymp.* p. 178 sqq. Gardiner 206-7.

(f). The extent to which any particular agon was international varied with the circumstances. Any state which instituted one might invite whom it pleased to share in it by sending theoriai or otherwise; but it was normally open to those invited to accept (*δέχσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα*) or not. Not to accept, however, was an expression of unfriendliness more or less pronounced. Thus we find the members of the Delian confederacy expected to take part in the Panathenaia, the Amphiktyonic cities in the Pythia; while the political leanings of Byzantion in the third century B.C. were indicated by the fact that it was represented at the Pergamene agon in honour of Athena, but not at the Bithynian Soteria, Polyb. IV. xlix. 3. On the other hand, Elis was definitely excluded from the Isthmia, Paus. V. ii. 2 and Lampsakos from the agon of Miltiades, Hdt. VI. xxxviii., 1. In general, none but Greeks might take part, although barbarians might witness the games. The admission of Macedonians and Romans in later times was justified only by their supposed Greek descent. Other regulations varied with the locality of the particular agon in question. Only the four great agones were really panhellenic, and their importance for the spread and intensification of Hellenic culture has been too often insisted on to need any notice here.

*The decadence.* The innumerable agones which in Macedonian and Roman times were celebrated all over the civilized world are of no importance for the present subject. They exhibit no novelties, and are practically empty of religious meaning. Their discussion belongs to histories of the later professional athleticism or of the hellenizing of Asia Minor and Italy. An edict of Theodosius I., 393 A.D., marks the end of such festivals.

*Roman agones.* These again call for no special remark. They were a natural product of the hellenization of Latin worship which had already shown itself in the theatrical *ludi Graeci*. From the time of Pompey onwards we get the introduction of Greek athletes into Roman festivals, and under the empire several definite imitations of the Great Games. See Wissowa, *RKR*<sup>2</sup> 464–5. While nominally in honour of various deities they have no real connection with any native religious feelings.

*Literature :—*

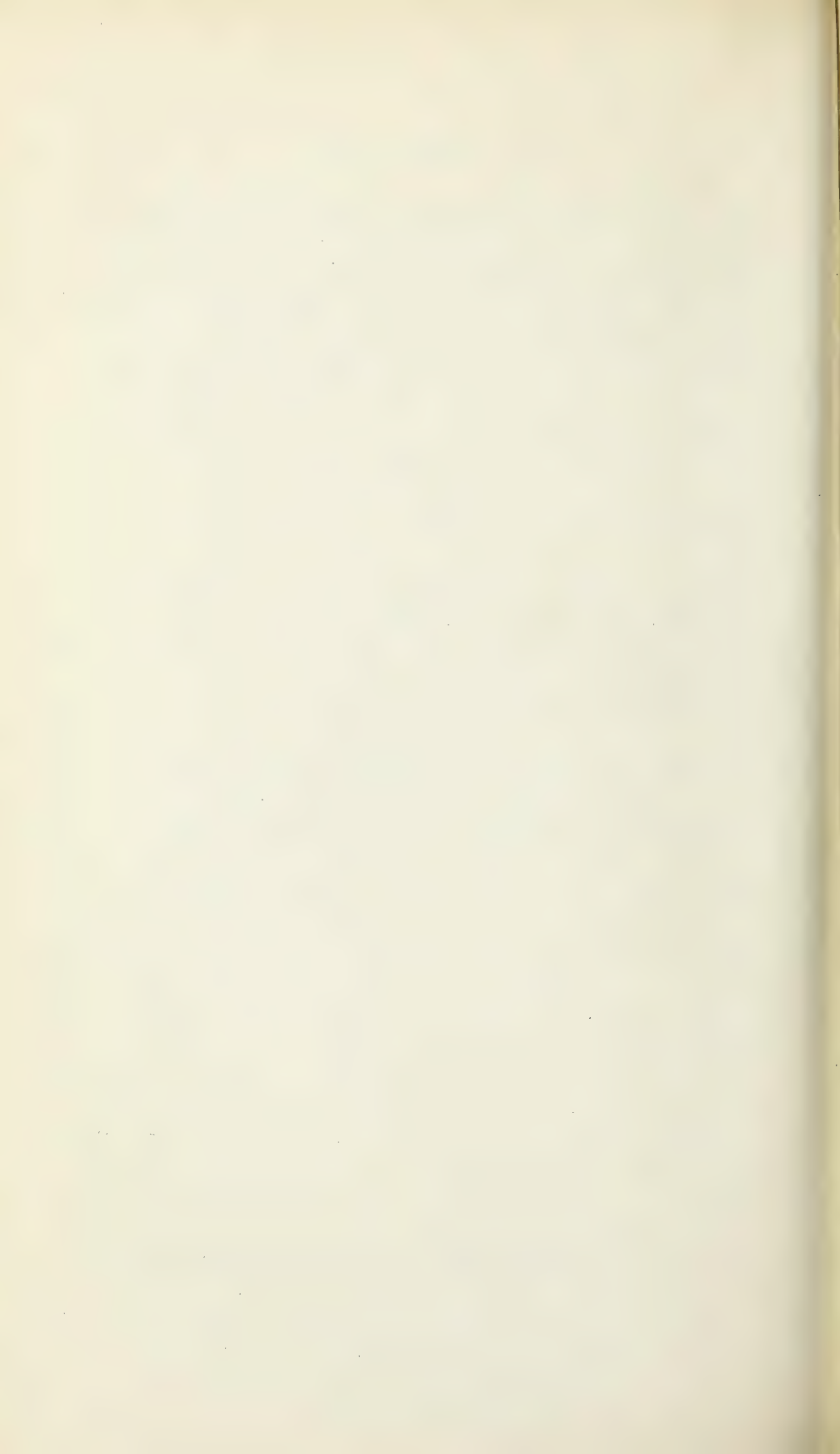
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H. J. ROSE.

\*See also *Greek Hero-Cults* by the same author, Oxford 1921.







## A FEW NOTES ON THE FAMILIAR LETTERS OF JAMES HOWELL

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The *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ* have been described by their principal editor as "the most important contribution Wales has made to English literature." They are at least well worth reading, and unless the reader be the most superficial of skimmers and skippers he must care to have his difficulties explained. There are bound to be difficult places in any writer who was born over three centuries back, and the character of Howell's composition makes such places especially numerous. We have been told that "The 'Familiar Letters' stand in little need of erudite notes. The incidents they relate, the people they describe, are for the most part well known, or, at least, easy to know. The fantastic stories had best be taken as they stand. The dim quotations fade from our memories." In spite of Miss Replier's sentiments I venture to put forth these few explanatory notes, which have indeed no claim to be erudite. They are offered as a selection. Joseph Jacobs's Annotations (1892; the first vol. of his edition, containing the Text, was published in 1890) leave a great number of puzzles unsolved. I have not thought it worth while to include in this present paper references for quotations from Virgil, Horace, and Ovid (especially Ovid) which he failed to recognize.

To save trouble, Jacobs's text, though resting on no critical principles, has been followed, and the pages given are those of his edition.

*The Vote, or a Poem-Royal*, lines 48-51, p. 7:

I'll try and hope to pass without Disdain,  
In *New-Year-Gifts*, the Mind stands for the *Main*.  
The Sophy, finding 'twas well meant, did deign  
Few Drops of running Water from a Swain.

Jacobs has a note that the Sophy is the Shah of Persia, which hardly satisfies an intelligent reader's curiosity. The story—it is difficult to read at all widely without coming on it—is told by Plutarch in his *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. 5, and 'Apophth.' 172A. When the king was on a Progress and everyone was bringing him some present, according to the Persian custom, a husbandman having nothing else to offer fetched some water in his hands from the river,

and was rewarded by the king with a gold cup and a thousand darics.† Aelian, 'Varia Historia,' I., xxxii., tells the story at greater length, and gives the man's name as Συναίτης. George Herbert in a letter of thanks of June 14, 1620, written by him as Public Orator of the University of Cambridge, when James I. had intervened to preserve the navigation of the Ouse, makes an application of the story :

"Quod si *Artaxerxes* olim paululum aquae a *Linaeta*\* subjecto suo laetissimè sumeret, quanto magis par est nos, humillimos subjectos, integro Fluvio a Rege nostro donatos, triumphare ? " 'Works' (1853) vol. i., p. 380. For the occasion see C. H. Cooper, 'Annals of Cambridge,' vol. iii., pp. 133 sqq.

*The Vote, or a Poem-Royal*, lines 96, 97, p. 8 :

Nor hath fair *Europe*, her vast Bounds throughout,  
An Academy of Note I found not out.

*Academy* should, of course, be *Academe*. See the 2nd edition, to which the poem is first added.

*The Vote, or a Poem-Royal*, ll. 191 sqq., p. 11 :

For as the Ocean, besides Ebb and Flood,  
(Which Nature's greatest Clerk ne'er understood)  
Is not for *Sail* . . . .

Howell's marginal note to this is "Hippocrates." But it is of Aristotle that the story is told. See Justin Martyr, 'Ad Græcos Cohortatio,' 36, where we have the legend that the philosopher died of chagrin at being unable to discover the explanation of the Euripus at Chalcis. In Suidas Aristotle is called a "Clerk of Nature, dipping his pen in Mind."

'To the knowing Reader touching Familiar Letters,' ll. 55-58, p. 14,

*Tully* makes his the secret Symptoms tell  
Of those Distempers which proud *Rome* befel ;  
When in her highest Flourish she would make  
Her *Tyber* from the Ocean Homage take.

Compare the first words of John Barclay's 'Argenis' : "Nondum Orbis adoraverat Romam, nondum Oceanus decesserat Tybri."

† Compare Jeremy Taylor, 'Holy Living,' chap. 2, sect. 2, "The poor farmer that gave a dish of cold water to Artaxerxes was rewarded with a golden goblet; and he that gives the same to a disciple the name of a disciple shall have a crown."

\* The name appears thus in the 1853 (Pickering) edition of Herbert's Works and in Cooper's 'Annals.' But in reply to an appeal for information the present Public Orator has most kindly shewn me that this is an error. Dr. Glover not only sends a memorandum from Mr. C. W. Previté-Orton to the effect that *Sinaeta* is given by Grosart's edition of Herbert (III. 541), in which the letters are said to be printed after collation with the Public Orator's Book, but writes "By the courtesy of Mr. Stonebridge at the University Registry, I have been enabled to consult the actual Public Orator's book, Tom. ii. p. 538, where the reading is undoubtedly *Sinaeta*. Mr. Stonebridge also read the initial at once as S."



Book I., Sect. 1, xi., p. 36 : The nine hundred and odd Soldiers at *Flushing*, and the *Rammakins* hard by.

And Sect. 2, vii., p. 105 : The Cautionary Towns in the *Low Countries*, *Flushing* and *Brill*, with the *Rammakins*.

One of Jacobs's "Queries" on p. 808 is "Where were the Rammakins?" The answer is easy, with the very plain direction in the first of these passages. Fort Rammekens is on the coast of the island of Walcheren at the S. entrance of the channel between Walcheren and S. Beveland. The 'Index Geographicus' published by Blackwood and Sons in 1864 gives its position as 51.27 N, 3.39E.

Book I., Sect. 1, xiii., p. 39 : I will borrow my Conclusion to you at this time of my Countryman *Owen* :

*Uno non possum quantum te diligo versu  
Dicere, si satis est Distichon, ecce duos.*

*I cannot in one Verse my Love declare ;  
If Two will serve the turn, lo here they are.*

The Latin is no. 106 in the seventh book of John Owen's 'Epigrammata,' to adopt the conveniently continuous numbering of A. A. Renouard's edition, Paris, 1794. The couplet is addressed by Owen to Theodore Price "Oxon. Theol."

Bk. I., Sect. 1, xvi., p. 43, . . . or (as Mankind was call'd by a great Philosopher) a great Mole-hill of Ants.

The philosopher is Menippus in the nineteenth section of Lucian's 'Icaromenippus.' Howell comes back to the thought in Bk. IV., xxxix., p. 626, "It [the World] is but a vale of Troubles, and we who are in it are like so many Ants trudging up and down about a Mole-hill."

Bk. I., Sect. i., xxxviii., p. 85, . . . yet one may say :

*Qui miseranda videt veteris vestigia Romae,  
Ille potest merito dicere Roma fuit.*

This is the first half of an epigram to be found on p. 4 of Franciscus Sweetius's collection, 'Selectae Christiani Orbis Deliciae ex Urbibus, Templis, Bibliothecis, et aliunde,' Cologne, 1608, where it is attributed to Georgius Brugensis. Lines 3 and 4 are

*At qui celsa novae spectat pallatia ROMAE,  
Hic merito poterit dicere, ROMA viget.*

Book I., Sect. i., xxxix., p. 87, . . . *for deeds are Men, but words are Women*, and Sect. 5, xxi., p. 270, *They say in Italy, that Deeds are Men, and Words are but Women.*

Compare Palingenius, 'Zodiacus Vitae,' iv., 805,

Verbaque foemineae vires sunt, facta virorum.

Book I., Sect. 2, viii., p. 106, *from the Lord Savage's House in Long-Melford.*

This, as Jacobs notes, was the Hall. For those who have not the happiness of knowing "the most picturesque village in Suffolk" it should perhaps be added that the Hall, the fine Elizabethan mansion, formerly the home of the Cordells, now of the Parkers, is one of three important houses in the parish, and must be distinguished from Kentwell Hall, at one time the seat of the Cloptons (Sir Simonds D'Ewes's second wife came from here), as well as from Melford Place, once the Martyns's. But more famous than these is the "great house of Long Melford" in which Isopel Berners was born and passed her childhood.

The present letter of Howell's is given in 'The History of Long Melford' by Sir William Parker Bart., privately printed in 1873. A note on p. 332 of this work informs us that the "Gallery" from which "one may see much of the Game when they are a-hunting" was the bridge suspended between the towers of the entrance-court, since taken down. Howell in Bk. I., Sect. 2, xii., p. 111, writes with reference to the proposal that he should travel with two sons of Lord Savage (not Lord Savage at that date, as Jacobs points out), "but finding myself too young for such a Charge, and our Religion differing." This passage is referred to in Jacobs's index as showing that Lord Savage was a Roman Catholic. But Sir W. Parker says, p. 331 of his History, that "Though Lady Savage and the children were of this religion, it seems that Lord Savage did not profess the same; and he had at this time a resident domestic chaplain, who was a Protestant, the office being held by the Rev. John Kidby, who afterwards became Rector of Sleafield, in Essex."

Book I., Sect. 2, xiii., p. 113, we went afterwards to the *Hague*, where there are hard by, tho' in several Places, two wonderful things to be seen, the one of *Art*, the other of *Nature*; that of *Art* is a Wagon, or Ship, or a Monster mix'd of both, like the *Hippocentaur*, who was half Man and half Horse: This Engine hath Wheels and Sails that will hold above twenty People, and goes with the Wind, being drawn or mov'd by nothing else, and will run, the Wind being good and the Sails hois'd up, above fifteen miles an hour upon the even hard Sands.

This is Prince Maurice's celebrated sailing chariot of which we read in 'Tristram Shandy,' Vol. ii. chap. 14, "invented by Stevinus, that great mathematician and engineer," of whom my uncle Toby was so inopportunately

reminded, to see which Dr. Slop walked two long miles to Schevling on his return from Leyden through the Hague. Grotius devoted a poem to it, 'Iter Curus Veliferi,' in the 1st book of his 'Farrago,' pp. 224-227 in the 1617 ed. of his 'Poemata Collecta,' besides a set of epigrams, pp. 381-392. Uncle Toby, by the way, was mistaken when he said that the learned Peireskios "walked a matter of five hundred miles, reckoning from Paris to Schevling, and from Schevling to Paris back again to see it,—and nothing else." Peireskios, we are told in Gassendi's 'Nic. Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc Vita,' 1651, pp. 123, sq., crossed to Holland from England, his special object being to meet Scaliger. Schevelingen he visited from the Hague, whether on foot or otherwise we are not told (p. 128). The Wonder of Nature mentioned by Howell should have had a strong claim on Dr. Slop's professional interest, as it was the monument commemorating the 365 children "which were all deliver'd at one Birth."

Book I., Sect. 3, xxx. p. 192, *Aristotle* [would have] the Heart, to be the first fram'd.

See his 'De partibus Animalium,' III., iv., about  $\frac{1}{3}$  through the chapter, *Εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἔναιμος πρώτη γιγνομένη τῶν μορίων ἀπάντων.*

Bk. I., Sect. 3, xxx., p. 192, and these three [souls] in Man are like *Trigonus* in *Tetragono*.

Compare Burton, 'Anat. of Melancholy,' I. i 2. §5, "which are contained in it (saith *Aristotle*) *ut trigonus in tetragono*, as a Triangle in a Quadrangle," and Aristotle, 'De Anima,' B. 3, §6, 414b (References to Aristotle are as distressing as Italian nomenclature), *ὅλον ἐν τετραγώνῳ μὲν τρίγωνον.*

Bk. I., Sect. 4, xi., p. 224, I wish there were a *Crystal-casement* in my Breast, thro' which you might behold the motions of my Heart.

A reference to Momus's criticism of the defect in Hephaestus's construction of Man, Lucian, 'Hermotimus,' 20. Sterne's use of the story in 'Tristram Shandy,' vol. i. chap. 23 will be familiar, as well as the couplet in 'Hudibras':

Nature has made Man's breast no Windows,  
To publish what he does within doors.

Part II., Canto ii., 369 sq.

Bk. I., Sect. 4, xi. p. 224,—*Utinamq. oculos in pectore posses incessere.*

Meaning and metre are to seek in these words, but see Ovid, 'Metamorphoses,' ii. 93.

Utinamque oculos in pectora posses  
Inserere.

Book I., Sect. 4, xix., p. 234, There is a Saying which carries no little weight with it, that *Parvus amor loquitur, ingens stupet*; *Small love speaks, while great love stands astonished with silence.*

The Latin seems to have been formed from line 607 of Seneca's 'Phaedra' ('Hippolytus'),

Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.

Book I., Sect. 5, xvi., p. 267, *Nullum fit magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae*, there's no great Wit without some mixture of madness; so saith the Philosopher.

Seneca near the end of his 'De Tranquillitate,' xvii. 10, ascribes "nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae fuit" to Aristotle. We may note as a coincidence that Jonson quotes this same alleged saying of Aristotle from Seneca, in his 'Discoveries,' and that the present letter of Howell is addressed "To my Father, Mr. Ben. Johnson."

Book I., Sect. 5, xviii., p. 268, I love not those *viscosa beneficia*, those birdlim'd Kindnesses which *Pliny* speaks of.

But Pliny does not speak of them in these words. What he says, 'Epistulae,' ix. 30, 2, is "Hos ego viscatis hamatisque muneribus non sua promere puto sed aliena corripere." Seneca comes nearer Howell's quotation with "Quisquis nostrum tutam agere vitam volet, quantum plurimum potest, ista viscata beneficia devitet." 'Epist.' 8, 3, "those limed benefits" in Lodge's Translation (1614).

Bk. I., Sect. 5, xxiii., p. 274, I have lately bought in fee-farm *Wanless Park*, of the King's Commissioners, for my Lord.

Jacobs's note on "*Wanless Park*" is "Not in the Gazetteers." If we remember to whom the letter is addressed (The Countess of Sunderland), and examine the contents with care, we see that the place is most certainly *Wanlass Park*. See the 'Victoria Hist. of the County of York, North Riding,' vol. i., 286, under the parish of West Witton.

Bk. I., Sect. 6, iii., p. 298, There was there for the Queen *Gilpin* as nimble a Man as *Suderman*.

In his "Queries" on "points left unsettled in the preceding annotations," p. 808, Jacobs asks who "Mr. Gilpin" was. Is he not George Gilpin (1514 ?-1602, 'D.N.B.'), the diplomatic agent of the English government in Zealand ?



Bk. I., Sect. 6, xxxiv., p. 339, I am shortly bound for *Ireland*, and it may be the Stars will cast a more benign Aspect upon me in the *West*; you know who got the *Persian Empire* by looking that way for the first beams of the Sun-rising, rather than towards the *East*.

Jacobs's note on "who got the Persian Empire" is "This seems like a reference to Darius Hystaspes, but differs from the account in Herod, iii. 84."

The story which Howell had in mind was not that of Darius Hystaspes who in Herodotus's well-known legend was chosen king from among his fellow conspirators because his horse was the first to neigh at sunrise. What Howell was referring to is told about the city of Tyre by Justinus, Hist. xviii. 3. The slaves here rise against the citizens who have been weakened by a long and successful struggle with the Persians. They massacre the free male population, and decide to choose a king from among their own class by the singular process of selecting the man "qui solem orientem primus vidisset." Needless to say, among the innumerable false one has been faithful found. He has spared his aged master and his master's little son, and now brings out the old man to join in the competition. The event can be told in the words of Fuller who gives it in the twenty-second 'Historical Application' of his 'Good Thoughts in Bad Times' (1645): "Whilst all others were gazing on the east, one alone looked on the west. Some admired, more mocked him, as if he looked on the feet, there to find the eye of the face. But he first of all discovered the light of the sun shining on the tops of the houses." Justinus's moral is "Tunc intellectum est, quantum ingenua servilibus ingenia praestarent, malitiaque servos, non sapientia vincere."

Book I., Sect. 6, liii., p. 365, I will conclude with a Distich which I found among those excellent Poems of the late Pope:

*Quem valide strinxit praestanti pollice virtus,  
Nescius est solvi nodus amicitiae.*

The lines will be found on p. 203 of 'Maphaei S.R.E. Card. Barberini Nunc Urbani PP. viii. Poemata' Antwerp, 1634, or on p. 122 in the Oxford edition of 1726. They are 27 and 28 of a piece headed 'Ad Bernardinum Capponium.' But Howell's *strinxit* should be *stringit*, and *nodus*, *nexus*.

Bk. I., Sect. 6, lvii., p. 369, . . . whereas *Varro* said, That the great World was but a House of a little man, I hold a *Fleet* to be one of the best lodgings in that House.

Varro's words are,

Mundus domus est maxima homulli.

It is the first line of an extract from his Menippean satire 'Dolium aut Seria,' quoted by Probus. 'In Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarius,' p. 18 in H. Keil's edition, Halle, 1848; Probus is commenting on *ignis* in Eclogue vi. 33. The lines are included as Fragn. 92 in Bücheler's collection of 'Varronis Menippearum Reliquiae' in his edition of Petronius.

Bk. II., x., p. 395, Nay, the Prince of darkness himself, and all the Cacodæmons, by an historical faith, believe there is a God, whereunto the Poet alludes very divinely :

*Nullus in Inferno est Atheos, ante fuit.*

The poet is John Owen. The line is the second of a distich with the heading *Paradoxon*, being no 90 (91) in book x. of the 'Epigrammata,' according to the continuous numbering of the books in Renouard's edition. The first line of the couplet is

Descendat tristem licet Atheus omnis in Orcum.

Fuller has the same quotation as Howell in chap. vi. of 'The Profane State.'

Bk. II., xi., p. 398, *That the Word is lucens Dei filius, the bright Son of God.*

For this, quoted by Howell as one of the "very many divine Sayings" of Hermes Trismegistus, see page 2 of the 1554 (Paris) edition of the 'Poemander,' *Ὁ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φωτεινῆς λόγος, υἱὸς θεοῦ*. In Marsilio Ficino's rendering this is "verbum lucens, Dei filius."

Book II., xi., p. 398, *Plato flew highest in divine notions, for some call him another Moses speaking Athenian.*

"Eusebius (Praep. Ev. ix. 6, xi. 10), citing Aristobulus and Numenius, says *Τὸ γὰρ ἔστι Πλάτων, ἢ Μωϋσῆς ἀπικρίζων*; Compare also the same work, xi. 16-25-29, and xiii. 18, where the harmony between Plato and Moses, and the preference of the author for Plato over other Greek philosophers, are earnestly declared" Grote, 'Plato, and the other Companions of Sokrates,' 3rd ed. vol. iii. 285.

The Greek words given above are quoted in Clement of Alexandria, 'Stromata', I. 342 as by Numenius of Apamea.

Bk. II., xi., p. 398, In one of his [Plato's] Letters to a Friend of his he writes thus. *When I seriously salute thee, I begin my Letter with one God; when otherwise, with many.*

See Ep. xiii., 363B. *Τῆς μὲν γὰρ σπουδαίας ἐπιστολῆς θεὸς ἀρχεῖ θεοὶ δὲ τῆς ἡττοῦ.*

Bk. II., xi., p. 399, Which made the Philosopher, being commanded by his King to define God, to ask the respite of a day to meditate thereon, then two, then four ; at last he ingenuously confess'd, that the more he thought to dive into this mystery, the more he was *ingulph'd in the speculation of it*.

The story is told by Cicero, 'De Natura Deorum,' I. xxii. 60, of Simonides and King Hiero, the poet's final answer being "Quia, quanto diutius considero, tanto mihi res videtur obscurior." Minucius Felix, 'Octavius,' 13, gives the same *dramatis personae* as Cicero. But with Tertullian, 'Liber Apologeticus,' 46, and 'Ad Nationes,' II. ii., it is Thales and Croesus.

Bk. II., xvii., p. 408, . . . according to the *Ciceronian* maxim, *Deliberandum est diu quod statuendum est semel*.

The maxim is one of Publilius Syrus's 'Sententiae.' Various forms of the line are found. In R.A.H. Bickford-Smith's edition it is given as

Deliberandum est saepe, statuendum est semel.

Bk. II., xxiv., p. 416, there is another example of a *Roman* Empress . . . .

And Bk. IV., vii., p. 567, If there was an Empress in *Rome* so cunning . . .

Jacobs remarks on the first passage "Probably Messalina is referred to." No. It is Julia, daughter of Augustus. See Macrobius, 'Saturnalia,' II., v. 9.

Jacobs should have known his Boswell better (April 7, 1776).

Bk. II., xxxiv., p. 427, Moreover, besides this Letter of mine, your Lordship will find that he carrieth one in his countenance ; for an *honest ingenious Look is a good Letter of recommendation of itself*.

This is a modification of the saying attributed to Aristotle by Diogenes Laertius, v., 1, 11, 18, though he adds that some gave it to Diogenes : Τὸ κάλλος παντὸς ἔλεγεν ἐπιστολίον συστατικώτερον. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν Διογένην φασὶν ὀρίσασθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ θεοῦ δῶρον εἰπεῖν εὐμορφίαν. Ménage compares Stobaeus, Florilegium, 65, 11, Ἀριστοτέλης ἔφη τὸ κάλλος πάσης ἐπιστολῆς συστατικώτερον εἶναι, and Publilius Syrus's

Formosa facies muta commendatio est.

Book II., 1., p. 444, that Philosopher was but a kind of frantic fool, that would have pluck'd out both his Eyes, because they were a hindrance to his speculations.

Among his 'Queries' on p. 808 Jacobs asks who this philosopher was. Surely Democritus is meant. One must at least shut both one's eyes to escape the sight of references to the story. Ménage in his Commentary on Diogenes Laertius, has a note on IX., 7, 11, 43; vol. ii. pp. 410, 411, in the ed. of 1692, containing a list of acts and sayings of Democritus about which Diogenes is silent in his Life. No. 3 of these is "Oculis suis sponte se privavit," and under this heading he collects passages in which the legend is mentioned in ancient literature: Cicero, 'De Finibus,' v. 29, 87, who refrains from vouching for its truth; Plutarch, 'De Curiositate,' c. 12, who says it is not true that Democritus intentionally destroyed his sight by gazing on a red-hot mirror; A. Gellius, X. xvii., according to whom "Democritum philosophum in monumentis historiae Graecae scriptum est . . . luminibus oculorum sua sponte se privasse, quia existimaret, cogitationes commentationesque animi sui in contemplandis naturae rationibus vegetiores et exactiores fore, si eas videndi inlecebris et oculorum impedimentis liberasset." But Gellius does not tell us in what "monumenta historiae Graecae" he had read this tale. He quotes some lines from Laberius's mime 'Restio' ('The Ropemaker'), in which a miser speaks of Democritus blinding himself by catching the rays of the sun on a brazen shield, in order that he might not see the prosperity of his wicked fellow-citizens. Tertullian, Lib. Apol. 46, says that Democritus blinded himself "quod mulieres sine concupiscentia aspicere non posset." Burton, who refers to Democritus's blindness in several passages, quotes these words of Tertullian in III. iii. 4. §2 of his 'Melancholy.' In his Introduction, 'Democritus to the Reader,' Burton writes "I find it related by some, that he put out his eyes" and quotes in the margin a few words from *Sabellicus*, *exempl.* lib. 10. (i.e. Marci Cocci Sabellici Exemplorum Libri Decem. Burton's quotation is taken from the first chapter of Bk. ii.).

Bk. II., lvii., p. 465, Now *Anatolia* is the most populous part of the whole Earth; for *Strabo* speaks of sixteen several Nations that slept in her bosom, and 'tis thought the twenty-two Languages which *Mithridates*, the great *Polyglot* King of *Pontus*, did speak were all within the circumference of *Anatolia*, in regard his dominions extended but a little further.

Jacobs's note on this passage is "*Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, is said to have known twenty-five (not twenty-two) languages (Justin, xxxvii. 2). Moryson makes the same mistake, i. 22, and handed it on to H."

On this it may be remarked that 1. Justinus affords us no information, either in xxxvii., 2, or in any other extant passage of his History, as to the number of languages known by Mithradates. 2. Twenty-two (not twenty-five) is the number given in the best texts of Gellius, xvii. 17, 2, and in Pliny, 'Nat. Hist.' vii. 24 (24), 88, and xxv. 2 (3), 6, when they are describing the king's linguistic attainments. 3. On page 22 of the First Part of Fynes Moryson's 'Itinerary' the only occurrence of *twenty-two* is in "some twenty two English beere quarts."



The passage to which Jacobs ought to have referred is on p. 16 of the Third Part, Book I., chap. ii. (vol. iii, p. 381, in MacLehose's reprint), 'Aulus Gellius writes, that Mithridates spake the languages of two and twenty Provinces, which were subject to him, so that he never spake with any subject by an Interpreter.'

It may be added that in Quintilian, 'Inst. Orat.,' xi., 2, 50, the number of languages is again twenty-two.

In chap. 76 of the 'Incerti auctoris liber de viris illustribus urbis Romae,' at one time attributed to Sextus Aurelius Victor, where *twenty-four* and *fifty* have both MS. support, some editors have made the text conform to the traditional *twenty-two*, while some others have altered *quinquagesimo* into *quinque et viginti*.

Bk. II., lxxi., p. 497, The Spanish epitaph on King Henry VIII, of England is given in a slightly different form on p. 279 of Franciscus Sweertius's 'Epitaphia Jocosaria,' ed. Cologne, 1645.

Bk. II., lxxv., p. 504, I hate such blateroons :

*Odi illos ceu claustra Erebi—*

It is pretty clear, at first sight, that we have here a rendering of Homer. See Iliad IX, 312 sq.,

Ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν,  
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ.

But who is the translator? Eobanus Hessus has

Odi etenim, ceu claustra Erebi, quicumque loquuntur

Ore aliud, tacitoque aliud sub pectore claudunt.

'Homeri Ilias,' p. 220, ed. Basel, 1540.

These Latin lines are quoted, with *illos* for *etenim*, and *volut* for *claudunt* by Tobias Magirus, col. 2097, under the title 'Simulatio et Dissimulatio,' in his 'Polymnemon seu Florilegium Locorum Communium,' 2nd ed., 1661.

Bk. III., v., p. 520, When I consider his case, I may say, that as the Philosopher made a question whether the *Mariner* be to be rank'd among the number of the *living* or *dead* (being but four inches distant from drowning, only the thickness of a plank), so 'tis a doubt whether the *Merchant Adventurer* be to be numbred 'twixt the *rich* or the *poor*, his estate being in the mercy of that devouring element the Sea.

See 368B in the 'Axiochus,' at one time supposed to be Plato's, Ἀλλὰ τὸν πλωτικὸν καταλεξόμεθα, περαιούμενον διὰ τῶνδε κινδύνων, καὶ μήτε, ὡς ἀπεφύγατο Βίας, ἐν τοῖς τεθνηκόσιν ὄντα μήτε ἐν τοῖς βιοῦσιν; and the anecdote about Anacharsis told by Diogenes Laertius, I. viii. 5. 103, Μαθὼν τέτταρας δακτύλους εἶναι τὸ πάχος τῆς νεώς, τοσοῦτον ἔφη τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς πλείοντας ἀπέχειν, and compare Juvenal, xii., 58.

Digitis a morte remotis

Quattuor aut septem, si sit latissima taeda.

Bk. III., viii., p. 525, There is a famous Tale of *Thomas Aquinas*, the *Angelical Doctor*, and of *Bonadventure*, the *Seraphical Doctor* . . . . Both these great Clerks being invited to dinner by the *French King*, of purpose to observe their Humours, and being brought to the Room where the Table was laid, the first fell a eating of Bread as hard as he could drive ; at last breaking out of a brown Study, he cried out, *Conclusum est contra Manichaeos*.

Jacobs notes on these last words that this is told by Burton, 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' I. ii. 3, §15, but that his authority is "Fulgus, l. 8, c. 7."

*Fulgus* is an error of Burton's. The name should be *Fulgosius*. Battista Fulgosio or Fregoso, "quem Raphaël Volaterranus Baptistinum Fregosum, alii Campofulgosum vocant" (one yearns for some retrospective legislation to lay heavy penalties on those Italians who have a sack-full of names), became Doge of Genoa in 1478 (Tiraboschi, 'Storia della Letteratura Italiana,' ed. 1780, vol. vi. p. 787). Being driven into exile he consoled himself by composing in Italian a work in imitation of Valerius Maximus's 'Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem.' This was translated into Latin. Fulgosius, fol. 283, ed. Paris, 1578, 'De Aquinate Thoma,' tells the story of Thomas's absence of mind ; he says nothing of Bonaventura's presence at the same dinner.

Book III., ix., p. 530, In the middle Age of Learning, *Plutarch* speaks of it [the Moon's being inhabited].

On this Jacobs writes "This is putting Plutarch much too late : can H. have confounded him with Petrarch ?" An instance of a confusion between these two names is found in the 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' II., iii. 2, "Seldome, saith Plutarch, Honesty and Beauty dwel together." Burton's marginal note is "Raro sub eodem lare honestas & forma habitant." But this is taken from Petrarch, 'De Remediis utriusque Fortunae,' II. Dialogue i., "Raro admodum forma insignis honestasque uno sub lare habitant." Petrarch may have been thinking of Juvenal, x. 297. Very shortly afterwards Burton has a quotation, without indicating author or book, from the same dialogue of Petrarch (See *Notes and Queries*, 11S. i. 286).

Here, however, there is no need to assume such a confusion, The question whether the moon is inhabited is discussed in Plutarch, 'Moralia,' 937d ('De Facie in Orbe Lunae').

Bk. III., xi., p. 535, I hope there will be no cause to apply to them the old Verse I learn'd at School,

*Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum.*

From Claudian, 'In Eutropium,' i. 181.

Bk. III., xii., p. 536, I am afraid we have seen our best Days ; we knew not when we were well : so that the *Italian* Saying may be well apply'd to poor *England*, *I was well, I would be better, I took Physic and died.*

Compare Dryden, 'Dedication of the *Aeneis*,' Works, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, xiv. 149,

"This comes of altering fundamental laws and constitutions—like him, who, being in good health, lodged himself in a physician's house, and was over-persuaded by his landlord to take physic (of which he died), for the benefit of his doctor. 'Stavo ben : (was written on his monument) ma per star meglio, sto qui.'"

Addison quotes the same Italian words in No. 25 of *The Spectator* as "an Italian Epitaph written on the Monument of a Valetudinarian." Prof. Gregory Smith suggests that Addison was indebted for this to Dryden. See some Replies by the present writer in *Notes and Queries*, Eleventh Series, vol. x., 154, 193, 296, in answer to a question in vol. vi. 469, where "I was well, I would be better ; I am here" was said to be described on p. 10 of Lord Hugh Cecil's 'Conservatism' as "the often-quoted epitaph of an Italian tomb."

Book III., xxiii., p. 549, St. *Augustin* speaks of Women who could turn Men to Horses, and make them carry their burdens.

The story is told in 'De Civitate Dei,' Bk. xviii., chap. 18, "Nam et nos cum essemus in Italia, audiebamus talia de quadam regione illarum partium, ubi stabularias mulieres imbutas his malis artibus, in caseo dare solere dicebant, quibus vellent seu possent viatoribus, unde in iumenta ilico verterentur, et necessaria quaeque portarent, postque perfuncta opera iterum ad se redirent : nec tamen in eis mentem fieri bestialem, sed rationalem humanamque servari, sicut Apuleius in libris quos Asini aurei titulo inscripsit, sibi ipsi accidisse, ut accepto veneno, humano animo permanente asinus fieret, aut indicavit aut finxit."

Book III., xxv., p. 553, Your expressions were like those *Mucrones* and *Melliti Globuli*, which you so ingeniously apply mine unto.

The latter of these terms is taken from the satirical description of schools of rhetoric at the beginning of the remains of Petronius, "Sed mellitos verborum globulos et omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa." "*Mucro*" is used figuratively by the elder Seneca and Quintilian in connection with oratory.

Bk. IV., i., p. 555.

It is recorded of *Galen*, one of Nature's *Cabinet-Clerks*, that when he slept his *Siesta* (as the *Spaniard* calls it) or afternoon sleep, to avoid excess that way, he us'd to sit in such a posture,

that having a gold Ball in his hand, and a copper Vessel underneath, as soon as his *Senses* were shut, and the *Phantasy* began to work, the Ball would fall down, the noise whereof would awake him, and draw the Spring-lock back again to set the outward Senses at liberty.

The story is told of Aristotle by Diogenes Laertius v. 1, 10, 16, where the ball and vessel are both of copper (or bronze). Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 5, 4, has a similar tale of Alexander the Great, the ball being described as silver and the vessel underneath of copper (or bronze).

Bk. IV., vii., p. 566,

Τὴν μίαν ἐν θαλάμῳ, τὴν μίαν ἐν θανάτῳ.

The "Pagan Poet, who stutter'd out this verse" was Palladas. It is the second line of a distich ascribed to him in the 'Palatine Anthology,' xi. 381.

Bk. IV., vii., p. 567, Of this *Cynical* Sect, it seems, was he who would needs make *Orcus* to be the Anagram of *Uxor*, by contracting *c s* into an *x*, *Uxor* & *Orcus*—*idem*.

See Owen's 'Epigrammata,' Bk. VI. (ed. Renouard), lii.,

*Anagramma uxoris.*

Insaturabile par sunt\* orcus et uxor, ait rex,

Unius experiens, alteriusque sciens.

Quisquis in uxorem cecidit, descendit in orcum :

Rite inversa sonant *Ucsor* et *Orcus idem*.

\*Prov. c.30. v. 15.

Bk. IV., vii., p. 568, *Xanthippe* . . . . *I thought after so much thunder we should have rain.*

See Diogenes Laertius, II., 5, 17, 36.

Bk. IV., viii., p. 572, But you will say, *Hercules* himself stoop'd hitherto ; 'tis true he did, as appears by this Distich :

*Lenam non potuit, potuit superare Ileaenam ;*

*Quem Fera non potuit vincere, vicit Hera.*

This is from John Owen's 'Epigrammata,' II., lxxiv., 3, 4, but the third *potuit* is an error. It should be *valuit*.

Bk. IV., viii., p. 572, The saying also of the old Comic Poet makes for you, when he said, *Qui in amorem cecidit, pejùs agit quam si saxo saliat* ; To be Tormented with Love, is worse than to dance upon hot stones.



See Plautus, 'Trinummus,' 265 (II. i. 47),

Nam qui in amorem praecipitavit  
Peius perit quamsi saxo saliat.

The misunderstanding, or license, in Howell's rendering of *saxo saliat* is curious.

Bk. IV., xii., p. 578, *Regis ad exemplum*.

This hard-worked quotation is from Claudian's 'Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti,' 299,300,

Componitur orbis  
Regis ad exemplum.

Bk. IV., xvii., p. 586, The second Error is, That *France* is held to be the freest Country upon Earth to all People; for if a Slave comes once to breathe *French Air*, he is free *ipso facto*, if we may believe *Bodin*; it being a fundamental Law of *France*, *Servi peregrini, ut primum Galliae fines penetraverint, liberi sunt*; Let Stranger-slaves, as soon as they shall penetrate the borders of *France*, be free.

As Jacobs notes, this is a quotation from Jean Bodin's 'De Republica,' but he gives no further reference. See Bk. I., p. 64, a little less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  through the book, in the Frankfurt edition of 1641,

"In Gallia vero, etsi exstant veteris servitutis simulacra, servos tamen nec facere, nec ab aliis emere fas est, siquidem servi peregrini, ut primum Galliae fines penetraverint, eodem momento liberi fiunt: id quod vetere Senatusconsulto Parisiorum decretum est, adversus legatum quendam Hispanum, qui servum in Galliam deduxerat" (a parallel to Lord Mansfield's famous judgment).

Bk. IV., xlv., p. 637, But tho' your Toes be slugs, yet your Temples are nimble enough, as I find by your last of the 12th current; which makes me think on a speech of *Severus* the Emperor, who having lain sick a long time of the *Gout* at *York*, and one of his Nobles telling him that he wonder'd much how he could rule so vast an Empire, being so lame and unwieldy, the Emperor answer'd, that *He rul'd the Empire with his Brain not with his Feet*.

See chap. 18 of the Life of *Severus* ascribed to *Aelius Spartianus* in the 'Scriptores Historiae Augustae' ('Augustan History'), where the Emperor touching his head with his hand remarks "Tandem sentitis caput imperare, non pedes." A similar speech is reported by *Aurelius Victor*, 'De Caesaribus,' xx, 26. Howell is wrong as to the circumstances under which the words were uttered.

Supplement, xvi., p. 667, that I may conclude with the old *Roman Proverb*, I am Yours, *Usque ad Aras*.

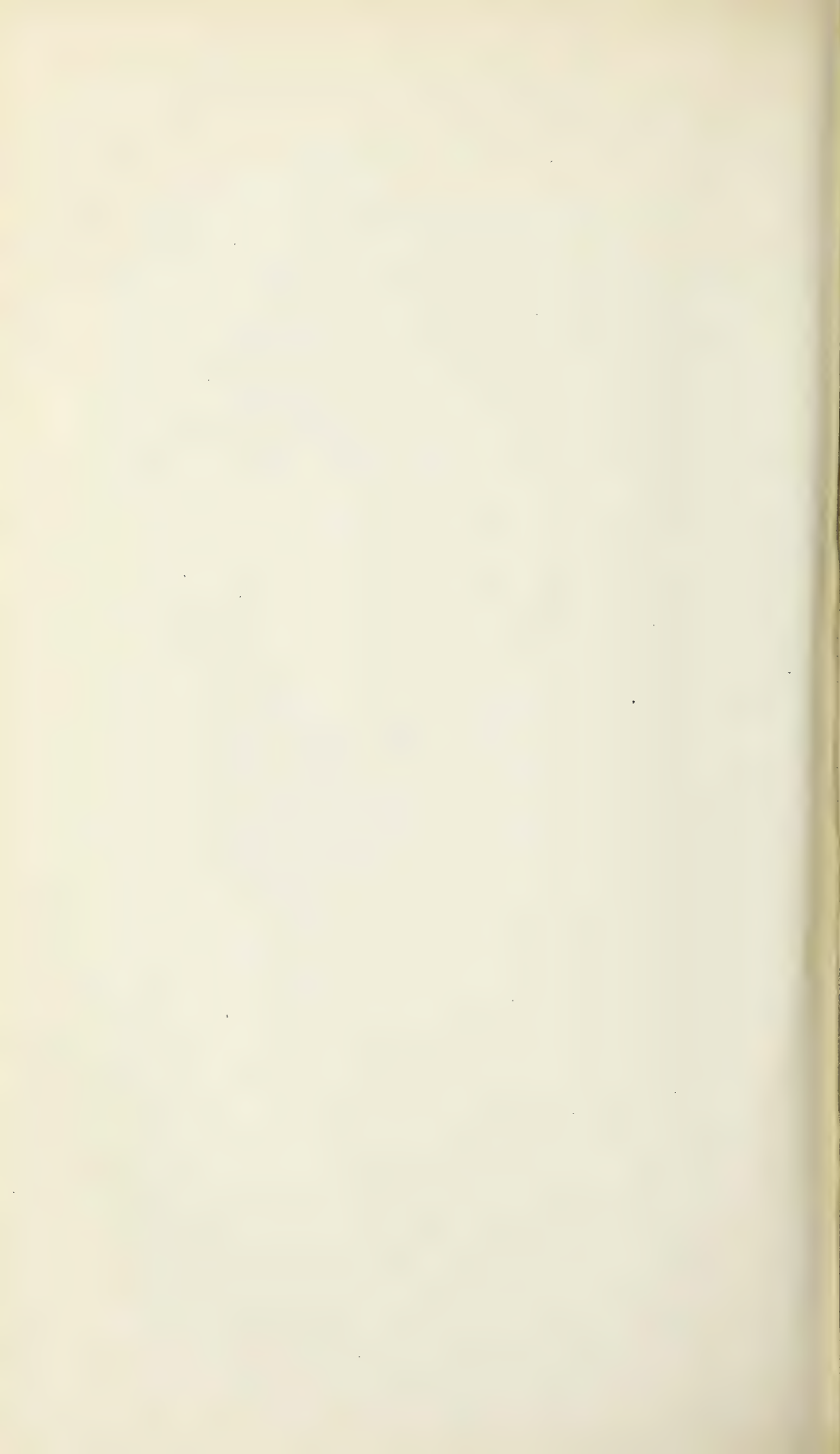
See Erasmus, 'Adagia,' p. 44, col. 1, in J. J. Grynæus's 'Adagia,' 1629, Heading 'Usque ad aras amicus,' under the Title 'Amicitia.' Pericles's saying, in the form Δεῖ με συμπράττειν τοῖς φίλοις, ἀλλὰ μέχρι βωμῶν is here quoted from Gellius, I. iii. 20, and Μέχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ φίλος εἰμὶ from Plutarch ('Moralia' 531c, 'De Vitioso Pudore').

Having been unable to visit any library while correcting the proofs of this Paper, I am indebted to my friend Mr. D. T. Baird Wood of the British Museum for his care in checking several particulars.

(*To be continued.*)

EDWARD BENSLEY.







# FABLE LITERATURE IN WELSH.

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The Fables here transcribed are found on ff. 509<sup>b</sup>—521 of Llanstephan MS. 4=Shirburn C21, in the National Library of Wales. This MS. is written on vellum, and is imperfect. The pagination seems to be in the hand of Edward Lhuyd, for a note by him is found on p. 523, and his mark appears elsewhere in the margins. The numbering, in any case, is later than the original writing; it runs from 505 to 557, and is consecutive, without taking notice of missing folios. In the portion herein dealt with two pages are missing, between those numbered 513<sup>b</sup> and 514. In my transcript I have indicated the lacuna, preserving the numbering as written, and giving the correct equivalent to the end of the excerpt. The MS. has been dated circa 1400 (Catalogue of MSS. in the Welsh Language, Vol. II., pt.II., p. 424). Some of the material, as shown later in this note, may be at least a century earlier. There are also indications that the scribe is modifying an earlier orthography (cf. "agkof," "yggoruchelder," "llongwr," "anteruynedic," "anheilōng," &c.)

A transcript of the Fables is found in Cwrt Mawr MS. 455. This is a quarto of 88 pp., written about 1700. The part missing in L1S.4 is also missing here, as well as pp. 21—22 of the transcript itself.

Cardiff MS. 3, ff 243 et seq., and Aberdare MS. 1, p. 52 et seq., contain copies probably made from CM.455.

The Fables, inaccurately copied and whimsically edited, are printed in "Y Greal," 1806—7, Nos. VI., VII., and VIII., preceded by a note stating that they were copied from a collection written about 1300. The incomplete Fables of L1S.4 are not included, and there is no indication that a portion of the text is missing, but there can be little doubt that the original is L1S.4

There is also one Fable, apparently from this source, in the collection printed in the Iolo MSS., and there entitled "Dammeg y Lygoden (*sic*) a'r Gath" ("The Fable of the Mouse and the Cat"). The other Fables in the Iolo MSS. are different, and have been expanded in a rhetorical style, probably by Iolo Morganwg himself, and attributed to "Cattwg Ddoeth ap Gwynlliw ap Glywis ap Tegid ap Cadell Deyrnllwg."

In the Catalogue of MSS. in the Welsh Language, loc. cit., the Fables are inaccurately described as “Æsop’s Fables.” These versions are undoubtedly derived from Odo of Cheriton, first half of the 13th century, the Prologue to whose Fables begins : “Aperiam in parabolis os meum, loquar propositiones ab initio. Legitur in libro Ruth : Proicite de manipulis uestris ex industria et remanere permittite, ut colligat Ruth absque uerecundia . . .” (Text printed in Vol. IV. of Léopold Hervieux’s “Les Fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d’Auguste jusqu’à la fin du moyen âge,” Paris, 1896).

It will be seen that the Welsh collection begins with the first sentence in Odo’s Prologue. All the Fables are to be found in the collections attributed to Odo. The translation is generally free, with occasional amplifications mostly of a rhetorical character. The terms “ymdyualu a gŕarandaŕ clerŕryaeth,” in the fifth Fable, refer perhaps to Welsh peculiarities. It is possible that the translator used a version not recorded by Hervieux. In the Fable of the Wolf made Monk, an English sentence is quoted. It differs from the versions given by Hervieux from various sources, here quoted in the footnotes. In another Fable—that of the Bird of St. Martin—the word *boly*, in the expression “yd oed yn rodyaf ar hyt *boly* derwen,” may have been suggested by *bole* (as in *the bole of an oak*), a word common, I believe, in middle English. The words *bŕrnet*, *frogy*, *gŕedyr*, *partrissot*, *plastyr*, *yspurge*, and *ystoppyaŕ*, also show the influence at least of English vocabulary.

There is some evidence that the first Fable, at least, was known to Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch, court bard to Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. The Prince was killed in 1282. In a poem on the vanity of human life (Red Book of Hergest, col. 1160; Poetry of the Gogynfeirdd, p. 157, col. 2), Gruffudd says :—

“Ni byd brychwyn dyn dyd y cladher,  
Nis canlyn oe da oe diuer ymdro  
Eithyr y amdo amdlaŕt biner.”

Compare this with the Fable : “Nys kanlyn dim oe olut bydaŕl ef, dyeithyr tlaŕt amdo yr daear.”

I am indebted to Principal J. H. Davies for assistance in tracing copies of the Welsh Fables, to Professor Bensly for the discovery of their origin, and to Mr. Ballinger for facilities to consult the Latin versions under circumstances of some difficulty.

[I. Y FRAN A'R PLUF BENTHYG.<sup>1</sup>]

[fo. 509<sup>b</sup>.] Aperiam in parabolis os meum loquar propocitiones. Yvran gynt ae gŕeles hi ehun yn | hagyr ac yn drwg y thrŕssyat a dyuot a oruc | y achŕyn ŕrth yr eryr am hynny. Ar

eryr | a erchis idi vynet yech6ynna pluf | ygan amryuaelyon adar. A hynny [a oruc<sup>2</sup>] hitheu. Kymryt o esgyll y paun, ac | o adaned y golomen. Ac ygan yr adar | ereill mal y damuna6d. A phan yttoed yn ardercha6c o bop kyfry6 bluf, de|chreu kelliweira6 a greu a llefein ar yr adar oll. Sef a oruc yr adar | yna dyuot y g6yna6 6rth yr eryr | rac y vran. Ar eryr yna a dy6a6t | dyget pob edyn y bluf y genthi. Ac | velly hi a vuydheir<sup>3</sup>. A hynny a oru|gant. A gada6 a wnaethant y vran | yn hagr anffurveid megys yd | oed gynt. Velly am druan anghena|6c dyn<sup>4</sup> a vo balch oe adurn ae wisgoed | ae dr6ssyat. Kymeret y dauat y g6lan | ar daear y llin ar ychen ar eniueileit | ereill eu cr6yn<sup>5</sup>. Ac velly ef a dric yn | dyn truan yn anurdedic gewilydy | us. Ac yna yr holl allu ar kyuoeth | byda6l pandel teruyn y hoedyl ac | [fo. 510] angheu or diwed. nys kanlyn dim oe olut | byda6l ef dyeithyr. tla6t amdo yr daear. | Ch6edyl y6 h6nn ac esampyl yn erbyn | y kyuoethogyon gallyus byda6l<sup>6</sup>. Ac yn | yn enwedic y rei yssyd yn ymdiret y | my6n lluossa6cr6yd eu goludoed heb | du6 ganthunt dieithyr hynny. | Megys y dywedir yn ylladin. Qui | in multitudine diuitiarum suarum gloriantur. | Ac yna pan attynno duw hollgyuoetha6c y golut y wrthynt yd vuydheir 6ynteu o g6byl, &c.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Cornice. Contra illos qui iactant se habere quod non habent.—Odonis de Ceritona Fabulae.

<sup>2</sup> C.M. 455.

<sup>3</sup> Et sic humiliabitur.—Odonis de Ceritona Fabulae.

<sup>4</sup> Sic miser homo.—Odo.

<sup>5</sup> Set accipiat Ovis lanam suam, Terra linum, Boues et Capri corium suum, Cirogilli et Agni suas pelles, et remanebit miser homo, &c.—Odo.

<sup>6</sup> Item hoc exemplum ualet contra diuites qui pro multitudine diuitiarum gloriantur, sed Dominus quandoque omnia aufert, et sic humiliantur.—Odo.

## [II. Y WADD A'R ERYR.<sup>1</sup>]

E wad gynt a oed nny daear yn | cladu. Ac yna dyuot a wnaeth | ch6ant idi g6elet mynyded ac elltyd | a choedyd a glynnod ac auonyd<sup>2</sup>. A dry|chafel vch y daear a oruc. Ac adol6 | yn yr eryr y drychafel yn yr awyr | y gaffel g6eledigaeth ar ybyt. A | hynny a oruc yr eryr. A phan yttoed | yng goruchelder yr awyr y dywa6t yr | eryr wrthi. Awely di yr a6rhonn yr | hynn nys g6eleist eiryoet. Mynyded | coedyd glynnod ac auonoed. G6e | laf heb hi eissyoes g6ell oed gennyfi | vy mot ym llochwes nny daear | [fo. 510<sup>b</sup>] ac ym keneuin. Ac yna yr eryr ae gollyng | a6d hi yr daear. Ac or k6ymp h6nn6 yd | aeth yn drylleu.<sup>3</sup> Velly lle bo tla6t kenuigen | nus ny byd bodla6n ar dim or hynn a | roes du6 ida6. dyeithyr ch6ennychu a wna esgynnu ar esgyll gwynt<sup>4</sup> ac adol6yn nerth yr eryr. Sef y6 h6nn6 y kythreul | ar y drychafel ar gyuoeth a golut. A phan | vedylyo ef yystat yn y goruchelder h6nn6 | yn beriglus. g6ell

vydei gantha6 y vot yn y tloedi dibetrus mal ydoed gynt rac | yn  
a6r angheu yr kythreul yoll6ng y | g6ympa6 ymp6ll uffern<sup>5</sup>  
ylle nyt oes | ymwaret dyeithyr anteruynedic [poen] yr h6n |  
yn differo ni du6 racda6. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> De Tortuca et Aquila. Contra curiosos.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> Desideravit enim uidere campos, colles, et montes et nemora.—Odo.

<sup>3</sup> Dimisit eam cadere, et tota confracta est.—Odo.

<sup>4</sup> Desiderat ascendere et super pennas ventorum uolare.—Odo.

<sup>5</sup> In puteum gehennæ, ubi totus confringitur.—Odo.

### [III. EDN SANT MARTIN.<sup>1</sup>]

Ryw edyn aelwir Edyn Seint Martin | a bychan yaru<sup>2</sup>  
dry6 yr h6nn aelwir lleuen dar.<sup>3</sup> A choesseu hiryon<sup>4</sup> ys|syd  
ida6. A threigylg6eith amgylch g6yl | Martin yd oed yn rody<sup>5</sup>  
ar hyt boly | derwen ar heul yn eglur. disg6yl aoruc ar |  
ygoesseu gan dywedut Owi or kedernit | ei k6ympei yr awyr  
ygyt yr lla6r yr | a6rhonn mi ae kynhal6n achlan y vyny | ar  
vyn d6ygoes. A phan yttoed ef velly yn | ymhoffi gan gyffroedi-  
gaeth y g6ynt ef [fo. 511] | a g6ympa6d un or deil crinyon o  
vlaen | yprenn tu ar daear. A phan gicleu ef | y t6rd h6nn6 o  
dirua6r ofyn ac ergryn | roi llef uchel aoruc gan dywedut. Owi |  
a du6 tec a seint Martin kanhorth6y|6ch a6ch edyn gwiryon.  
Velly yn wir | dilys y mae llawer or bobyl y a6rhonn | yn amser<sup>5</sup>  
y credant ac yn amser pro|uedigaeth y kilyant. Megys y dywedir |  
Qui ad tempus credunt et in tempore | temptationis recedunt<sup>6</sup>.  
Megys y g6naeth pedyr gynt pan dywa6t am | jessu. Yr carchar  
nac yr angheu nas ga|da6ei ac nas ymwadei ac ef. Ac eissoes |  
pan weles ef poeni Crist ae gystudya6 | ef ae g6ada6d yn y 6yd.  
Ac megys y | dyweit y Salym<sup>7</sup> Fili effrey m intendentes | et  
mittentes arcum suum conuersi sunt | in die belli. Hynny heuyt  
a ellir y | gyffelybu y lawer or marchogyon ar | g6yr kyuoeth-  
ogyon pan vont 6rth y | tan yn kyuedach y g6in kadarn ar k6|ryf  
6ynt a dywedant na bydei vn o|honunt 6rth bedwar or ffreingk  
yn ym|lad<sup>8</sup>. Eissoes y bore pan delont yr maes | ag6elet eu  
galon yn arua6c ar g6ewyr | yn llymyon yn eu herbyn yna  
y dywedant | [511<sup>b</sup>] 6y megys yr edyn uchot du6 a seint Martin  
ut supra.

<sup>1</sup> De quadam ave Sancti Martini. Contra audaces uerbo et non eperere.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> a bychan yw ar wedd Dryw—C.M. 455, Y Greal.

<sup>3</sup> lleuer dâr C.M. 455. The reading in Y Greal is also *lleuer dar*, and the title "Y Lleuer Dar" has been given the Fable. The reading in L1S. is clearly *lleuen*. The Latin does not contain this epithet—"quedam avis dicitur Sancti Martini in Hispania, parvula, admodum reguli. Hec graciles habet tibias ad modum iuncti et longas."

<sup>4</sup> a choeseu byrrion, C.M. 455 and Y Greal.

<sup>5</sup> yn amser llwyddiant, C.M. 455 and Y Greal.

<sup>6</sup> Luke, viii., 13.



7 Filii Ephrem, intendentes et mittentes arcum conuersi sunt in die belli—Ps. lxxvii. Vulg. Paris, Ed. Garnier.

8 Quando caput [est] bene fricatum vino vel ceruisia, dicunt se posse stare contra tres francigenas et debellare fortissimos.—Odo.

#### [IV. Y BLAIDD YN FANACH.<sup>1</sup>]

E bleid<sup>2</sup> gynt a vynnei | y wneuthur yn vanach. ac o ganlyn ac adolbyn. hynny agafas. Ac | eilla6 corun a wnaethp6yt ida6 ag6neuthur abit. ae ossot y dysgu y bader. | Sef y canei ynteu vyth oen neu wedyr | oen neu wedyr<sup>3</sup> Odyna yd erchit ida6 | edrych ar del6 y groc. Sef yd edrychei | ynteu ar y deueit. Velly y myneich yr | a6r honn pan dylynt 6y wneuthur | eu creuyd yn d6y6a6l deil6ng 6ynteu | aedrychant ar y deueit. Sef ynt y rei | hynny y g6raged tec ar g6in melyn | ar ffr6ythau per. ac ar y ry6 bethau | mass6 hynny gan ebryygu eu reol | ae creuyd yn ll6yr. Megys y dywedir | yn Saesnec *hey bo ban* wold hor wwlff | hode to prest euer bath hes wiles. at *be w*ode.<sup>4</sup>

1 De Lupo qui uoluit esse Monachus Contra malam consuetudinem.—Odo.

2 Ysemgrinus.—Odo.

3 et semper respondit *Agnus* uel *Aries*.—Odo.

4 Vnde solet dici: *Thai thu W[o]lf hore hodi te preste tho thu hym sette Salmes to leere, euer beth his geres to the groue-ward*.—Odo, Les Fabulistes latins, IV.—“Voici comment ce proverbe est formulée dans le ms. Harl. 219: *If al that the Wolf vn to a preest worthe and be set un to booke psalmes to leere, yif his eye euer to the wodeward*. On voit que c'est surtout par l'orthographe moins ancienne des mots que cette formule diffère de celle du ms. du Corpus Christi. Le ms. d'Arras en présente une autre très incorrecte due à un copiste, qui, sans savoir l'anglais, avait eu sous les yeux un modèle difficile à déchiffrer. Dans ce manuscrit on lit: *Lat ye deulf hore hodi bo preste, secce to boke an psalmes to leren, evez lokys hus geres to ye wodewar*.”—Les Fabulistes latins. IV. 195—6.

#### [V. Y CHWIL A'R DOMEN.]

E ch6il gynt a eheda6d y my6n | perllan yn yr honn yd oed am|ryuaelon lysesuoed affrwythau bon|hedic a ros cochyon arei g6ynny|on alillieu affenygyl. Ac odyna ef a | disgynna6d my6n tomen yn y lle yd | oed llawer oebodyn meirch a biss6eil [fo. 512] g6arthec<sup>2</sup> Ac yno y kafas ef y gymar. | Agouyn a oruc hi y6 g6r pa le y buassei. | Ynteu a atteba6d mi a dygylchyneis y | dayar ac a rodyeis a lawer oleoed tec ar|dercha6c ymplith amryuaelon lysesu|oed saf6yrber a ffr6ythau melyn. dyei|thyr na weleis i ermoet le mor digrif | mor esm6yth a h6nn. Am y domen. | Velly llawer o myneich ar ysgolheigy|on ar lleygyon pan darlleont neu pan | glywont darllein buchedu seint neu | ffr6ythla6n ystoryau ereill clotuorus | y ch6anekau synh6yr ac ymborth | yreneit tr6ydunt. diff6yth vyd gan|thunt 6y hynny oll. ony bei gael ar dauarneu ymdidan a phuteinieit ac |

ymdyualu ag6aranda6 cler6ryaeth | orwac ac ouergerd yleihau  
synh6yr | ac yachwaneckau pecha6t ag6aha6d | dia6l yn  
ganhorth6y yn lle angel go|leuni. yr h6nn yssyd oll yn domen  
vuldyr ac yn vystrych drewedic.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Sc[al]rabone. Contra eos qui plus terrena sapiunt quam spiritualia et cetera.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> Stercora equorum et boum.

<sup>3</sup> Sic plerique clerici, monachi, layci audiunt uitas sanctorum, transeunt per lilia conuallium, per rosas martyrum, per uiolas confessorum; sed nunquam uidetur eis ita placidum, ita amenum, sicut meretrix, sicut taberna, sicut exercitium causarum quod totum est sterquilinum fetidum et congregatio peccatorum.—Odo.

[VI. YR ERYR A'R FRAN.<sup>1</sup>]

Er eryr gynt a gleuycha6d o | dolur y lygeit ac a alwa6d at|ta6  
y vran yr hon a elwir ffissigwr | yr adar. Agouyn a oruc yr vran  
beth [fo. 512<sup>b</sup>] agynghorei ida6 amy heint. Ar vran adywa6t.  
Mi a wnafl blastyr ytt<sup>2</sup> yr h6nn ath | wna yn iach. Ar eryr ady-  
wa6t Or gwney | di hynny mi a dalaf dy laur ytt yn dily. |  
Ar vran aaeth ac agymeth g6er ac ys|purge.<sup>3</sup> ac ae briwa6d  
ygyt ac ae dodes | 6rth lygeit yr eryr. Ac o hynny y colles  
y | lygeit o g6byl. Ac yna ydaeth y vran ac y | llada6d|gywyon yr  
eryr ac y hyssa6d 6ynt | Ac o dyna hi a doeth ac affustya6d yr  
eryr | yn vynyach ac ae dolurya6d. Ac yna ydyw|a6t yr eryr. O  
emellidgedic vych di ath | vedeginyaeth. Yn gyntaf ti am  
lledeist i | a gwedy hynny llad vy meibyon adar. | Ac bellach  
yd 6yt ym dolurya6d inneu o | vynyach dynodeu. Yna yd  
atteba6d y | vran. je heb hi tra elleist di welet ny beid|6ny  
ymyrru ar dy veibyon di. Eissoes | yr oedwn i yn ch6ennychu  
hynny ac yn | y damuna6 yn vynyach. Ac eissoes mi a | gefeis vy  
ewyllys am didigr6yd. *Prelat.* Yr eryr uchot y6 prelat yr  
egl6ys a cheit|6ad yr eneideu ae lygeit yn agoret yn | kadw  
y veibyon adar nyt amgen nor | *gred*<sup>4</sup> a orchymynna6d du6 y chad6  
en *tra*|gy6yda6l doeth y vran y6 y kythreul yn | [fo. 513]  
ch6ennychu yr adar o gaffel methyl | ar eneideu y bobyl gyffredin.  
Eisssoes | tra vo y prelat doeth kywreint ae lygeit | yn agoret  
yn cad6 y ffald ny beid y ky|threul wasgu nac ymyrreit arnadunt. |  
Beth a wna y kythreul yna medylya6 | medeginyaeth nyt amgen  
g6neuthur | plastyr a wna o gynulleitua ac amlyder | ac amlyder  
goludoed byda6l<sup>5</sup> ae dodl yn | llygeit y prelat yystoppya6  
yolygon | ar ysprydolyon betheu ag6eithredoed | nefolyon a  
phregetheu doethyon yn ved|eginyaeth yr eneideu. Gan rodi  
ida6 | renti ma6r a chyrteu aphlassoed arder|cha6c. A meirch  
ma6r ac ychen a deuit. | Ac amryuaelyon anieileit amla6 |  
hynny. Ac velly y dallu oysbryda6l | ol6c a diua yadar ac eu  
llyngku. A | g6edy hynny ydolurya6 ynteu ae vlin|hau yn cad6  
ac yn ymwrdd ar golud | heb orffowys. Ac or diwed y poeni yn |  
dragywyd or poen anteruynedic onyt | du6 ae g6eryt.

- 1 De Aquila et Corvo medico. Contra prelatos ignorantes.—Odo.  
 2 Afferam optimam herbam que oculos sanabit.—Odo.  
 3 Accepit cepe et spurgiam.—Odo.  
 4 Aquila est prelatus qui habet oculos apertos, ut pullos suos, gregem sibi commissum, custodiat.—Odo.  
 5 Diabolus autem facit emplastrum de congerie rerum temporalium.—Odo.

[VII. YR HWCH A'R GWADDOD.<sup>1</sup>]

Y lle6<sup>2</sup> gynt a | wnaeth gôled ac a wahoda6d | yr aniuileit  
 oll yr ôled honno. Ac yno | y kawssant amryuaelon u6ydeu a  
 [fo. 513<sup>b</sup>] | diodyd yn arderchâ6c. A phan daruu ywled | pa6b  
 aethant tu ae kartrefoed. A | phan yttoed ybleid yn mynet  
 tr6y | dinas tu ae gartref ef awelei | yr h6ch yn yssu soec  
 ag6ada6t ar yr heol. Ago|uyn aoruc hi yr bleid opa le yr oed  
 yn | dyuot. Ac atteb aoruc ynteu yvot yn | dyuot ova6rhydic  
 wled ylle6. A pha|ham heb ef na buost ti yno. Beth heb | [hi]  
 ageffit yno. A oed yno wada6t. Ta6 | heb ef emelltigedic vych  
 ae my6n gôled g6r kyfurd a h6nn6 yperthy|nei bot b6yt mor  
 anheil6ng a | h6nn6. Velly llawer or bobyl yr dy|uot doethineb  
 a synh6yreu ma6r ny | rodant dim yr hynny ony chaffant | wada6t.  
 Sef y6 hynny godineb segyr|llytr6yd ch6ant cna6da6l megys  
 y | dyweit Ose *tertio* respiciunt ad deos | alienos *et* diligunt  
 vinacia vuarum<sup>3</sup>. | Sef yw hynny drewedicr6yd aphecha6t.

- 1 De Leone qui invitavit bestias. Contra carnaliter sapientes.—Odo.  
 2 Quidam Miles dixit cuidam Literato: Quale gaudium erit in  
 Paradyso? . . . . Respondit clericus: Leo cum aliis bestiis semel  
 celebrauit magnum conuiuium.—Odo.  
 3 Hosea, iii., 1.

[VIII. Y CADNO A'R LLONGWR.<sup>1</sup>]

E cadno gynt avynnei yd|6yn dros ymor ac adoeth att |  
 y llongwr ac a adolyga6d ida6 yr | tal ylauur yd6yn drosod ar  
 llongwr |

[Conclusion missing.]

- 1 De Vulpe. Et applicatur male remuneranti.—Vulpes semel uoluit  
 aquam transire per nauem; promisit Nauclero mercedem.  
 Nauclerus Vulpem in naui ultra flumen portauit; mercedem  
 postulauit. Ait Vulpes: Bene dabo. Et minxit in cauda sua, et  
 aspersit in oculos Naucleri, qui ait: Pessimam mercedem mihi  
 tribuis. Inde dicitur: Qui malo seruit seruicium suum perdit.  
 Puppe canis latus pro munere reddet [h]yatus.—Odo.

[IX. Y CADNO A'R GATH.<sup>1</sup>]

[Beginning missing.]

[fo. 514=515] y dywa6t Reinyard. Na vit arnat vn | pryder  
 mi a dangossaf ytt yn da diga6n pa | vod ydihengych racdunt.  
 Ac ar vrys na|chaf yr hely6r ae g6n yn agos udunt yn eu hymlit  
 yn daer. Ac yna ydywa6t Reinyard [=Tibergus] 6rth Tibergus

[=Reinyard] Yn wir ny chanlynafi dydi yn h6y mi aarueraf om kelydyt | vy hun. Ac ar vrys neidya6 ybrifdar | vchel a dringya6 hyt yblaen. Ac yna | edrych tremynt. Ac yn ylle nachaf | yk6n heb synnyeit ar y cath dyeithyr | ymlit Reinyard ac heb ohir yn y daly. | Rei ohonunt gervyd y benn. ereill yn y | vyn6gyl. ereill yn y gefyn. Ac velly | y dryllya6 y rynthunt. Ac yna tiberfus | ymblaen yprenn yn diogel ac yn diofyn | a dywa6t oe la6n llef. Reinyard reinyard | agor dy got yn dyls dy ho1l geluydodeu | ny thalant ytt vn wy.<sup>2</sup> Y cath a ar6ydoc | caa y rei mul g6iryon didr6c ny vedant | namyn vn geluydyt. Sef y6 honno cre|du yrgvirdu6 ac arveru buched didr6c | yn y byt h6nn hyt arderuyn eu buched | ac angheu. Ac yna ynefoed ygael buched | dragywyd sine fine. Reinyard gatno yn|teu a ar6ydocca y kyfreithwyr enwir ar | [fo. 514<sup>b</sup>=515<sup>b</sup>] atvockeit ffeils. ar medygon kelwyda6c | t6yllodrus. Ar bra6t6yr anghywir y rei | a uedrant vn ar bymthec<sup>3</sup> o geluydodeu | enwir A heuyt lloneit cot ohonunt. | Eissyoes pan del yr helywr ae g6n. Sef y6 | h6nn6 angheu ach6n ufferna6l y eu hym|lit ac y eu daly ac y eu sodi yn uffern heb | allel ohonunt wrth6ynebu udunt yna | y byd yg6iryon kywir ffydla6n yggo|ruchelder nefoed yn y dyls r6yd ygyt | ar engylon yn edrych ar y kythreuleit | yn eu mystr6ng 6ynteu | Ac yna y dyw|eit ef. Reinyard Reinyard agor dy got | dy holl ystry6 ath geluydodeu yn wir yr | a6rhonn ny allant dy rydhau rac de1nt ac ewined a chicwineu y kythreuleit.

<sup>1</sup> De fraudibus vulpis et catti. Contra aduocatos.—Vulpes siue Reinardus obuiauit Tebergo, id est Cato, et dixit Reinardus: Quot fraudes uel artificia nouisti? Et ait Catus: Certe nescio nisi unum. Et ait Reinardus: Quod est illud? Respondit: Quando canes me insequuntur, scio repere super arbores et euadere. Et quesiiuit Catus: Et tu, quot scis? Et respondit Reinardus: Scio XVII., et ab hoc [adhuc] habeo saccum plenum. Veni mecum, et docebo te artificia mea, quod canes te non capient. Annuit Catus; ambo simul iuerunt. Venatores et canes insequabantur eos, et ait Catus: Audio canes, iam timeo. Et ait Reinardus, &c.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> certe omnes fraudes tue non ualent tibi (ouum).—Odo.

<sup>3</sup> qui habent XVII. fraudes.—Odo.

#### [X. Y FRAN A'R GOLOMEN.<sup>1</sup>]

E vran gynt aduc un oadar y | glomen y dreis y arnei hyt y | nyth. Ae hymlit a oruc y glomen idi hyt | yno ac adol6yn idi etryt y hederyn dra|chefyn. Ac yna y dywa6t y vran A | vedry di ganu. Medraf heb y glomen | dyeithyr nat da iawn y mod. Can di|theu heb y vran. Achanu a oruc y glomen | mal yg6ydyat. Odyna y dywa6t y | vran. Can yn well neu yn wir ny chey | [fo. 515=516] dim oth ederyn. Ac y dywa6t y glomen | Ny allaf ac ny medraf ganu yn well. Am | hynny heb y vran ny cheffy ditheu dim | oth ederyn. Ac ar vrys y vran ae chymar | a lewssant gy6 y glomen. Velly y kyuoel|thogyon camweda6c ar



s6ydogyon dr6c | adreissant yrei mul g6iryon gan d6|yn eu  
 hychen ae g6iryon<sup>2</sup> ac eu da byda6l | amla6 hynny arodei du6  
 udunt yym|borth arnunt gan honni geu acham6ed | arnadunt.  
 Aphan del yg6iryon h6nn6 | yadol6yn yeida6 ehun gan gynnig  
 tru|geint neu pedwar ugeint<sup>2</sup> ida6. ydyweitt | ynteu Ha vra6t  
 pony wdost di ganu | yn well. Yna y|dyweit yr anghena6c ky|  
 wir Na wnn yn wir ac nys gallaf ka|nys tla6t areidus 6yf. aroi  
 m6y yr | 6yf du6 a6yr nac aallaf.<sup>4</sup> Yna ynteu | ydywawt  
 ykyuoetha6c camwedus neur | s6yda6c dr6c. Dos ditheu adref  
 kanys | yn wir ny cheffy dim or hynn yssyd gen|nyfi oth eida6.  
 Ac velly d6yn y da rac|da6 ae dunistyr ynteu.

<sup>1</sup> De Corvo et Pullo Columbe. Contra baiulos uel dominos.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> capiunt bouem uel oues alicuius simplicis.—Odo.

<sup>3</sup> promittit v solidos, uel plus, uel minus, secundum suam facultatem.  
 —Odo.

<sup>4</sup> et plus non possum dare.—Odo.

#### [XI. Y DEFAID A'R BLAIDD.<sup>1</sup>]

E deueit gynt a deuthant yg6y|na6 6rth ylle6 rac ybleid  
 a | dywedut y vot ydreis ac yledrat yn [fo. 515<sup>b</sup>=516<sup>b</sup>] llad ac  
 yn dunistyr eu plant ae kedym|deithon. Ac yna dygynnull  
 ygynghor atta6 | aoruc ylle6. Ac ym mysc yr aniuileit go|uyn  
 aoruc ylle6 yr moch paham ygedynt ybleid yn eu plith ac ynteu  
 yn lleidyr | ac yn dreisswr. Ac yna yd attebassant | ymoch.  
 Argl6yd vrenhin heb 6ynt ani|ueil hael k6rteis y6 ybleid.  
 A hynny | a dywedassant 6y oachos pan ladei y | bleid ydeueit  
 ar wyn ef a wahodei y | moch yv6yta eu rann oe ysgauael. Ac |  
 yna ydywa6t ylle6. Nyt velly ydyw|eit ydeueit. G6aranda6er  
 6ynteu be|llach. Ac yna ydywa6t un or deueit | Argl6yd vrenhin  
 ybleid alada6d vy | mam i am tat a heuyt alada6d un om | plant.  
 Ac ovreid ydiengheis inneu. Ac | velly ydywedassant ydeueit  
 oll. Ac | yna ydywa6t ylle6. a minneu arod|af varn bellach.  
 Crocker ybleid am | yledrat ae gribdeil ar moch ygyt ac | ynteu  
 am eu kytundeb ac eu kynnal | tr6y ffalsed ac enwired. A hynny  
 a | wnaethp6yt. Dealled y darllea6dyr..

<sup>1</sup> Quod Oves sunt conquesti Leoni de Lupo. Contra diuites depredatores et exactores.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> Oves conquesti sunt Leoni de Lupo, eo quod furtive et aperte socias suas deuorauit.—Odo.

#### [XII. Y LLYGODEN A'R BROGA.<sup>1</sup>]

E llygoden gynt avynnei vynet | dros ry6 auon. Aphan  
 yttoed [fo. 516=517] hi ar lann yr auon hi a welai ry6 ffrogy |  
 bychan y rung d6fyr aglan. A chyuarch | aoruc ida6 ac adol6yn  
 ida6 ychanhorth|6ya6 dr6od os gallei. Ar ffrogy adywa6t |  
 dyret ragot a r6ym di 6rth un om | traet i. A mi anofyaf a thi  
 dr6od. A | hynny aoruc. Aphan yttoedynt am | hanner yr auon

eu harganuot a oruc y | barcut. a d6yn h6yl ae hysglyfyeit ell | deu a mynet ac 6ynt gantha6. Velly | yn yr un ffunyt pan roder persondodeu a | medyant ma6r a chad6edigaeth eneidau | y ynuyt diwybot anheil6ng.<sup>2</sup> y da6 y | kythreul y eu hysglyff elldau. nyt amgen | y keitwat ar pl6yf<sup>3</sup> onyt du6 ae g6eryt | ac ae hamdiffyn.

<sup>1</sup> De Mure, Rana et Milvo. Contra stultos rectores.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> alicui stulto et insufficienti.—Odo.

<sup>3</sup> utrumque capellanum et paroch[i]am.—Odo.

### [XIII. Y GATH A'R CAWS.<sup>1</sup>]

Ry6 wr a oed gynt | ac awelai ol gormes olygoden | yn b6yta ac yn dinustyr y ga6s yny | gist. Sef a oruc ynteu kymryt g6rcath | ma6r a oed ida6 ae osot yny gist ar | ved6l cad6 y ka6s. Sef a wnaeth y cath | llad yllygoden a b6yta y kaws yn ll6yr. | Yn un ffunyt a hynny y g6na yr esgyb | roi kad6edigaeth eneidau ac yspryda6l | vedyant y amryuaelyon offeireit. agos|sot arch-diagon creula6n kyuoetha6c | [fo. 516<sup>b</sup>=517<sup>b</sup>] arnunt 6ynteu y dinustyr yr offei|reit ar pl6yfeu og6byl. &c.

<sup>1</sup> De Caseo et Rato et Cato.

### [XIV. YR ERYR A'I GYWION.<sup>1</sup>]

Anyan yr eryr y6, pan vo ida6 vei|byon adar pan vont yn diga6n | oedranus ef ae drycheif 6ynt uch y | nyth yedrych yn erbyn yr heul. Ar | ederyn a allo edrych oe gedernyt yn | erbyn yr heul ef ageid6 h6nn6 ac | ae mac. Ar un nys gallo ef ae b6r6 dros | y nyth allan y6 golli. Velly yr Arg16|yd du6 yssyd ida6 veibyon adar yn yr | egl6ys gatholic yman. Yrei a welo ef | eu bot yn deil6ng my6n d6y6a6l | wasanaeth a daeoni yspryda6l. y rei | hynny a vac ef ac ageid6 gantha6 | Ar rei ereill anteil6ng yn ymrodi y | daearolyon betheu gan dremygu d6y|wolyon byngkeu—a v6r6 ef yn y tyw|yll6ch eithaf—yn y lle mae wylofein | a deincryt.

<sup>1</sup> De Aquila.—Odo.

### [XV. Y LLYGODEN A'R GATH.<sup>1</sup>]

Llygoden gynt a | oed yn rodya6 my6n tavern | g6in. ac o drycdamwein hi ag6ym|pa6d my6n pylleit or g6in geyr bron | y tunnelleu. Ac yno llefein a drycyr|uerth a oruc. Ac 6rth y llef y cath ar | vrys a doeth ac aovynna6d paham | [fo. 517=518] ydoed hi yn llefein velly. Ar llygoden | a dywa6t. Am vy mot ym perigyl om | bywyt. Ac na allaf ymrydhau heb nerth. | Ac yna y dywa6t y cath Beth aroy di | ymi yr dy rydhau ath tynnu odyna. Ar llygoden a dywa6t. Beth bynnac aer|chych mi ae g6naf. Or mynny di ymi | dy nerthu yr a6rhonn mi a vynnaf

ytt | dyuot attaf pan yth alöyf gyntaf. A hynny | a wnaſ yn llawen  
 heb y llygoden | Moes dy gret ar hynny heb y cath. Ae | chret  
 a roes y llygoden ygönaei a | vynnei. Ac yna y cath a estynnaöd  
 y | balyf ac a dynnaöd y llygoden or | pöll ac ae gollyngaöd yn  
 ryd y re|dec racdi. A threigylgöeith pan yttoed | y cath yn rodyäö  
 a diruaö newyn | arnaö dyuot cof a wnaeth idaö y | amot ar  
 llygoden. Ac ar vrys dyuot | lle göydyat vot llochwes y llygoden  
 a dywedut or tu maes oe laöñ llef | Y llygoden dyret yma attaf  
 yneges. | Pöy 6yt ti heb y llygoden. Y cath | 6yfi heb ynteu.  
 Na deuaf y rofi | a duö heb y llygoden. Paham heb y | cath pony  
 rodeist di dy gret ar dyuot [fo. 517<sup>b</sup>=518<sup>b</sup>] attafi pan y harchöñ  
 ytt. Ie heb y | llygoden bröysec oedöñ i yna ac am | hynny ny  
 chynhalyafi amot yr aöñ | honn. Velly yr awrhonn llaöer or  
 bobyl | pan vont gleifyon neu ymyöñ perigyl | a adaöant wellau  
 eu buched ac na | wnelont vyth gamwedd yn erbyn | duö na dyn.  
 Eissoes pan dianghont | o hynny ny chynhalyant dim oe he|dewit  
 gan dywedut Ie ymöyn perigyl | ydoedwn i yr amser höñnö.  
 Ac am hyn|ny nyskynhalyaf. Megys y dywedir | am ryö longwr  
 gynt a oed myöñ garö | vordwy apherigyl oe vywyt. Ac adaw |  
 a oruc y duö yry amdifſyn o hynny y | bydei wr da tra vei vyö.  
 Aphan doeth | ef yrlann ac yrtir dilys. dywedut a oruc | Aha  
 Jessu mi ath döylleis yn wir yr aöñ | honn. Ny bydafi wr da etto.

<sup>1</sup> De Mure et Cato. Contra non implentes uotum.—Odo.

This Fable is considerably expanded. The Latin Text contains no reference to the sailor.

#### [XVI. Y BARCUD A'R PETRIS.<sup>1</sup>]

Barcut gynt aedrychaöd ar y | vreicheu ae ylyf ae ewined  
 ac | adywaöt. Ponyt yttöyfi yngyn | gryfet ac yngyn rymusset  
 ogorff | ac aelodeu ar llymhystaen. Paham | na ladaf inneu  
 partrissot megys hi|theu. Ac ar hynny arganuot niuer |  
 [fo. 518=519] maöñ o bartrissot a oruc a döyn ruthyr | udunt  
 a daly vn ae yluin. a deu dan y | döy adein. A deu dan y deutroet.  
 Ac yna | örtñ na allei eu daly oll eu colli yn llöyr | a oruc. Megys  
 y dywedir yn lladin. Qui | totum cupit totum perdit. Ac  
 o achaoö | hynny ny lauuryaöd ef vyth möy y ge|issaö daly  
 partrissot. Velly &c.

<sup>1</sup> De Milvo et Perdicibus.—Odo.

#### [XVII. Y CADNO A'R CEILIOG.<sup>1</sup>]

Catno gynt a doeth yr ieirdy yn ym|yl cört uchelöñ. A son  
 aglywspö|yt oe dyuotyat ef yno. A dyuot yna a w|naeth göeisson  
 or llys allan. ae ordiwes | ae vaedu yny yttoed yn varö haeach. |  
 Ac o damwein diangk yröñg amin | achlöyt allan a oruc. Ac  
 megys y gallaöd ffo | yny doeth y weirglod. Ac yno mynet y |

orwed my6n myd6l oweir ach6yna6 | ydoluryeu aoruc adyuot  
ygedymdeithes | yno atta6<sup>2</sup>. Ac erchi aoruc ynteu idi hi |  
gyrchu yr offeiratt, atta6 megys y gallei | gyffessu y bechodeu kynn  
y var6. Achyr|chu aoruc hitheu fra6ud yclyr. Sef oed | h6nn6  
ykeilya6c. Kanys ef yssyd gaplan | yr anieileit ar adar. A  
phan doeth ef | lle y gwelei ycatno ofynhau aoruc gan | adnabot  
y drycaruer. Ac o bell erchi ida6 | [fo. 518<sup>b</sup>—519<sup>b</sup>] dywedut y gyffes.  
A hynny aoruc ycat|no. Ac yn hynny estynnu y benn a wnaeth |  
tu ac att y keila6c. Paham y nesey di at|tafi heb y keilya6c. Tra  
dolur a wna ymi | hynny heb ycatno madeu ym. Ac yna |  
kyffesu ych6anec aoruc. Aphan weles | ygyfle yn vrad6rya6l  
neidya6 aoruc yr kei|lyya6c ae daly ae yssu. Deallet y darllea6dyr.

<sup>1</sup> De Volpe (*sic*) qui confitebatur peccata sua gallo.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> Super cumulum feni se proiecit et gemere incepit. Petiit Capellanum  
quod ad eum ueniret et peccata sua audiret.—Odo.

#### [XVIII. Y GYLIONEN A'R ADRCOP.<sup>1</sup>]

E gylionen gynt a oed yn ehedec dan | ganu gan ystlys  
mur. A hi a argan|uu yr adyrcop yn ylochwes yn gorffowys. |  
A dywedut aoruc 6rtha6 ef. Ny ellir dim | a thydi heb hi kanys  
mi a ehed6n yn | un dyd m6y noc agerdut ti yn dec di6|arna6t.  
Nac ehedut am gyngbystyl heb | yr adyrcop. Minneu ae  
kynhalyaf heb | hitheu. Dieithyr hynn heb yr adyrcop ni | a yf6n  
yg6in yn gyntaf. Ag6edy hynny | yr un ae collo ohonam talet  
drosta6. A | bit velly heb y gylionen. Arho oric heb | yr adyrcop.  
Mi a wnaf g6rtynys yn arder|cha6c<sup>2</sup> yn kylch ac yn h6nn6 yd  
eisted6n | ac yhyf6n yg6in. Gwna ditheu heb hi. Ac | yna  
ystoui y we aoruc yr adyrcop<sup>3</sup>. Aphan | yttoed yn bara6t gal6  
ygylionen atta6 | aoruc. A dyuot a wnaeth hitheu. Ac yn |  
[fo. 519=520] gytneit ac ykyhyrda6d ar we glynu a wna|eth  
y thraet ae hadaned ynda6. Ac ymdraffill | aoruc hitheu y geissa6  
ymrydhau odyno | ac nys gallei. Ac yna y dywa6t ygylionen |  
Emelldigedic vo y ry6 g6rtynys h6nn | kannyallafi dyuot ohona6.  
Ac yna y | dywa6t yr adyrcop. Yn wir nyt ey di odynd | vyth yn  
vy6. A d6yn h6yl idi a thorri y | phenn. At hic cortinus est  
mulier pulchra.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Contentione Vespe et Aranee. Qualiter decepit prosperitas  
humana et cetera.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> unam cortinam albam et pulcrā.—Odo.

<sup>3</sup> Vnde tele Araneorum cortine Lombardice dicuntur.—Odo.

<sup>4</sup> Hec cortina est pulcrā mulier, mundi amenitas, etc.—Odo.

#### [XIX. Y LLYGODEN DY A'R LLYGODEN FAES.<sup>1</sup>]

Llygoden ty gynt a gyuaruu allygo|den vaes. Ac a ouynna6d  
idi pa ry6 | v6yt a gaffei yn y meyssyd. A hitheu a | dywa6t mae  
ffa calet weithieu a gaffei | weithieu ereill gra6n sychyon. Yna



y dy6|a6t y llygoden ty. Calet allese y6 dy ym|borth di. a ryued y6 dy vy6 rac newyn. Ac | yna ygouynna6d y llygoden vaes idi hi|theu Apha ry6 ymborth a geffy di heb hi. | Yn wir y b6yt goreu a brassaf a melyssaf | or kic goreu ac or bara g6ynn goreu ar | ca6s tyneraf. a dyret titheu y gyt a mi | adref heno. Ac velly y g6naethant. A phan | yttoedynt velly 6ynt a welynt ossot byrd|eu a d6yn b6ydeu a diodyd diga6n. Ar | hynny 6ynt a welynt vriwsson bara gwynn | yn disgyn y ar y byrdeu. Yna y dywa6t | [fo. 519<sup>b</sup> = 520<sup>b</sup>] llygoden y ty 6rth y llall. Neitta racco ti | a wely yssyd oymborth ytt. os mynny. A dy|uot a oruc y llygoden vaes oe llochwes allan | a chaffel briwssonyn or bara gwynn. Ac ar | vrys neita6 a oruc y cath idi ae daly hae|ach. Ac eissyoes ovreid y dienghis hyt | y ffew.<sup>2</sup> A dywedut wrth y chedymdeithes a | oruc. A oes ytti yn wastat y ry6 gedymde|ith hynn yn keissaw dydinustyr. Oes | yn wir heb hitheu. a heuyt ef a lada6d | y mam i am tat. Ac yna y dywa6t y lly|goden arall. yn dilys ytti yr yr holl vyt | ny mynn6n i drigya6 yn y ry6 berigyl | h6nn6. Wrth hynny tric di gyt ath v6yt|eu blyssic. canys g6ell y6 gennyfi ffa | calet agra6n sychyon a d6fyr yn y meys|syd gan dilysr6yd heb perigyl no phob | ry6 ansa6d or a aller y vedylya6 yn y ry6 | enbeitr6yd a pherigyl h6nn. Megys y | dyweit y wers yn lladin Rodere malo fabam quam cura perpete rodi. Velly am per|sonyeit a bicarieit yr eglwys dr6y symo|niaeth ac usur yn buchedockau yn an|heil6ng pei synnynt ar pa veint berigyl | y maent yn ymborth 6ynt a vydynt | aflawen. Kanys ef a dywedir ar bot [bob] ta- | [fo. 520 = 521] meit or a b6rcasser yngham vot y kyth|reul megys y kath yn eisted yn bara6t | ylyngku y p6rcass6r. Ac am hynny g6ell | oed v6yta bara sych gan gytwybot da.

<sup>1</sup> De Mure domestica et silvestri vel campestri. Contra symaniacos (*sic*) et usurarios.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> et vix euasit in foramen. Ait Mus domesticus: Ecce, frater, quam bonos morsellos frequenter comedo, maneat mecum per aliquot dies.—Odo.

# [XX. Y GETHLYDD A'R BWRNED.<sup>1</sup>]

Anyan y gethlyd y6 dotwi a wna | my6n nyth y b6rnet. ac eisted a | wna y rederyn h6nn6 ar wy y gethlyd | megys yr eida6 e hun a chreu ederyn | ohona6. Ae vagu a wna yny vo ma6r a | chryf. A phan vo aeduet ef a chryf llyng|cu y vagma6dyr a wna. Ac velly y dieylch | ef y veithryn. Velly y mae llawer or | bobyf yn erbyn ac yn anhryon y g6n|ant dr6c ac anhirionr6yd yr rei ae ma|gassant ac a wnaethant udunt da yn | eu gwendyt ae tlodi. Ar rei hynny a | ellir eu kyffelybu y ederyn y gethlyd.

<sup>1</sup> De Cucula et Burneta. Contra illos qui insurgunt in suos beneficos.—Odo

[XXI. Y LLYFFANT A'I FAB.<sup>1</sup>]

Er aniuileit gynt a wnaethant | barlyment achônslî.<sup>2</sup> Ac yno yr | anuones y llyffant y vab. Ac o agkof a | thrabrys hebyrgofi y esgityeu a oruc y | mab gartref. Aphan weles y llyffant | yr esgityeu medylia6 a wnaeth p6y agaf | fei yn da y bedestric y d6yn y esgityeu y6 | vab. A medylia6 pany6 esguttaf oed yr | ysgyuarna6c ac y gallei hi yn da wneu | *thur* [fo. 520<sup>b</sup>=521<sup>b</sup>] y neges a d6yn y esgityeu newyd y vab | ef. A chyh6rdi ar ysgyuarnoc a oruc. ac a | da6 g6erth idi yr d6yn yr esgityeu yn | esgut y6 vab. Ac yna y dywa6t yr | ysgyuarna6c 6rth y llyffant. Pa de | l6 y gallafi adnabot dy vab di ymy6n | kynulleitua kymeint ac yssyd yno. | Yn wir ytti heb y llyffant y teccaf oll | ymplith y gynulleitua honno | h6nn6 y6 vy mab i. Paham heb yr ys | gyuarna6c ae y paun y6 dy vab di neu | y glomen. Nac ef yn wir heb ef kanys | traet hagyr dybryt yssyd yr paun a chic | du hagyr yssyd yr glomen. Ac yna y | dywa6t yr ysgyuarna6c. Pa ry6 dr6s | syant [yssyd ar] dy vab di. Y ry6 dr6ssyant a llun | a wely di arnafi. Yr un ffynyt benn a | chorff ac aelodeu ar meu inneu yssyd | *ym* mab i y teccaf oll y6 h6nn6 ida6 ef | dyro di yr esgityeu &c. Edrych di y | tracharyat a oed gantha6 ef ar y vab | gan debygu y vot ef yn deccaf yr y vot | yn hacraf oll ac yn anffurueidyaf.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Filio Bufonis et Sotularibus. Contra falsum iudicium rationis ex affectione.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> Celebrauerunt concilium.—Odo.

<sup>3</sup> Venit Lepus cum sotularibus et narrauit Leoni et ceteris bestiis qualiter Bufo pre ceteris filium suum commendauit. Et ait Leo: *Ki Crapout etme, Lune li semble.* Si quis amat Ranam, Ranam putat esse Dianam.—Odo.

[XXII. Y GATH A'R LLYGODEN.<sup>1</sup>]

Me6n ffreutur myneich gynt | ydoed wracath ma6r rac llygot | yn gorchad6. a h6nn6 a daroed ida6 di- [fo. 521=522] | nustyr y llygot oll dyeithyr un ormes | o hen lygoden ystry6gar a oed yn ymgad6 | raedi. Ac yn hynny medylia6 a oruc y cath | pa vod y kaffei daly y llygoden honno ae | dinustyr. a medylia6 keluydyt ne6yd | nyt amgen peri gwneuthur abit mynach | ida6 ac eilla6 y varyf ae gorun. Ac eisted | ymplith y myneich. a b6yta ac yfet a | oruc. Ac yn hynny dyuot a wnaeth y | llygoden yr ffreutur a disg6yl a welei dim | y6rth y cath. A phryt nas g6elei llawen | a hyfryt vu a rody a6 a wnaeth dan y | byrdeu a chynnull y b6yt yn diofyn ac | ordiwed dynessau a oruc tu ar lle yr oed | y cath yn eisted. A g6edy y hirodef nys | ga6ei y anyan ida6 a vei h6y neita6 a oruc | a daly y llygoden yn ffest ac yn gadarn. | Ac yna y dywa6t y llygoden Paham y | dely di vyui. Pa ry6 greulonder a6ney | a mi. Ponyt mynach 6yt ti. ag6r

e|gl6yssid. Yna ydywa6t y cath. Yn wir | ytti yr daet  
ypregethych ny dienghy | yn diboen kanys pan vynn6yfi mi a |  
vydaf vynach. Aphryt nas mynn6yf | mi a vydaf gath.<sup>2</sup> &c.  
Dealle[d] y darllea6dyr.

<sup>1</sup> De Cato qui se fecit monachum. Contra ambientes honores et  
beneficia et dignitates, etc.—Odo.

<sup>2</sup> quando volo, sum monachus, quando uolo sum canonic[h]us. Et  
deuorauit Ratum.

## TRANSLATION.

## [I. THE CROW AND THE BORROWED PLUMES.]

[fo. 509<sup>b</sup>.] *Aperiam in parabolis os meum loquar propositiones.* The crow once upon a time beheld itself ugly and poorly clad, and it came to the eagle to complain thereof. And the eagle commanded it to go to borrow plumes from various birds. And this it did, taking of the wings of the peacock, and of the pinions of the dove, and from other birds according to its own wish. And when it was magnificent with all such kind of plumes, it began to mock and to caw and to call to all the birds. Thus it was that the birds came to complain to the eagle against the crow. And the eagle then said: "Let each bird take its feathers from it, and so shall it be humbled." And this they did, and they left the crow ugly [and] unshapely as it had been before. So with regard to a wretched necessitous man who may be proud of his ornament and his clothes and his apparel. Let the sheep take its wool and the earth its flax, and the oxen and other animals their hides, and so he remains a wretched man, shamefully unadorned. And then, of all the power and the worldly wealth, when the end of his lifetime and [fo. 510] death shall come at last, nought shall follow him, of his worldly riches, except a poor shroud, into the earth. This is a fable and an example against the powerful, worldly, wealthy ones, and especially those who confide in the multitude of their riches, with no other God to them than such. As it is said in Latin, *Qui in multitudine diuitiarum suarum gloriantur.* And then when almighty God take away their wealth from them, they also shall be humbled completely, &c.

## [II. THE MOLE AND THE EAGLE.]

The mole was once upon a time burrowing in the ground, and then the desire came unto it to see mountains and hills and trees and valleys and rivers. And so it ascended above the soil, and prayed the eagle to raise it unto the sky to obtain a view of the world. And this the eagle did. And when it was in the height of the sky, the eagle said to it: "Dost thou now behold what thou hast never seen, mountains, trees, valleys and rivers?" "I behold," it said, "yet would I prefer to be in my hiding-place in the ground, [fo. 510<sup>b</sup>] and in my own haunt." And then the eagle dropped it to earth, and in that fall it was shattered. So, where a poor one be envious, he will not be content with any of that which God has given him, but will desire to ascend on the wings of the wind, and will beg of the eagle, that is, the devil, to raise him into wealth and riches. And when he considers his



state in that height to be dangerous, he would prefer to be in poverty unconcerned as he was before, lest, at the hour of death, the devil drop him so that he fall into the pit of hell, whence there is no escape, but endless torment, from which may God protect us. Amen.

### [III. ST. MARTIN'S BIRD.]

A certain bird is called St. Martin's Bird, and it is small, resembling a wren, which is called the flea of the oak. And it has long legs. And on one occasion, about St. Martin's Day, it was walking along the stem of an oak, the sun being bright, and, looking at its [own] legs, it said, "Ah! what might! If all the sky were now to fall to earth, I could support it altogether upon my two legs." And whilst it was thus admiring itself, through the excitation of the wind, [fo. 511] one of the withered leaves fell from the summit of the tree towards the ground. And when he heard that stir, through exceeding great fear and trembling, he uttered a loud cry, saying: "Ah, good God and St. Martin, help your innocent bird." Thus, verily, are many of the people now, in the time [of success] they believe, and in the time of trial they recede. As it is said: *Qui ad tempus credunt et in tempore temptationis recedunt*. As Peter did once when he said of Jesus, that neither on account of prison nor of death would he forsake him, and that he would deny him not, and yet, when he beheld the abusing of Christ and the torturing of him, he denied him to his face. And as the Psalm says, *Filii effreyrn intendentes et mittentes arcum suum conuersi sunt in die belli*. This also may be likened to many of the knights and rich men, when they be around the fire drinking the strong wine and the ale, they say that one of them would not be [lacking] against four of the French in fighting. Yet, at morning, when they come into the field, and behold their enemies in arms, and the lances keenly facing them, then they say [fo. 511<sup>b</sup>] like the bird above, "God and St. Martin," ut supra.

### [IV. THE WOLF MADE MONK.]

The wolf one time wished to be made a monk, and through great pursuit and entreaty, this was granted him. And he was tonsured, and a habit made [for him], and he was placed to learn his prayers. And it happened that he still sang, a lamb or a wether, a lamb or a wether. Thereby he was commanded to look at the image of the cross. And it was at the sheep that he looked. So, the monks at this time, when they ought piously and worthily to perform their holy offices, they look at the sheep—and those are the beautiful women and the sweet wine and the delicious fruits—and at such wanton things, completely neglecting their rules and their religion. As it is said in English, *þey þo þan wold hor wwlff hode to prest euer bath hes wiles at þe wode*.

## [V. THE BEETLE AND THE DUNGHILL.]

The beetle once flew into an orchard where there were diverse plants and noble fruits and red roses and white ones, and lilies and fennel. And then he alighted in a dunghill where there were much horse refuse and cow dung. [fo. 512] And there he found his mate. And she asked her husband where he had been. He answered, "I have encircled the earth, and have wandered about in many fair, magnificent places, amidst diverse sweet-smelling plants and delicious fruits, yet have I never seen a place as pleasant and quiet as this," speaking of the dunghill. So, many of the monks and scholars and laymen, when they read, or when they hear the reading of the lives of saints, or other fruitful, praiseworthy stories, for the increase of wisdom and the feeding of the soul by means of them, all this will be useless for them, unless in taverns they may procure conversation with prostitutes, jesting, and the hearing of empty minstrelsy and dissolute songs, to the decrease of wisdom, and to the increase of sin and the inviting of the devil, who is wholly a vile dunghill and stinking filth, as succour, instead of the angel of light.

## [VI. THE EAGLE AND THE CROW.]

The eagle once sickened with a complaint of the eyes, and called to himself the crow, who is called the bird's physician. And he asked the crow what [fo. 512<sup>b</sup>] he would advice concerning his disease. And the crow said: "I shall make thee a plaster which will make thee well." And the eagle said: "If thou do that, I shall pay thee truly for thy labour." And the crow went and took tallow and asperge and pounded them together and placed them on the eyes of the eagle. And thereby he lost utterly [the sight of] his eyes. And then the crow went and killed the young of the eagle and devoured them; and then came and beat the eagle and wounded him. And then the eagle said: "O, cursed be thou and thy remedy! First of all thou didst destroy me, and then didst destroy my sons. And now, thou dost afflict me with frequent strokes." Then the crow replied: "Yes," said he, "so long as thou didst see, I dared not to meddle with thy sons, yet, I desired it and wished to do it often. And now I have got my will and my pleasure." And he, the eagle above, is the prelate of the Church and the keeper of souls, with his eyes open, preserving his sons, none other than the faith [belief] which God commanded to be kept eternally wise. The crow is the devil, [fo. 513] lusting for the birds through deceiving the souls of the common people. Yet, while the wise and skillful prelate have his eyes open, keeping the fold, the devil dare not oppress them or meddle with them. What the devil then does is to devise a remedy, none other than

to make a plaster of a multitude and abundance of worldly riches, and to place it on the eyes of the prelate to stop his eyes from regarding spiritual things and heavenly deeds and wise sermons as the remedy of souls, giving him large rents and courts and magnificent palaces, and great steeds and oxen and sheep, and diverse other animals besides, and so to blind his spiritual sight, and to destroy his birds and to devour them. And then to afflict himself and to weary him with the keeping of the wealth and contending for it without rest. And at last to torment him eternally in the endless torment, unless God prevent it.

#### [VII. THE SOW AND THE DREGS.]

The lion once made a feast, and invited all the animals to that feast. And there they obtained diverse foods and [fo. 513<sup>b</sup>] drinks, liberally. And when the feast was over, all went towards their homes. And when the wolf was going through a fortress towards his home, he beheld the sow devouring lees and dregs in the road. And she asked the wolf where he was coming from. And he replied that he was coming from the royal feast of the lion. "And why," said he, "hast thou not been there?" "What," said she, "was to be got there? Were there dregs?" "Hush!" said he, "cursed be thou! Is it proper that there should be, at the feast of one so noble, such unworthy food?" Thus many of the people, although they hear learning and great wisdom, they will give nought for that, unless they find dregs, which are adultery, idleness, carnal desire, as Hosea says in the third [chapter] "*Respiciunt ad deos alienos et diligunt vinacia uvarum.*" Which is corruption and sin.

#### [VIII. THE FOX AND THE SAILOR.]

The fox once would have himself taken over the sea, and came to the sailor, and entreated him, for the payment of his labour, to take him over. And the sailor . . . .

[Conclusion missing.]

#### [IX. THE FOX AND THE CAT.]

[Beginning missing].

[fo. 514=515] . . and Reynard said: "Do thou have no anxiety, I shall show thee well enough how thou mayst escape from them." And hurriedly, behold the huntsman and his dogs close to them pursuing them eagerly. And then Reynard [i.e., Tibergus] said to Tibergus [i.e., Reynard], "Verily, I shall no longer follow thee, I shall practise my own art." And speedily, he leapt into a

tall oak and climbed to its summit, and then looked around. And then in the place, behold the hounds, without attending to the cat, but pursuing Reynard and without delay catching him, some of them by his head, others by his neck, others by his back. And thus, they rent him between them. And then Tibergus said at the top of his voice: "Reynard, Reynard, open thy wallet; verily, all thy arts will not avail thee any more." The cat symbolizes the modest, guileless, inoffensive ones, who have only one art, that is to believe in the true God and to live a guileless life in this world to the end of their life and [till] death, and then to heaven to have life eternal, sine fine. And Reynard the Fox symbolises the dishonest lawyers and [fo. 514<sup>b</sup>=515<sup>b</sup>] the false advocates and the lying deceitful physicians, and the unjust judges, who know sixteen dishonest arts, also a wallet-ful of them. Yet when come the huntsman and his hounds, that is to say death, with hell-hounds to pursue and to catch them and to plunge them in hell without their being able to oppose them, then the faithful, honest, guileless one shall be in the height of heaven in security, with the angels, looking at the devils tormenting (?) them. And then he shall say: "Reynard, Reynard, open thy wallet; verily, all thy cunning and thy arts can no more free thee from the teeth and talons and prongs of the devils."

#### [X. THE CROW AND THE DOVE.]

The crow once took one of the young of the dove by force from her to her own nest. And the dove pursued her there and entreated her to restore her young again. And then said the crow: "Canst thou sing?" "I can," said the dove, "but that the manner of it is not very good." "Do thou then sing," said the crow. And the dove sang, as she could. Then the crow said: "Sing better, or verily, thou shalt not have [fo. 515=516] thy young." And the dove said: "I cannot and I have not the skill to sing better." "For that reason," said the crow, "thou shalt not have thy young." And speedily the crow and her mate devoured the young bird. Thus the tyrannous rich and the evil officials oppress the modest, guileless ones, taking their oxen and their innocents, and their worldly goods besides, which God would give them to maintain themselves upon. And when that guileless one comes to beg for his own property, offering threescore or fourscore to him, then says he: "Ha, brother, dost thou not know how to sing better?" Then the honest poor one says: "No, in truth, and I cannot, for I am but poor and necessitous, and I am giving more, God knows, than I am able to." Then the tyrannous rich one or the evil official says: "Go thou home, for verily, thou shalt have nought of that which I have of thine." And so, he takes his own from him and destroys him as well.



## [XI. THE SHEEP AND THE WOLF.]

The sheep once came to complain to the lion against the wolf, and said that by force and by stealth he was [fo. 515<sup>b</sup>=516<sup>b</sup>] killing and taking their children and comrades. And then, the lion summoned his council to him, and amidst the animals, the lion asked the pigs why they allowed the wolf to be amongst them, he being a thief and a ravager. And then the pigs replied: "Lord king," they said, "the wolf is a generous, courteous animal." And that they said because, when the wolf killed the sheep and the lambs, he invited the pigs to eat their portion of his prey. And then the lion said: "It is not so the sheep say. Let them be heard now." And then one of the sheep said: "Lord king, the wolf killed my mother and my father and also killed one of my children, and it was barely that I escaped myself." And so all the sheep said. And then the lion said: "And I shall now give judgment. Let the wolf be hanged for his theft and his rapine, and the pigs along with him because of their agreement and their support through deceit and iniquity." And that was done. Let the reader understand.

## [XII. THE MOUSE AND THE FROG.]

The mouse once wished to cross a river, and when it was [fo. 516=517] on the edge of the river, it saw a small frog between the water and the brink. And it saluted and entreated the frog to assist it over if it could. And the frog said: "Come forward and bind thyself to one of my feet, and I shall swim with thee over." And the mouse did so. And when they were about half way over, a kite discovered them and made a dash and snatched them both and took them with him. So, in the same manner, when livings and great possessions and the cure of souls are given to a foolish, ignorant, unworthy one, the devil comes to snatch both, that is, the keeper and the community, unless God save and protect them.

## [XIII. THE CAT AND THE CHEESE.]

There was once a man, who perceived the trace of a plague of a rat eating and destroying his cheese in his chest. And he took a big he-cat which he had and put it in the chest with the intention of protecting the cheese. And the cat killed the rat and ate up all the cheese. In the selfsame manner, the bishops give the cure of souls and spiritual power to diverse priests, and they set a cruel, wealthy archdeacon [fo. 516<sup>b</sup>=517<sup>b</sup>] above them, to destroy the priests and the parishioners altogether.

## [XIV. THE EAGLE AND ITS YOUNG.]

The nature of the eagle is [this], when he has young birds and when they are sufficiently old, he raises them above his nest to look at the sun, and the bird which, by reason of its strength, may be able to look in face of the sun, he will keep and foster; and that which is unable, he casts it out of the nest to perish. Thus the Lord God has sons in the Catholic Church here; those whom he perceives to be worthy in divine service and spiritual goodness, he fosters and keeps with him; and the unworthy ones who devote themselves to earthly things, despising divine matters, he casts into the utter darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth.

## [XV. THE MOUSE AND THE CAT.]

There was once a mouse walking in a wine tavern, and through an evil accident it fell into a pool of the wine near the tuns. And there it fell a-crying and wailing. And at the cry the cat came speedily, and asked why [fo. 517=518] it was crying so. And the mouse said: "Because I am in danger of my life, and that I cannot free myself without help." Then the cat said: "What wilt thou give me for releasing thee and taking thee out?" And the mouse said: "Whatever thou mayst demand, that I shall do." "If thou wouldst that I should assist thee now, I will that thou shouldst come to me when I may first call thee." "And that I shall joyfully do," said the mouse. "Give thy oath upon that," said the cat. And the mouse gave its oath that it would do whatever the cat wished. And then the cat extended its claw and pulled the mouse out of the pool and released it to run along. And upon one occasion, when the cat was walking about in great hunger, the pact with the mouse came to its mind, and it said from the outside at the top of its voice: "Thou mouse, come here to me for an errand." "Who art thou?" said the mouse. "I am the cat," it replied. "I shall not come, I swear by God," said the mouse. "Why?" said the cat, "didst thou not take thy oath that thou wouldst come [fo. 517<sup>b</sup>=518<sup>b</sup>] to me when I should call thee?" "Yes," said the mouse, "I was drunk then, and therefore I shall not keep my promise now." Thus, now, many of the people, when they are ill or in danger, they promise to improve their lives, and that they shall never commit wrong against God or man. Yet, when they escape therefrom, they will keep nought of their promise, saying, "Yes, I was at that time in danger, and therefore I shall not fulfil." As it is said of some sailor who was on a rough voyage and in danger of his life. And he promised to God, in return for his protection, that he would be

a good man while he lived. And when he came to land and on safe ground, he said : "Aha ! Jesus, I have indeed deceived thee now. I shall not yet be a good man."

[XVI. THE KITE AND THE PARTRIDGES.]

A kite once looked at its limbs and beak and talons and said : "Am I not as strong and as powerful of body and limbs as the hawk? Why should not I also kill partridges as he does?" And at that he beheld a large number [fo. 518=519] of partridges, and made a rush at them and caught one in his beak, and two under his two wings, and two under his two feet. And then, because he could not hold them all, he lost them all. As it is said in Latin : *Qui totum cupit totum perdit*. And for that reason he never more laboured to try to catch partridges. Thus, &c.

[XVII. THE FOX AND THE COCK.]

A fox once came into the hen house near a gentleman's court, and a rumour was heard of his coming there. And then servants from the court came out, and caught him and mauled him until he was nearly dead. And by accident he escaped between post and gate, and as best he could, fled until he came into a meadow. And there, in a heap of hay, he lay down and bemoaned his wounds. And his mate came to him there, and he commanded her to fetch the priest to him, so that he might confess his sins before dying. And she fetched the friar of the flies, that is, the cock, for he is the chaplain of the animals and the birds. And when he came where he could see the fox, he became afraid, knowing his evil ways. And from afar he ordered him [fo. 518<sup>b</sup>—519<sup>b</sup>] to make his confession. And the fox did so, and at that extended his head towards the cock. "Why dost thou draw near to me?" said the cock. "Over great pain causes me to do so," said the fox, "do thou forgive me." And then he confessed further. And when he saw his opportunity, treacherously he leapt at the cock and caught and ate him. Let the reader understand.

[XVIII. THE GNAT AND THE SPIDER.]

The gnat was once flying and humming by the side of a wall, and she beheld the spider in his den at rest. And she said to him : "Nought can be done with thee, for I would in one day fly further than thou couldst walk in ten days." "Thou wouldst not, I wager thee," said the spider. "And I accept," she replied. "But besides," said the spider, "we shall first drink the wine, and then, whichever of us may lose, let him pay for it." "Let it be so," said the gnat. "Wait a bit," said the spider, "I shall make a curtain magnificently to surround us, and within it we shall sit and drink the wine." "Do thou," said she. And then

the spider wove his web, and when it was ready he called the gnat to him. And she went. And [fo. 519=520] as soon as she touched the web, her feet and wings stuck to it. And she struggled, seeking to free herself therefrom, but could not. And then the gnat said: "Cursed be this kind of curtain, for I cannot come out of it." And then the spider said: "Verily, thou shalt never get out of it alive." And he made a rush at her, and cut off her head. At hic cortinus est mulier pulchra.

[XIX. THE DOMESTIC MOUSE AND THE FIELD MOUSE.]

A domestic mouse once met with a field mouse, and asked it what kind of food it got in the fields. And it said that sometimes it got hard beans and at other times, dry grain. Then the house mouse said: "Thy fare is hard and poor, and it is a wonder that thou art alive in spite of hunger." And then the field mouse asked it: "And what kind of food dost thou get?" "Indeed, the best and the richest and sweetest of the best meat and of the best white bread and the softest cheese. And do thou come home with me this night." And so they went. And when they were thus together, they beheld the laying of tables and the bringing of plenty of foods and drinks. Then they saw crumbs of white bread falling from the tables. And the house mouse said [fo. 519<sup>b</sup>=520<sup>b</sup>] to the other: "Leap over there, thou seest what food there is for thee, if thou wouldst have it." And the field mouse came out of its hiding-place, and got a morsel of the white bread. And quickly, the cat leapt upon it and almost caught it. And it was barely that it escaped into its lair. And it said to its comrade: "Hast thou always this kind of company, seeking thy destruction?" "Yes, verily," replied the other, "and besides, it slew my mother and my father." Then said the other mouse: "Truly I tell thee, I would not for the whole world dwell in that kind of danger. Therefore, dwell thou with thy savoury foods, for I prefer hard beans and dry grain in the fields, with security and without danger, to all kinds of preparations imaginable in such jeopardy and danger as this." As the Latin verse says, "*Rodere malo fabam quam cura perpetere rodi.*" Thus, concerning the clergy and vicars of the Church who, through simony and usury, live unworthily, if they were to consider what amount of danger they bear, they would be cheerless. For it is said of every morsel [fo. 520=521] which is unjustly purchased that the devil sits like a cat ready to devour the purchaser. And for that reason, it were better to eat dry bread with a good conscience.

[XX. THE CUCKOO AND THE BURNET.]

The nature of the cuckoo is that it lays its egg in the nest of the burnet, and that bird sits upon its egg as upon its own and



hatches a bird therefrom. And it rears the bird until it become big and strong. And when it is mature and strong, it devours its nurturer, and so it repays its nourishing. Thus are many of the people contrary, and callously they practise evil and cruelty to those who have nurtured them and who have done them good in their weakness and poverty. And those may be compared to the young of the cuckoo.

### [XXI. THE TOAD AND HIS SON.]

The animals formerly made a parliament and council, and there the toad sent his son. And through forgetfulness and great haste, the son forgot his boots and [left them] at home. And when the toad saw the boots, he considered whom he might have able to walk well to take the boots to his son. And he thought that the hare would be the swiftest, and that she could well fulfil [fo. 520<sup>b</sup> = 521<sup>b</sup>] the office and bring the boots quickly to his son. And he met with the hare, and promised her payment for taking the boots quickly to his son. And then the hare said to the toad: "How can I recognize thy son in such a multitude?" "Truly I tell thee," said the toad, "the fairest of all in that multitude, he will be my son." "Why," said the hare, "is thy son the peacock or the dove?" "Verily, no," said he, "for the peacock has unsightly, deformed feet, and the dove has black, unsightly flesh." And then the hare said: "What kind of apparel is thy son's?" "The same kind of apparel and form as thou seest upon me; my son has the same description of head and body and limbs. He is the fairest of all, to him shalt thou give the boots." Consider thou the great love he bore his son, supposing him to be the fairest, although he is the ugliest of all and the most deformed. &c.

### [XXII. THE CAT AND THE MOUSE.]

In a friary of monks formerly there was a big he-cat guarding against mice, and he had [fo. 521 = 522] destroyed all the mice, excepting one plague of a mouse, old and crafty, which was able to avoid him. Hence the cat considered how he might catch and destroy that mouse. And he invented a new device, that is, he caused a monk's habit to be made for him, and his beard and the crown of his head to be shaved. And he sat among the monks and ate and drank. And then the mouse came into the friary to look whether he could see anything of the cat, and seeing nought of him, he was merry and delighted, and walked about under the tables, and gathered the food which was falling. And at last he came near to the place where the cat was sitting. And after long

endurance, so that his nature would no longer allow him, he leapt and caught the mouse quickly and firmly. Then the mouse said : " Why dost thou catch me? What cruelty wouldst thou do to me? Art thou not a monk and an ecclesiastic? " Then the cat said : " Verily, I tell thee, however well thou mayest preach, thou shalt not escape easily, for when I desire I shall be a monk, and when I desire it not I shall be a cat." &c. Let the reader understand.

T. GWYNN JONES.







# TRAJANO BOCCALINI'S

## "RAGGUAGLI DI PARNASO" AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON ENGLISH LITERATURE.

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To many students of English literature, Trajano Boccalini, the celebrated Italian satirist, is scarcely more than a name, and little is known either of his literary work or of its influence upon English literature. It is true that modern critics have acknowledged his importance in the history and development of English criticism, but only by way of a general comment upon the probable direction of his influence. Thus both Spingarn and Saintsbury refer to the extraordinary impression created by his '*Ragguagli*,' and remark upon its effect, not only upon the form of criticism, but also upon the development of the essay and the finished periodical of the early eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

To trace the nature and extent of this impression is, therefore, the aim of the following essay, and with this end in view it is proposed, after the translations have been enumerated, to deal with the influence of the '*Ragguagli di Parnaso*' upon (a) the literary subject-matter, (b) the literary form of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

This, however, can be accomplished only when we have acquainted ourselves with the personality and works of this comparatively unknown author.

### I. LIFE AND WORKS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE "RAGGUAGLI."

TRAJANO BOCCALINI was born in Loreto in the year 1556. Here his father, Giovanni Boccalini, a papal official, held the position of architect to the "Santa Casa," the legendary birthplace of the Virgin Mary, which, according to tradition 'had been transported by the angels into the vicinity of Loreto in order to dissipate the

<sup>1</sup> } Saintsbury: '*History of Criticism*' 1902. Vol. II. 330.  
} Spingarn: '*Critical Essays*' 1908. Vol. I. xxiii. ff.

power of unbelievers.' Giovanni, a native of Carpi, who attained to this position shortly before Trajano's birth, owed his advancement to the influence of his fellow-countryman, Cardinal Ridolfo Pio, but in spite of this patronage, the family appears to have been in needy circumstances, and Trajano, whose tastes were literary, was obliged to adopt his father's profession. He himself complains that he was past his first youth ere he was able to indulge his tastes for the higher branches of study, and that even when he succeeded in pursuing such studies, his efforts were ever accompanied by incessant toil for a livelihood.

After terms of study at Bologna and Padua, he proceeded to Rome, where he applied himself to the study of law: that he also devoted much time to literature is clearly evident from his works. The exact date of his arrival in Rome is not known; it is certain, however, that in 1583, three years after his father's death, he was a student at Padua, and it is also beyond doubt that he studied in Rome under the Dutch philologist Muretus, who died in 1585, so that it would appear that he arrived in Rome during the intervening period 1583-5. More definite evidence, however, is supplied by the document, which records his marriage with Ersilia Ghislieri in Rome in 1584, and this is the year that is usually regarded as the date of an important change in his career. Boccacini was henceforth so closely identified with his adopted city, that he frequently referred to himself as a Roman, with the result that he alone is responsible for the prevailing misconception that Rome was his birthplace.

There can be no doubt that it was to the period which followed this marriage that he referred when he wrote in his '*Commentarii sopra Cornelio Tacito*'<sup>1</sup> that it was only with the utmost endeavour that he was able to maintain his family. His poverty would thus account for the employment of his leisure hours as a private instructor, an occupation, which in due course brought him both honour and fame, for Cardinal Bentivoglio, who in his memoirs describes him as his Geography tutor, declares him to be the world's greatest authority on Tacitus.

Introduced to the notice of Pope Gregory XII., he was appointed in 1591 Governor of Benevento, where he was not entirely successful. Notwithstanding this failure, Clement VIII., when he ascended the papal throne, extended his patronage to Boccacini,

<sup>1</sup> '*Bilancia politica di tutte le opere di Tr. Boccacini.*' Castellana, 1678, I. 124.

who was now appointed legal officer in the Governor's Tribunal in Rome. Here again we read of complaints concerning his administration, while he himself speaks of this office with little enthusiasm. His brilliant talents and wide culture, however, won him success and acquired for him the friendship of such powerful patrons as the Cardinals Caetani and Borghesi.

During the papacy of Paul V. (1605) sympathy with Spanish policy and domination was revived at the Vatican, and when the Pope, in attempting to extend the temporal power of the Church, became involved in a quarrel with Boccalini's well-beloved free state of Venice, he could no longer refrain from expressing his dissatisfaction with the papal policy. He began at this period to display his repugnance towards this type of Church government and his hatred of the Spanish domination in humorous but biting satires, which resulted towards the close of his stay in Rome in the '*Ragguagli di Parnaso*' and the '*Pietra del Paragone Politico*.' These satires, distributed in manuscript among his friends and patrons did not remain unseen by the spying eyes of the Inquisition, and Boccalini, who, during the last three years had held appointments as Governor in Argenta, Matelica and Sassoferrato (1608-1611), deemed it wise once again to change his place of abode. Rather than risk the hate of the Spaniards, he retired in 1612 to Venice, where he hoped to find the security Rome could no longer offer him. For a short while he enjoyed the hospitality of this state, but he could not escape his fate. Scarcely had he published the '*Ragguagli*,' when on November 16th, 1613, he died, ere he had completed what he considered to be his life-work—'*The Commentary on Tacitus*.' There is not complete agreement as to the manner of his death; the oft-repeated story that he was sand-bagged to death by ruffians in Spanish pay is without foundation. The register of Santa Maria Formosa in Venice attributes his death to "*dolore colic et febre*," but it is now generally accepted that he died of poison administered by sympathizers with the Spanish cause.

To Boccalini's literary activity only passing reference has been made; we must, therefore, now turn to the work which is by far the most important in connection with his influence on English literature—'*I Ragguagli di Parnaso*' or '*Advertisements from Parnassus*.'

The aim of these satires is, in Boccalini's own words, 'to couch important politick affairs and choice moral precepts under metaphors and jesting tales (a new invention).' In the 'Dedication' to the First Century, he asserts more definitely that he proposes to utter in humorous fashion truths concerning the passions and customs of mankind and the endeavours and activities of princes. The work consists of a series of two hundred dispatches, written in 'relation' form at the court of Apollo on Parnassus, where the god is surrounded by the Muses and his court, consisting of the eminent men of all ages and nations, a brilliant assembly of emperors and queens, generals and statesmen, philosophers and poets, historians and reformers. Among the *Virtuosi*—to name only a few of the Ancients—are found the seven wise men of Greece, the philosophers Plato and Aristotle, the historians Livy and Tacitus, the poets Vergil and Horace and the warriors Caesar and Brutus. With these mingle a vast crowd of the distinguished personages of mediaeval and modern Italy as well as a great number of the select of all periods drawn from every country in Europe.

Parnassus is represented as a highly organised city, over which the benign but despotic Apollo holds absolute sway, while Boccalini himself assumes the important role of gazetteer or 'menante' and thus reports the occurrences and events of that fantastic region. His imaginary kingdom is portrayed in great detail. We are introduced into a realm renowned for its schools, colleges and academies and possessed of all the machinery of administration; like all civilised kingdoms it has its regal councils, its magistracies and its prisons, its well-trained naval and military guards, and its legions of 'satirical poets.'

Its activities, also, are many and varied. At the command of Apollo, festivals and carnivals are arranged for the amusement of the citizens, and plays and imposing spectacles presented at the main theatre. Special days are set apart for mourning or dedicated to the commemoration of important occurrences in the history of the kingdom, while frequently times are appointed for the imposing function of hearing the claims of those who seek admission into Parnassus, or of those who desire the gift of immortality at the hands of the all-powerful monarch.



With the aid of his officials and their tribunals, Apollo holds judgment upon the manifold activities of earth and treats the questions that pertain to the administration of Parnassus. Here all proposals are examined and affairs of general policy settled; arguments and disputations are conducted before the god, matters of dispute and complaint adjusted and punishment meted out to delinquents and evil-doers. In short, the affairs treated in the councils of Parnassus include the whole sphere of political and literary activity and embrace all interests of contemporary life.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate their variety and scope. The princes of the world, on presenting themselves before Apollo's throne to complain that 'by reason of their subjects' hainous infidelity they are forced to forego the government of mankind,' receive as their only satisfaction the god's advice to rule justly and mercifully, and not to abuse the loyalty of their subjects by regarding it as the 'baseness of an abject mind.'<sup>1</sup>

On another occasion, in order to encourage the senators of free countries 'to cultivate liberty without affecting tyranny,' Apollo orders the terrible consequences of Caesar's 'inordinate ambition' to be displayed in Melpomene's theatre, where would-be tyrants are horrified by the murders and assassinations, which befell Caesar and all his family.<sup>2</sup>

It is noticeable that in his treatment of political affairs, Boccalini ever shows preference for the government of free states and holds up that of Venice as the pattern to be followed by the whole world. A goodly number of advertisements are thus devoted to praise of the Venetian Commonwealth. An interesting illustration is found in '*Ragguagli*' I.5., a passage describing a learned discussion as to which was the best political law in the flourishing Commonwealth of Venice. After a lengthy discussion, 'that most excellent lady, the Venetian Liberty,' who has been invited to arbitrate, applauds the opinion of Ermolao Barbaro that 'her pretious jewel' 'in which she so much gloried' was the secrecy of her two hundred and fifty senators; 'for secrecy,' she remarks, 'is no less necessary for the well-governing of states than good counsel.'

The politics of all the ages is reviewed by the author, but although the immediate subject may seem remote, in all cases the work is full of allusion to the conditions of his own time. Thus Caesar is made to tax Brutus with ingratitude merely in order to

1 Rag. I. 99; Rag I. 30.

2 Rag. I. 21.

elicit from the latter the explanation that tyranny must be fought with its own weapon, treachery ;<sup>1</sup> Theodoric the Great is refused admission into Parnassus, that Apollo may censure the encouragement of heresy by princes for temporal purposes,<sup>2</sup> while Machiavel is indicted and condemned for a seducer and corrupter of mankind just to allow the accused in his defence to state that the main responsibility lay not with him, but with the princes ' who invented these mad desperate policies.'<sup>3</sup>

Space allows of only passing reference to his frequent thrusts at the Spanish domination, his scathing satire on the irregularities of lawyers and politicians, his ironical schemes for the reformation of the world, themes which stand out among a mass of kindred subjects ; but a pause must be made to examine the literary aspects of the work. In this sphere, also, its scope is world-wide ; ancient, mediæval and modern *litterati* mingle together in a vast, fantastic gathering to provide the occasion for the utterance of ' choice politick precepts ' and appropriate critical dicta. His treatment of literary matters reveals him to be a man of great knowledge. He is well acquainted with the masters of literature, fully conversant with the great controversies of previous ages and above all is a man endowed with keen critical faculties. His sound sense and bold judgments earn for him from Addison the title ' that judicious author.' We must not, however, look to him for long critical discourses on the principles that underlie the art of poetry, but rather for practical hints and incidental judgments, uttered as occasion demands.

In the course of the daily routine of Parnassus Boccalini finds ample opportunity to air his critical beliefs. In '*Ragguagli*' I. 61 the occasion is a refusal by Juvenal to contend with Francisco Berni in satirical poetry. The author's opinion as to the principle which should underlie comparisons involved in such contests is well displayed in the explanation which Juvenal makes for his refusal, namely, ' that the excellency of satirical poetry consists not in having a bold wit, quick spirit, a detracting talent, in sharp bitter reparties, handsome sonnets and ready replies ; but in the condition of the times wherein men live.'

The rejection of Tasso's '*Gierusalemme Liberata*' by Castelvetro, the reformer of the library, because he ' had not therein observed the Rules of Poetry, published by Aristotle ' provides the

1 Rag. I. 71.

2 Rag. II. 13.

3 Rag. I. 89.

setting for a long speech by Apollo, in which he severely reprimands Aristotle for his impudence in publishing rules to be observed by his *Virtuosi*, whom he desired to be free. Aristotle is forced to confess 'that he had writ the rules of poetry, not in that sense in which it was understood by the ignorant, as if without observing his rules, no poem could possibly arrive at perfection, but that only to facilitate the art of poetry, he had showed the way, wherein the best poets had walked.'<sup>1</sup> Because of the 'newness of his conceptions, his easie vein and pleasant wit,' Tasso is accordingly at a later stage created Prince-Poet and Lord High Constable of Italian poetry.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the learned laconic, who is too verbose in his discourse, is condemned to read Guiccardini's tedious '*War of Pisa*,'<sup>3</sup> while the critic, who 'left the roses' to make an 'unuseful collection of the thorns or prickles' of the poem and presented Apollo with a censure of the poet, is condemned to sell the chaff of wheat throughout eternity.<sup>4</sup> Boccalini's advocacy of the criticism of beauties is also well set forth in Apollo's answer to Petrarch's commentator, 'who had endeavoured to shew the occasion of the sonnet' and the true signification of the words and conceit of the poet: 'for, for his (Apollo's) part, he loved those commentators, which discovered unto the reader the author's subtilty in weaving of his poem, who showed wherein the excellency of his verse lay which were his flourishes and which the other poetical beauties.'<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, the extensive nature of his literary studies is revealed in numerous sections, connected with literary history. Justus Lipsius, famous for his studies on Tacitus, a few days after his entrance into Parnassus appropriately accuses Boccalini's well-beloved author of impiety and consequently falls into disgrace, only to be readmitted into Apollo's favour, when he has made amends for his lapse by withdrawing the charge and acknowledging Tacitus to be the foundation of his own great fame.<sup>6</sup> Pico, Count of Mirandola, unable to reconcile satisfactorily the rival Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies advises Apollo to secure a date for public disputation between the two luminaries. Amid great pomp the discussion is opened only to end by leaving the differences unsettled and the audience highly delighted at the great display of wit and learning.<sup>7</sup> Nor are the historians omitted, for Apollo, learning of the many disorders which are found in History, summons a General

1 Rag. I. 38.      2 Rag. I. 59.      3 Rag. I. 6.      4 Rag. I. 100.

5 Rag. I. 35.      6 Rag. I. 23 and 68      7 Rag. II. 16 and 55.

Assembly of Historians and publishes a severe edict against them. Among the offenders are Julius Caesar and Guiccardini; in order that Boccalini may once more extol Venice, the latter is censured 'for having spoken amis of the Venetian Commonwealth which was called by the whole assembly the Sanctuary of the Vertuosi, the true Seat of perfect Liberty, the Glory of the Italian Nation.'<sup>1</sup>

It will thus be seen that the work is cast in a mock-heroic mould and takes the form of an allegorical comedy. Mary Augusta Scott aptly describes the work as a kind of '*Dunciad*,' full of lively satire on the lives and writings of famous Italians and his eminent contemporaries.<sup>2</sup> In spite of their bizarre mock-heroic form, the Advertisements are, thus, in the words of Mestica 'not only a work of art, but an historical picture and a biting satire.'<sup>3</sup> The author's touch is, however, light and playful; a vein of humorous irony pervades the whole piece, which is developed throughout with a brisk and vivacious movement. There is ever an air of roguery, even of rascality in the manner in which the gazetteer assembles upon the stage the various actors in this strange comedy and ridicules their foibles and follies. His striking literary and political judgments are skilfully interwoven with the amusing accounts of their various activities, so that the interest of the work is generally maintained. But the author is not always successful and the advertisements are inclined frequently to be monotonous; indeed, the obscurity of many of the hits causes them often to become tedious and tiresome to the modern reader, but to Boccalini's contemporaries and immediate successors who knew the force of every allusion and the point of every thrust they were undoubtedly brimful of interest.

The impression which the '*Ragguagli*' created must have been extraordinary. Published in two sections in Venice (1612-13), within 100 years it had run into close upon twenty editions and had given rise to an unusually large number of sequels, adaptations and imitations. This recognition was thoroughly merited, for Boccalini contributed something entirely new both to the form and content of literature. His ideas were so striking and original, his fiction so arresting that it was received by the public with great

1 Rag. I. 55.

2 Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. Vol. XIV. 521.

3 Giovanni Mestica: '*Traiano Boccalini e la letteratura critica e politica del Seicento*.' Florence, 1878, p. 41.



enthusiasm and the gazetteer of Parnassus succeeded in impressing the imagination not only of Italy but of the whole of Europe.

## II. THE INFLUENCE OF THE 'RAGGUAGLI' UPON ENGLISH LITERATURE.

THE '*Commentarii sopra Cornelio Tacito*' may be Boccacini's greatest work, but the most far-reaching in effect and importance is undoubtedly the '*Ragguagli di Parnaso*.' Its extraordinary influence upon European letters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is due without doubt in some measure to the absorbing interest of the subject-matter, but above all to the striking form in which the work appears. So picturesque a medium for political precept, criticism and satire could not fail to attract attention and inspire imitation, so that the '*Ragguagli*' was, within a short period, translated into all the languages of western Europe and very frequently imitated by Spanish, French, German and Dutch authors. This profound impression was no mere temporary rage, for translations and imitations followed one another in quick succession throughout the seventeenth century. Naturally the effect was not so immediate on this side of the English Channel, but there can be no doubt that the Italian's influence was also very considerable in England.

### (a) TRANSLATIONS.

THE translation of a work is not always conclusive proof of its influence, but a series of such occurring at frequent intervals in the course of a century is certainly a significant factor ; it is thus to the translations that we will first direct our attention.

A section of Boccacini's work was first translated by Sir William Vaughan. This English rendering of the unfinished political satire '*La Pietra del Paragone Politico*,' described in the advertisement as the composition of 'the famous Trajano Boccacini' was published in 1626 under the title :

*'The New-Found Politicke . . . wherein the Governments, Greatnesse and Power of the most notable Kingdomes are discovered and censured. Together with many excellent Caveats and Rules fit to be observed by the Princes and States . . . which have reason to distrust the designs of the King of Spain . . . translated into English. London. F. Williams, 1626.'*

The same year saw a virtual translation<sup>1</sup> by the same author of 'Ragguagli' i. 77, which describes the proposals of the congregation instituted by Apollo for the reformation of the world. The translation is followed by Vaughan's sequel, in which Boccalini is made to accuse 'these reformers for their hypocritical suggestions and conspiracies against the sacred honour of Apollo in setting out proclamations only to please fools . . . whereas their office and charge was to see a general Reformation of all the most notorious vices which affected the Generation of Humankind.' This 'translation-adaptation' is embodied in 'The Golden Fleece,' a work which we shall have to note later as a most remarkable imitation.

Thirty years later appeared the first complete translation by Henry Cary, Earl of Monmouth.

'*I Ragguagli di Parnaso or Advertisements from Parnassus . . . With the Politick Touchstone; Written originally in Italian by that famous Roman Trajano Boccalini. 1657.*'

This translation, reprinted in 1669 and 1674, appeared in 1706 in a further edition, 'revised and corrected' by John Hughes. With reference to this edition, Dr. Johnson<sup>2</sup> remarks that though Boccalini was 'introduced by such strong recommendation' the Italian had but few readers. Such a reference from the greatest literary scholar of the eighteenth century is at least interesting, although to judge from the number of translations and from the allusions to him in the criticisms and writings of that age, it would appear to be somewhat strange.

In 1704, however, there had appeared a translation by yet another hand.

'*Advertisements from Parnassus . . . newly done into English and adapted to the present time, together with the author's Politick-Touchstone, his Secretaria di Apollo<sup>3</sup> and an account of his life by N.N. 1704.*'

This is undoubtedly the translation to which Swift refers in the 'Address to the Reader' which is prefaced to the 'Tale of a Tub.' He complains of the appearance of a surreptitious copy, which 'had been polished or refined or, as our present authors express themselves, fitted to the humour of the age' as they had already done 'with great felicity to Don Quixotte, Boccalini, La Bruyère and

1 William Vaughan: 'The Golden Fleece' 1626.

2 See Chalmers' 'Lives of the Poets' Vol. X. 4.

3 The 'Secretaria di Apollo,' published anonymously in 1653 is now attributed to Antonio Santacroce, one of Boccalini's Italian imitators.

other authors.' That Boccalini is grouped with such distinguished writers and not assigned a place among the other authors is surely significant testimony of our author's popularity at that time. An interesting tribute to his writings is found also in the advertisement to the '*Secretaria di Apollo*.' 'Twere impertinent' writes the author, 'to tell you this is another piece of that famous Boccalini, whose name you have already seen in the title-page. Yet when I have said this, 'tis the greatest applause that I can give it; for to attempt his character, who has so far excelled all mankind were to betray my own want of expression and do injustice to the man, whose picture can only be viewed in his own letters and advertisements. This author's writings have always been admired by men of letters for the sharp satire, deep politics and refined learning, which they contain and this new translation is approved and recommended to the world by Sir Roger Le Strange and several others of the greatest wits of the present age.'

This list of translations is, thus, in itself a decisive answer to Johnson's comment and affords convincing proof of the popularity of the '*Ragguagli*' in England during the century that followed its publication.

(b) ITS INFLUENCE ON THE LITERARY SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE PERIOD.

It is very probable that the '*Ragguagli*' also found extensive circulation in England in its original tongue. Strong evidence for this assumption is offered by the publication in 1622, four years before the appearance of Vaughan's translation, of the first direct English imitation, '*News from Parnassus*' by Thomas Scott. Moreover, Boccalini is cited by Edmund Bolton in his '*Hypercritica*' (1618),<sup>1</sup> only five years after the '*Ragguagli*'s' first appearance in Venice. Dealing with the 'rules of judgment for the writing of history' in a series of 'Addresses,' which savour strongly both in subject and metaphorical quality of Boccalini's 'Assembly of Historians,'<sup>2</sup> he remarks in a brief review of Tacitus that some affirm him 'to be the most irreligious of Ethnicks, notwithstanding all that which Boccalini in his late Lucianical Ragguaglias hath under-

<sup>1</sup> '*Hypercritica*' or '*A Rule of Judgment, for writing or reading of Historys*' 1618.

<sup>2</sup> Rag. I. 55.

taken on his behalf.' Tacitus, the arbiter of taste in historical and political affairs, had occupied an unusually prominent position in the councils of Parnassus, so that Bolton's reference and the undoubtedly metaphorical and illustrative quality of the whole work suggest an intimate acquaintance with the '*Ragguagli di Parnaso*' in its original Italian version. Thus, the '*Advertisements*', circulated both in English and in Italian, naturally exercised a potent influence upon many authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Frequent traces of this influence may be found first of all in the literary subject matter or perhaps more especially in the critical work of the age. Boccalini is cited by many and various authorities, whose references are no mere casual allusions to him as an author, but direct quotations drawn from the body of the work. What appeared to attract the critics was not so much the intrinsic value of his literary judgments as the picturesque and illustrative manner of presentation, so that the '*Ragguagli*' became a kind of storehouse, to which they repaired when they required a striking passage to emphasize their utterances, a procedure which would imply that the Italian had anticipated many of their judgments and criticisms.

Thus Gerard Langbaine, in defending Shakespeare against the onslaughts of Dryden<sup>1</sup> quotes Tasso's arguments to Apollo in defence of his '*Gierusalemme Liberata*'—a passage often cited by seventeenth century opponents of the rules—'that he had only observed the talent which nature had given him and which his Caliope had inspired into him: wherein he thought he had fulfilled all the duties of poetry, and that his Majestie having prescribed no laws thereunto, he knew not with what authority Aristotle had published any rules to be observed in it, and that he never having heard that there was any other lord in Parnassus but his Majestie, his fault in not having observed Aristotle's rules was an error of ignorance and not of malice.'<sup>2</sup>

In the same way, Thomas Pope Blount, treating of Tasso in his '*Characters, and Censures*'<sup>3</sup>, illustrates the immense impression created by the '*Amintas*' by a quotation from *Ragguagli* I. 59. 'For this reason,' he writes, 'Boccalini in his Parnassus feigned, that the Italian poets, having broke open Tasso's private desk, where he

1 Gerard Langbaine: '*Essay on John Dryden* 1691.'

2 Cf. Rag. I. 28.

3 Sir Thomas Pope Blount: '*De Re Poetica* etc., 1694.'



kept his choicest Compositions, stole away his '*Amintas*' which they divided amongst themselves; and that it might not be discovered, they fled to the Palace of Imitation, as to a secure Sanctuary.'

The story of Boccalini's laconical writer, who was indicted and sentenced 'for speaking that in three words, which he might have said in two' reappears in English literature and is reiterated on several occasions. It is introduced by Steele as a preface to a discourse on 'prolix and circumstantial' writings and speeches<sup>1</sup> while it is utilized by Yalden in his fable '*A Laconick Condemned*'<sup>2</sup> to satirize the dulness of the '*Vindication of the Lords*,' which is substituted for Guiccardini's '*War of Pisa*.' The story is still current in 1789, for Horace Walpole in a humorous letter to Miss Berry writes that he will sue for a divorce *in foro Parnassi*, where Boccalini shall be his guide. 'The cause,' he continues, 'shall be a counterpart to the sentence of the Lacedaemonian, who was condemned for breach of the peace by saying in three words what could be said in two.'

The pages of the '*Spectator*' and '*Tatler*' afford further proof of the familiarity of the early eighteenth century with the '*Ragguagli*' and of the latter's influence upon the critical thought of the age. Addison in one of his essays<sup>3</sup> endeavours to point out that the critic is concerned as much with the appreciation of beauties as with the enumeration of faults; but even here he has been anticipated by the versatile Boccalini. And to show his readers the opinion 'that judicious author' entertained of carping critics, he relates the story of Apollo dooming the critic, who looked only for defects, to sell empty chaff to the end of his days.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Spectator's conviction that writers should disregard malevolent criticisms and prattle is also aptly illustrated by the Italian's picturesque pronouncement 'that the Traveller, who being annoi'd with the noise of grasshoppers in the midst of scorching July, should alight from his horse to kill them all, were a very fool; whereas he were wise, who, though he had a pair of good ears, would seem to be deaf, pass on his way and let them sing and burst.'<sup>5</sup>

The most remarkable illustration of the influence of the Parnassus subject-matter on these essays is, however, to be found in

1 Steele: '*Tatler* 264.'

2 See 'Yalden' in 'Chalmers' *Lives of the Poets*, Vol. XI. 92.'

3 Addison: '*Spectator* 291.'

4 Cf. *Rag.* I. 100.

5 *Spectator* 355, cf. *Rag.* I. 100.

Mr. Spectator's '*Vision of Parnassus*,'<sup>1</sup> which not only embodies the Parnassus motive but also includes Boccalini among the citizens in his capacity as gazetteer. The dreamer finds himself in the plains of Boeotia, where at the end of the horizon the mountain Parnassus rises before him. Having resolved to climb its steep ascent, he aims for a grove parted out into a great number of walks and alleys. At length, at the end of a range of trees he sees three figures seated on a bank of moss, with a silent brook creeping at their feet. Solitude, Silence and Contemplation guard the outer entrance to the sacred kingdom. Solitude arises and leads the way to the mountain of the Muses. Having arrived at the inner gates, which are guarded by Melpomene and Diligence, the dreamer becomes faint-hearted, but is reassured at the sight of a peasant-like man, who insists upon entrance for a large number of people, who have just arrived with him. Producing several papers from a bundle, he presents them to the guards with the remark that they come from those whom Apollo would accept as guarantors. The dreamer, perceiving that some of them appear to contain his handwriting, enters with the rest and now takes the road that leads to Apollo's throne. He arrives ultimately between the two peaks, where he finds a most delicious vale, the habitation of the Muses and of such as had composed works worthy of immortality. Apollo, seated upon a throne of gold under the spreading boughs of an ancient laurel, is surrounded by the Muses and the elect of all climes and ages, among whom in places of honour stand Homer, Vergil and Milton. There are, however, a great number of others. 'I saw Pindar,' writes the dreamer, 'walking all alone, no one daring to accost him, until Cowley joined himself to him; but growing weary of one, who almost walked him out of breath, he left him for Horace and Anacreon, with whom he seemed infinitely delighted. A little further I saw another group of figures. I made up to them and found it was Socrates dictating to Xenophon and the Spirit of Plato; but most of all Musaeus had the greatest audience about him.' 'Lastly, at the brink of the hill,' he concludes, 'I saw Boccalini sending despatches to the world below of what happened upon Parnassus, but I perceived he did it without leave of the Muses and by stealth, and was unwilling to have them revised by Apollo.'

In addition, however, to many such direct references, there are also scattered throughout the pages of seventeenth and eighteenth century literature numerous passages, distinctly reminiscent

1 Spectator 514.

of the '*Ragguagli*' fiction. In this direction also, Boccacini's influence is especially felt in the works of the prose essayists of the early eighteenth century, who would appear to owe a great deal to the *Ragguagli* by laying its story under frequent contribution. Hallam remarks that 'in the general turn of Boccacini's fiction and perhaps in a few particular instances we may sometimes perceive what a much greater man has imitated; they bear a certain resemblance to those of Addison, though the vast superiority of the latter in felicity of execution and variety of invention may almost conceal it.'<sup>1</sup> This statement is also equally true of the works of Steele and Swift. It is necessary, therefore, to make more detailed reference to the influence exerted upon these three writers, and for this purpose we will turn first to the '*Tatler*' and '*Spectator*.'

That the '*Ragguagli*' was well-known to both Addison and Steele and that their interest therein was not inconsiderable has already been suggested by their frequent allusions to the work; but a closer comparison of the '*Essays*' and the '*Advertisements*' reveals many resemblances of a striking kind.

There are in the first place further traces of the '*Ragguagli*' fiction. Each composition takes the form of a series of periodical news-sheets, fused into one harmonious unity by an effective organization. The '*Tatler*' certainly, has not the machinery of the '*Spectator*' but the hurry from one club to another, the collection of news from each of these sources and the connection of Isaac Bickerstaff and Jenny Distaff provide some kind of organisation, whereby the various numbers, appearing with the author's 'advices and reflections every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday' are connected. The machinery of the '*Spectator*' is, however, much more elaborate; it has for its framework a club, from which the essays issue in the form of descriptions of the observations and deliberations of its various members. The unity of the '*Advertisements*' is maintained by a similar device—they are consecutive accounts of the events of the Kingdom of Parnassus.

In each case, also, the organisation from which the advices issue is regarded as the final authority on all matters in its particular sphere. Thus Apollo, Mr. Spectator and Isaac Bickerstaff are the supreme arbiters in the multifarious questions of their respective realms. In this capacity they receive numerous petitions from discontented subjects, issue proclamations for the welfare of their

1 '*History of European Literature*' (1872), Vol. III p. 351.

domains, tender advice on current problems and mete out punishment or praise as occasion demands.

Numerous officials are appointed to aid the arbiters in their administrations. Apollo has his censors, reformers, judges and guardians of the library, while the essayists have their directors, superintendents, censors of dress and small wares. The '*Tatler*' resembles the '*Ragguagli*' very closely in this respect, for Bickerstaff in No. 144 assumes the title 'Censor of Great Britain' and in virtue of this office institutes courts, sets forth edicts and presides over the trials of offenders. Thus while Boccalini describes the activities of Apollo's assizes, his courts of flattery, ingratitude and hypocrisy, Steele relates the proceedings of Bickerstaff's courts of honour, of inquisition on maids and bachelors, and of the correction of enormities of dress. Just as the subjects of Parnassus are from time to time arraigned before one or other of the Parnassus tribunals so are the contemporaries of Bickerstaff haled before those of the Censor of Great Britain.

In many cases the fiction itself is reminiscent of that of the '*Ragguagli*', but the debt to Boccalini would seem to be something much greater than a matter of mere story and incident. The essayists have caught the spirit of the Italian. There is an extraordinary similarity not only between their objects but also between their methods. Boccalini couches 'important politick affairs and choice moral precepts under metaphors and jesting tales,' Addison enlivens 'morality with wit' and tempers 'wit with morality.' Hitherto the essay had admitted of little humour or satire, but here we find the same mischievous humour, playful satire and delicate irony as characterized the old Italian satirist. 'If I have any other merit,' writes Addison, 'it is that I have new-pointed the batteries of ridicule. . . . If I have not formed a new weapon against vice and irreligion I have at least shown how that weapon may be put to right use.'

Finally, not only does the fantastic picturesqueness and illustrative quality of the '*Ragguagli*' reappear in these essays, but its allegorical character would also seem to have impressed itself on the writings of this age. John Hughes in his '*Essay on Allegorical Poetry*' probably reflects the opinion of his day when he remarks that 'Boccalini must be reckoned one of the chief modern masters of allegory,' and the impression created by the Italian's work, as evidenced by the full translations of 1704 and 1706, would without



doubt account for the preponderating allegorical quality of the works of both Addison and Swift.

But Swift also shows definite traces of our author. Perhaps it is in the '*Battle of the Books*' that Boccalinian influence is most apparent, for the work would appear to owe a great deal to the '*Advertisements*' both in general conception and actual detail.

The scene is the Italian's organised Parnassus, and while Swift's allegory in this particular work is perhaps more superficial, there is still the same mingling of ancients and moderns with a view to satirizing contemporary critics and scholars. Much of the detail of the '*Ragguagli*' is also incorporated. The guardian of the regal library, the quarrels for precedence, the consultations of the *litterati* all find their counterpart in the earlier work, while the occasion itself, with its descriptions of the dispositions of the rival armies may well have been supplied by the advertisement which describes Apollo's measures for the safety of his kingdom, when he learns that the ignorant have taken up arms against the learned.<sup>1</sup>

The great allegories '*The Tale of a Tub*' and '*Gulliver's Travels*' also contain many isolated passages, remarkable for their resemblance to the '*Ragguagli*.' A significant example is '*The Epistle Dedicatory to Prince Posterity*,'<sup>2</sup> where the author has seized upon the motive of Apollo as arbiter on all literary productions and by a mere change of name and setting used it for satirizing the whole class of the writers of his day. Swift has merely substituted Prince Posterity for Apollo, with the result that the *Epistle* recalls vividly the scene in Parnassus on Apollo's reception day. In each case there is the royal arbiter, whose prerogative it is to grant immortality and to whom all literary productions have to be submitted if this great gift be desired, and on each occasion also there are present the numerous petitioners for the laurel, 'each accompanied by his comely volume.' Even the tag of satirical comment appended to the names of those whom Swift ironically chooses as candidates is distinctly reminiscent of the manner in which Boccadini was wont to introduce the various aspirants into the presence of the great monarch of Parnassus.

The descriptions of the various types of schools and academies found in the '*Preface*' to the '*Tale of a Tub*' and in the account of the Grand Academy of Lagado, with the 'arts and the wild impossible chimaeras,' in which the professors employ themselves, also find their

1 Cf. Rag. I. 85.

2 Cf. Hawkesworth: '*Life and Works of Swift*' 17 6. Vol. 1, 7.

counterpart in the many and various schools of Parnassus, which further serve the purpose of ridiculing the fantastic and useless studies of politicians, philosophers and *virtuosi*.

But perhaps the most obvious example of this similarity in fiction is to be found in the account of Gulliver's experiences in the island of Glubbdubdrib, the land of sorcerers and magicians, where at the governor's behest on one occasion appear the eminent persons of all lands 'from the beginning of the world to the present time.'

Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Caesar, Pompey and Brutus appear at the head of their armies; Homer and Aristotle present themselves before him, followed by a vast number of their commentators, 'who usually kept in the most distant quarter from their principals, through a consciousness of shame and guilt, because they had so horribly misrepresented them to posterity.' Gulliver even presents Didymus and Eustathius to Homer, and Scotus and Ramus to Aristotle, but the two mighty ancients soon discovered that they wanted a genius to enter into the spirit of a poet or philosopher. Swift next proceeds to describe the meeting of Descartes and Gassendi with Aristotle, and follows it up with an account of the great philosopher's criticism upon their respective theories. He continues in this strain until finally ancients and moderns, politicians and warriors, kings and poets of all ages are assembled before him in an all-embracing satire. There can be no doubt, whatsoever, that Swift has here been directly inspired by the '*Ragguagli di Parnaso*,' for he uses Boccalini's fantastic conception to create a satire which in general tenour and particular incident is remarkably close to that of his model.

But it is not alone in numerous particular instances of this kind that Swift displays his indebtedness to the Italian. He, also, has caught the Boccalinian atmosphere. In the '*Apology*' to '*The Tale of a Tub*' he tells us that he 'thought the numerous and gross corruptions in religion and learning might furnish matter for a satyr, that would be useful and diverting,' and 'that the world having been already too long nauseated with endless repetitions on every subject' he resolved to proceed 'in a manner that should be altogether new' and so set forth these abuses in allegory. It would thus appear that Swift not only obtained many hints from his fiction from Boccalini, but that in the employment of sustained allegory, in his evident delight in the fantastic and grotesque and in his concentration on humorous story as a means of satirizing the *litterati*.

philosophers and politicians of his age, he also allowed himself to be inspired by the spirit of the '*Ragguagli*,' and it is this similarity in tone and atmosphere, which perhaps after all provides the most remarkable resemblance between the two authors.

(c) ITS INFLUENCE ON LITERARY FORM.

The '*Ragguagli*' however in the words of Spingarn seemed to create for the seventeenth century a new and fantastic world, which poets and princes, scholars and critics shared with Apollo and the Muses, and it was this setting even more than the bold and striking ideas for which it was merely the occasion that impressed the imagination of England. Thus the most striking aspect of Boccalini's influence in England is that in which it is exerted on the form of both criticism and satire.

Of its general influence upon form little more need be said than that the '*Ragguagli*' contributed a sprightly touch and a picturesque fanciful quality to criticism in prose and verse. Traces of its picturesque descriptions of the literary activities of Apollo's Parnassus recur again and again in later seventeenth century writings. Thus the idea of Apollo's supreme court for the trial of poetical offences is reflected in a considerable number of the critical works of this period.<sup>1</sup>

Indisputable traces are seen—to mention but one remarkable instance—in Blackmore's '*Satyr Against Wit*' (1700), which Spingarn regards as worthy of inclusion in his Collection of Critical Essays as a curiosity of criticism. Blackmore represents the taste for wit as having seized like a madness upon both the unworthy subjects and open enemies of Apollo to the great danger of the Kingdom of Parnassus, and his description of the state of affairs provides ample opportunity for the introduction of Boccalinian touches. Evidently inspired by the Italian's idea of tribunals, councils, and proclamations in Parnassus, he breaks forth into an appeal to those of his contemporaries,

“Who in Parnassus have imperial sway

Whom all the Muse's subjects here obey,”

to exert their sovereign power and sit in judgment to regulate the grievance.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Butler: 'Upon critics who judge of modern plays by the Rules of the Antients' 1678, etc.

'Set forth your Edict, let it be enjoyn'd  
That all defective species be recoyn'd  
St. Evremont and Rymer both are fit  
To over see the Coining of our wit.

Let these be made the Masters of Essay

They'll every piece of metal touch and weigh

And tell which is too light, which has too much allay.'

Boccalini's account of the 'Bank of Homer, Vergil, Livy and Tacitus' would also seem to have given rise to the lines, in which the author suggests the remedy for the evil:

Let us erect a bank for wit and sense;

A Bank whose current bills may payment make

Till new-milled wit shall from the mint come back, etc.

Similar reminiscences are numerous in current compositions and illustrate the hold that Boccalini's original conception had obtained upon the writing community of this period.

Dryden, however, in his '*Dedication of the Æneis*' remarks that 'one who imitates Boccalini' hales Vergil before Apollo to accuse him of grave error of judgment in making Æneas and Dido contemporaries, and describes how on this occasion, Apollo, to shield one of his favourite sons, pronounces sentence in favour of the poet. Here the author has seized upon the Parnassus framework and adapted it to affairs of contemporary interest and it is in such works that the most fruitful results of our author's influence are displayed. In a short time after the introduction of the work into England, the Parnassus fiction became a frequent vehicle for the presentation of criticism and satire, not only of a literary but also of a political kind.

"Criticism," writes Spingarn, 'was still seeking an adequate medium; Boccalini's was one of the forms it tried and wearied of; but the form continued to find a place even in the age of Addison and Swift.'<sup>1</sup> The description of the activities of Apollo's assembly certainly offered an excellent opportunity for criticism, but it also supplied wit and fancy with a golden opportunity to enliven critical utterances with personal and satirical remarks, and we thus find many of these imitations nothing more nor less than satire or panegyric.

It is natural that the works that utilize Boccalini's medium should also display frequent traces of the '*Ragguagli*' story, and it is not unusual to find much of the actual detail and incident of

1 '*Critical Essays*,' Vol. I. xxv.



the original embodied in the imitation. Several even assume the precise form of a series of dispatches, with the result that they become extraordinarily close copies of the 'Advertisements.' All, without exception, seize upon the idea of Apollo as monarch of Parnassus; the realm is frequently peopled, as in the original, with the great figures of all ages, but generally the honour is confined to the author's contemporaries, whose personal and literary characteristics are hit off in the process of their inclusion in the august assembly and in the accounts of their subsequent conduct.

The majority, however, take the form of a single dispatch, which describes a special meeting convened by Apollo—as was often the case in Boccalini's realm—for the purpose of considering important business, frequently that of the appointment of an officer in his kingdom. Such appointments had been given great prominence in the Italian's imaginary world, but in many cases the scope of the imitation is extended to include such scenes as dealt with the claims for admission or immortality, while in others Boccalini's descriptions of arraignments, trials and banishments are also utilized.

A collection of a number of these English 'Advertisements' may perhaps be permitted here. Speaking generally, they are sprightly, gay, even insolent compositions, but the judgments uttered by the subjects of Apollo and the pointed references to contemporary authors not only shed valuable light on the critical standards of their age, but set forth the literary currents and feuds with such clearness, that they become precious documents in connection with the literary history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their object is ever the same; Boccalini's conception is a mould into which the authors of the day pour a mixture of criticism, personal allusion and satire. Their number, therefore, is a striking indication of the extent of Boccalini's influence and a remarkable proof of the vitality and fertility of the literary form—the Sessions Day in Parnassus.

1622. *'News from Parnassus. The Politicall Touchstone, Taken from Mount Pernassus: Whereon the Governments of the Greatest Monarchies of the World are touched. Printed at Helicon 1622.'*

This work, whereby the Parnassus motive was first introduced into English literature is a translation of part of '*La Pietra del Paragone Politico*' from the pen of Thomas Scott, a preacher who had united himself with Boccalini in a fanatical hatred against Spain.

Owing to a political pamphlet, he had been obliged to flee from England to Utrecht, where his 'News' was published in 1622 as 'these my present Advertisements from Parnassus.' He had evidently been inspired by the sections of the 'Ragguagli,' which contain those sparkling satires against Spanish ambition, and the work, like the first translation of 1626, is intended as a warning against the conclusion of an alliance with that Catholic power.

1626. '*The Golden Fleece, Divided into three Parts under which are discovered the Errours of Religion, the Vices and Decayes of the Kingdome and lastly the Wayes to get Wealth and to restore trading so much complained of. Transported from Cambrioll Colchos out of the southermost Part of the Iland commonly called Newfoundland. By Orpheus Junior 1626.*'

The author, Sir William Vaughan, the translator of a considerable portion of Boccalini's work, has for his object the praise of Newfoundland, which is the 'golden fleece that shall restore the English nation to all worldly happiness.' The first and second parts of the book, in which the author 'endeavours to remove the errours of Religion' and to discover 'the decayes and vices of the Kingdom' are merely preludes to his demonstration of the value of Newfoundland to English trade and commerce. To intermingle merry conceits and historical figments among serious and weighty matters of consequence, the author has resolved 'to use the name of the great Apollo, not Heathenish, but Christian, after the example of Traiano Boccalini, who, under that title, brought forth most plausible Ragguaglioes.' He thus introduces Boccalini's entire idea of the kingdom of Parnassus, adorns it with similar detail and makes the various sections of the work 'avisoës' from Parnassus, with the result that it forms a kind of natural sequel to the 'Ragguagli' itself. An idea of its nature may be gleaned in the very first chapter, wherein the author describes Apollo's joy on hearing of the great pleasure afforded to Prince Charles by Boccalini's 'Ragguaglioes' and of the Prince's new resolve to be governed by the laws, charters and prescriptions of Apollo's court. In fine, the '*Golden Fleece*' unmistakably reflects the influence of the 'Ragguagli' in spirit, form and style. Not only does Vaughan frequently refer to its witty and sagacious utterances and transfer bodily whole passages of its subject-matter, but also assigns to Boccalini a prominent place among such great figures of history as Martin Luther, John Wycliffe, Chaucer and Mariana, and on one occasion devotes a section to the

description of the scene, when Traiano Boccalini, the author of the 'Newfound-Politick' complained to Apollo 'that the seven wise men who were put in trust to reform the world' had deceived his Majesty's expectation 'and that the world was worse than ever it was.'<sup>1</sup>

1637. 'A Sèssion of the Wits' by Sir John Suckling. Beg: 'A Session was held the other day.' First published in 'Fragmenta Aurea: A Collection of all the incomparable pieces written by Sir John Suckling. 1646.'

The occasion of this poem, the election by Apollo of a poet laureate, provides Suckling with an opportunity to hit off the characteristics of all the possible candidates in his own particular coterie. Among those, whom he represents as claimants are 'good old Ben', 'Tom Carew, Will Davenant, Toby Matthews and Wat Montague, each of whom as he puts forward his claim is subjected by the god to a stanza of critical comment. To the surprise of the company, however, Apollo after his review, observing that 'the best signe of

Good store of wit's to have good store of coyn'  
bestows the coveted position upon an alderman.

1639. 'The Most Pleasant Historie of Albino and Bellama, . . . to which is annexed the Vindication of Poesie (a poem) by N.W.'

The 'Vindication,' written in free heroic couplet is an attack on the 'nil-scientes' and 'monsters of this critick age.'

The poet enters the court of Morpheus, a spacious darksome hall and is carried away by a messenger to 'Where Jove was frolicking with his goddykin,' where he hopes to see whole troops of laureates ensphered with bay. After Mercury has sprinkled his eyes with strength-giving liquid, which enables him to endure the presence of the immortal crew, he commences to record their proceedings. The Muses present their suits to Jupiter through Apollo, who, as their orator, had undertaken to shield them

'from the sullen rage

Of envious ignorance, this critick age.'

Thereupon, Hermes escorts the scoffers to the court of Jove, where they are charged with various poetical offences. One, described as 'an empty piece of plush' confesses that he rails at all true poets because he has no vein in poesie; another, a divine, after some hesitation remarks that he scolds because he has no skill to reply to

1 Cf. Rag. I. 77.

attacks which are made upon him in verse. After several of these trials the poets' ghosts are summoned from Elysium and now appear the usual ancient authors, accompanied by a host of moderns, among whom are 'old Geffery,' Sidney, Drayton and Drummond. Having expressed their dissatisfaction with the criticism of the age, they deliver a long oration in praise of poets and poetry, at the close of which the assembly is broken up in amusing fashion. Jove, intending to ratify decrees in the behoof of poetry, gives the bards his hands to kiss and weaves chaplets of never-fading laurel for their brows. But Vulcan falls asleep, the gods laugh aloud and waken the author before he has heard the precious decree.

1641. '*A Copy of a Letter sent from the roaring Boys in Elisium to . . . Arrant Knights of the Grape. . . . Brought over lately by Quart Pot, an ancient servant to Bacchus. Whereunto is added an oration which Bacchus made to his subjects in the lower World.* 1641.'

The satirical and critical opportunities are clearly illustrated in the first portion of the poem. The author assembles a large number of the 'departed,' who are treated in much the same manner as those mentioned in the following extract.

'First came the poets of each land and took  
 Their place in order; learned Virgil struck  
 In for the first: Ben Jonson cast a glout,  
 And swore a mighty oath he'd pluck him out  
 And wallowing towards him with a cup of wine  
 He did so rattle him with Catiline  
 That had not Horace him appeased, 'tis said  
 He had thrown great Sejanus at his head.'

1645. '*The Great Assizes holden in Parnassus by Apollo and his Assessours.*' London 1645 (George Wither?).

The author indicts the malicious gazetteers of the day and arraigns them before Apollo's throne. These new-pledged periodicals—Mercurius Britannicus, Mercurius Aulicus, 'The Poste, etc.,—are accused of perverting the truth, defiling literature, seducing readers from more serious books and disseminating poisonous doctrines. The scholars of the Renaissance act as judges, the great English poets including Shakespeare, Massinger and Drayton as jury, Ben Jonson as keeper of the Trophonian Denne and John Taylor as crier of the court. Apollo, after a great conflict between justice and clemency metes out the punishment, but Aulicus and



Britannicus plead for mitigation and are reprieved, with the result that all the members of the court commend Apollo's mercy.

1651. '*The Socratik Session, or the Conviction and Arraignment of Julius Scaliger.*' Samuel Sheppard. *Epigrams* 1651.

The poem describes the trial of Scaliger before the sovereign court of Parnassus on account of his noisy onslaught on Homer. The Ancients, summoned by Apollo to a full session, are shown to their seats by Mercury, the crier of the court. Scaliger is placed at the bar by Nemesis and charged with treason and blasphemy. Although his plea of guilty mitigates the offence a different punishment is voted by each member of the court and Apollo finally condemns him

'where my piercing Rayes ne're shoote'

and where his punishment varies daily according to the sentence of the court.

1656. '*On The Time Poets*' (Choyce Drollery 1656).

Begins 'One night the great Apollo pleased with Ben

Made the odd number of the muses ten'

and continues with allusions to Shakespeare, May and others. Satiric hits are gained at the expense of Chapman, Dabourn and Ford and the piece finally winds up with a reference to Richard Brome, the disciple and imitator of Ben Jonson:

'Sent by Ben Jonson as some authors say

Broom went before and kindly swept the way.'

1664. '*The Session of the Poets to the tune of Cook Laurel.*' (*Poems in Affairs of State. Sixth Edition. London 1710. Vol. I. 206.*)

Apollo once more summons a sessions to punish the abuses of wit and to elect a representative in his kingdom below. The author reviews briefly the works of many contemporary writers. Davenant, Clifford, Flecknoe, Cotton, Waller, Denham, '*Hudibras*' all contend for the bays, but Apollo

'Seeing a crowd in a tumult resort

Well furnished with verses, but loaded with plays'

adjourns the new court and leaves 'them together by the ears' for the honour.

1676. '*A Trial of the Poets for the Bays in imitation of a satyr in Boileau.*' Rochester.<sup>1</sup> (Chalmers: '*Lives of the Poets*' 1810. Vol. VII. 245.)

<sup>1</sup> Assigned to Rochester and Buckingham in '*Works of Buckingham*' Fourth Ed. 1721.

The qualification 'in imitation of a satyr in Boileau' is incorrect; it was probably added by the publishers, who were undoubtedly acquainted with Boileau's '*Fragment d'un Dialogue*,' a frank imitation of Boccacini. The '*Fragment*,' however, was not only never published but never written down by its sensitive author, who did not wish to hurt the feelings of personal friends. Brosette, some time after the outline of the sprightly satire had been sketched for him, wrote it down from memory and included it for the first time in his edition of Boileau's works (1716).

The poet describes Apollo's establishment of a government, leader and laws here upon earth. The claimants for the leadership include Dryden, Etheridge, Wycherley, Shadwell, Mrs. Behn, Tom Otway, etc., each of whom receives his or her quota of criticism and satire. Amidst the customary amazement the prize finally falls to the lot of Tom Betterton, the actor.

1680. '*News from Parnassus*.'

A periodical consisting of four numbers. January 27th—February 18th.

The first number opens with the following intelligence:

'His imperial Majesty Apollo, lately taking into his princely consideration that little or no correspondence since the days of Signior Traiano Boccacini hath passed between this Empire and those of other potentates entered upon a council with his grand Virtuosi and Literati whether they should revive the correspondence. Don Francesco de Quevedo, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State was authorised to receive and remit intelligence.'

The four numbers are direct imitations of Boccacini's '*Ragguagli*' in every respect.

1696. '*The Session of the Poets, holden at the foot of Parnassus Hill before Apollo, July the 9th, 1696*.'

Describes the proceedings of a court, summoned to enquire into the misdemeanours of poets 'who have written several scandalous, impertinent and ridiculous plays, etc.' The most interesting cases are those of Tom Brown and Tom Durfey. Brown is found 'not guilty' and acquitted, but Durfey is condemned to be 'tossed up in a blanket.'

1700. '*A New Session of the Poets, occasioned by the death of Mr. Dryden. By a person of Honour 1700*.'

All the 'airy sons of Fame' attend the convention, but the god before he takes his flight, decrees that

'Till some one can match the mighty dead  
The wreath remain on the *de facto's* head.'

1719. '*The Election of a Poet Laureate in 1719.*' John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. (Chalmers: *Lives of the Poets*. Vol. X. p. 98, 1810).

The poet describes in very realistic fashion the appearance of the various aspirants for the laureateship, incidentally furnishing us with a splendid historical picture of the literary activities of the day. Critical comments are made on all contemporary *literati* from Pope, who is greeted with a smile from Apollo, to Sir Richard Blackmore, who enters

'With a huge mountain load of heroical lumber.'

The god, not yet satisfied, becomes perplexed and sighs for the entrance of Swift, Lady Mary or even Tom Southerne; but on espying one 'a hater of verse and despiser of plays,' he creates great excitement by presenting him with the bay. As the assembly is preparing for departure, Eusden rushes in to the Council Chamber and claims the bays on account of his appointment to the laureate by the King.

'Apollo begged pardon and granted the claim

But vowed though till then he ne'er heard of his name.'

1719. '*News from Parnassus*' (a poem). Dr. Delaney.

The occasion is once again the appointment of a vice-gerent in Apollo's kingdom and we find the usual number of claimants disputing over the appointment. The god however finds none worthy of the position and proceeds to enumerate the great qualities of him to whom he would willingly have offered the laurel.

The concluding couplet

'This said, the whole Audience soon found out his drift;

The Convention was summon'd in favour of Swift.'

enlightens us immediately as to Delaney's primary object. He uses Boccacini's idea merely to sing the praises of Swift, of whom Apollo in his speech gives us an excellent literary sketch.

1720. '*Apollo to the Dean.*' Jonathan Swift.<sup>1</sup>

Swift's object, like that of Delaney, is to record his appreciation of his friend's work. There is a slight variation from the usual setting in that the poem takes the form of an epistle written by Apollo to Swift. The god had intended to write a few verses on Swift as his friend and had locked his 'paper of hints' in his box at Parnassus; but, in Apollo's own words, 'that traitor *Delaney*.'

1 Cf. Chalmers: '*Lives of Poets*': Swift.

'in hopes to surpass us . . . .  
 Conveys out my paper of hints by a trick; . . . .  
 And from my own stock provided with topics . . . .  
 Writes down my conceits and calls them his own.'

The literary characterization is skilfully continued by the author's portrayal of Swift's high estimation of the plagiarist.

'And you, like a cully, the bubble can swallow  
 Now, who but Delaney that writes like Apollo?  
 High treason by statute! but here you object,  
 He only stole hints, but the verse is correct.'

1723. '*A Monthly Packet of Advice from Parnassus. London 1723.*' '*Established by Apollo's express authority and sent to England with the learning, writings, politicks and manners of the age, animadverted upon by the illustrious society of the Literati there. With an account of all the candidates for immortality just as they depart this world: with a modest calculation how long writings will live after the authors are dead.*' Boccacini is introduced and given a prominent position as Apollo's secretary.

1724. '*The Session of the Musicians.*'

Owing to a scarcity of wits, contemporary musicians are summoned to appear before Apollo and to contend for the laurel, which is ultimately borne away by Handel.

1730. '*A New Session of the Poets for the year 1730.*'

(Published in *Gentleman's Magazine*. Feb. 1731.)

Treats the usual session theme with one modification. Apollo's throne is usurped by the great goddess, Dulness, who decides to elect a laureate for her new-found kingdom. 'Old Dennis' as crier, John H-y as town clerk and Giles Jacob as recorder supervise the arrangements of the court. A number of candidates, among whom are Gay, Savage, Young and Pope are reviewed, but their works do not all agree with her standard. After some show of impatience, the goddess declares for her own son C—y and decrees that he be free to plunder all the great *literati* of the past. As soon as the absent Apollo heard of the appointment, he, however, sent a protest and 'decreed from henceforward the place but a jest.'

1733. '*The Legal Conviction of Alexander Pope*' (in *The Mirrours or Letters Satyirical etc.*)

Pope, accused by John Ralphe of dulness and scandal in his '*Dunciad*,' is haled before the judges of the High Court of Parnassus,



a somewhat prejudiced set of judges consisting of Dennis, Theobald and Hill, who sentence him to be banished from Mount Parnassus.

1752. '*Proceedings at the Court of Apollo.*'

The muses are summoned to Parnassus to inform Apollo of the state of genius here below. They lament the general political infamy, the only works worthy of presentation to Apollo being Mrs. Cibber's '*Oracle*' and an ode by Sir George Lyttleton. On hearing this doleful account Apollo pronounces sentence.

'Since Britain stoops to smile in chains  
For ever leave her hateful plains ;  
And know where Stanhope's not rever'd  
The Muses' voice will ne'er be heard.'

1788. '*A Trip to Parnassus: or the Judgment of Apollo on dramatic authors.* London 1788.'

Apollo, having received complaints from Thalia, summons the dramatists and actors of the period in order that he may declare

'What genius he'd honour, what favourites own.'

As they advance toward his throne, they are received by the god with the usual censure, praise or advice, distributed impartially and according to merit.

1811. '*The Feast of the Poets.*' Leigh Hunt. (*Poetical Works* 1860).

On this occasion Apollo determines to hold a feast. He has no sooner ordered the fare than a large number of contemporary poets enter the banquet-chamber. Rogers, Keats, Shelley, Coleridge, Wordsworth, etc., have only just arrived when the assembly is disturbed by a mob of meaner spirits. The god in his wrath clothes himself with his native glory and thus puts the rabble to rout. On their departure he once more becomes gentle, raises the poets stricken by his glory, feasts them and finally crowns them as his chosen representatives.

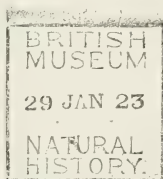
1837. '*The Feasts of the Violets.*' Leigh Hunt. (*Poetical Works* 1860).

A similar assembly of poetesses, among whom are found Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Austin, Madame D'Arblay, Miss Baillie, Lady Blessington, Fanny Butler, etc.

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The above imitations are merely a selection from a large number of works, which use the Parnassus vehicle. Leigh Hunt in the Preface to '*The Feast of the Poets*' remarks 'that like most of the

poetical inventions of modern times, the idea of Apollo holding sessions and elections is of Italian origin ' and there can be no doubt that it was the proseman Boccalini who gave European prestige to this form. In 1622, nine years after his death there appeared the first translation of a section of his writings, and a century later in the remarkably close imitation of 1723, he is still assigned the most prominent position in the kingdom, which he instituted. During the intervening period and for many years afterward his original judgments and apt pithy utterances are freely quoted by English authors, while his Parnassus conception survives as a very frequently used medium for the presentation of criticism and satire. When we consider also his influence on the great prose writers of the early eighteenth century and his general contribution of a picturesque, fanciful and sprightly quality to both prose and verse, it becomes clear that the name of Trajano Boccalini deserves to be remembered among those of the great continental writers who have not been without their influence upon English literature.



RICHARD THOMAS.





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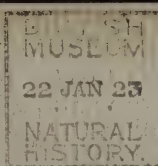
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# ABERYSTWYTH STUDIES

BY

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY  
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VOL. IV

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TO CELEBRATE THE JUBILEE  
OF THE COLLEGE



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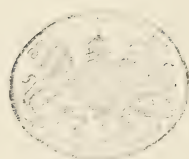
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## PREFATORY NOTE

THIS, the fourth volume of the *Aberystwyth Studies*, is intended as a contribution to the celebration which takes place this year, on the completion of the fiftieth year since the founding of the College.

For the material of the volume the members of the teaching staff are mainly responsible, though it also includes articles from certain distinguished scholars who, during the present session, have lectured within these walls. An effort has thus been made to make the work as representative as possible: illustrative also of the intellectual interests and activities of the College to-day.

As for the articles themselves, they are necessarily brief: but it is hoped that they will be found to contain some matters of interest and to be not altogether unworthy of the College or the occasion. It is, however, as a series of experiments that the contributors for the most part would have their work regarded. At the opening of a new period in the College history it is perhaps pardonable to look forward to renewed activities, more particularly in the field of research: and success in that field comes only with experiment. For it is undoubtedly true of work of this kind, that it is only in doing that we learn how to do; and this, if apology be needed, must be the apology for this volume.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES,  
ABERYSTWYTH,  
October, 1922.





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**PHILOLOGY, HISTORY, ARCHÆOLOGY,  
FOLKLORE**



## 1. PAGAN REVIVALISM UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE following paper<sup>1</sup> adds some evidence bearing on a subject in which I have been deeply interested for many years, the marked revival of paganism during the late third and early fourth century in opposition to the growing power of Christianity, and the 'revivalistic' methods that were employed to rouse belief, enthusiasm, and patriotism among the pagan minority. The 'revivalism' failed, because it was artificial and official, and never touched the heart of the people, but was actively engineered by the government. This final struggle is usually known as the persecutions of Diocletian and of Maximin II. The hold of the new faith on the Empire was not destroyed or even weakened in that time of stress. The Christians were too numerous; but much harm was wrought to their spirit of tolerance and liberality; bigotry was encouraged to a dangerous degree. The whole world, and not merely the massacring power, suffers in persecution. (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Ch. XII, at the end.)

That the Christian power in the Empire was very great is shown not merely by actual statements of ancient authorities, but by the fact that a far-seeing and prudent statesman like Constantine chose the Christian side in his struggle for power, and his success made permanent the triumph of the new faith. His motives doubtless were mixed; he was a Christian so far

<sup>1</sup> The inscription formed part of the Report which my daughter, Miss A. M. Ramsay, sent in to the Trustees of the Wilson Travelling Fellowship at Aberdeen. This Report was intended to be published long ago, but pressure of work prevented quick progress. Then came the overwhelming events of the years 1914-1922; it was hard to immerse oneself in antiquarian details. She permits me to publish this Inscription, which is one of the quaintest memorials of pagan 'revivalism,' in order that I may incorporate some of the outstanding facts which have since been learned with regard to this subject. Other parts of her report are in progress of publication elsewhere.

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as considerations of empire permitted; but, if the pagan had been the winning side, he would in all probability have acted prudently and accommodated himself to the situation. Constantine had wide opportunities of judging. He was brought up as a hostage at the court of Diocletian in Nicomedia, and Christianity was strongest in the Eastern Provinces, but he succeeded to his father's imperial authority in the West.

Formerly I was under the impression that this "revivalism," coupled with a close alliance between the imperial power and the influence of the priests at the sanctuaries, and with a tendency to imitate Christian rites and to show that all these things could be done better by pagans than by Christians, was a phenomenon peculiar to the period about A.D. 300-315. Then it became clear from epigraphic <sup>1</sup> remains that already in A.D. 250 it was a feature, less pronounced indeed but still a distinct feature, of the Decian persecution. It has, for example, become possible to trace the history of a Phrygian priestly family by dated inscriptions in the period A.D. 250-312, to observe how influential this priestly family must have been,<sup>2</sup> and to study its methods, which included an addiction to what the educated ancients condemned as 'astronomy,' and which we in modern times stigmatise as 'astrology.'

It is now necessary to date still farther back the first employment of this policy and these religious phenomena. It was really a necessary result of the identification of the Emperor with the local god and of the Empress with the local goddess. Augustus had made this 'Imperial Religion' the keystone of the imperial organisation in the provinces. Domitian pressed to the utmost this religious factor, and indubitably his anti-Christian severity means that it was part of the settled Flavian policy to regard the rising Christian power as an enemy of the imperial religion and power. His *acta* were not confirmed after his death; and if his anti-Christian policy had been peculiar to himself, it would not have remained valid after 96 A.D. Trajan reviewed the question of the attitude of the imperial policy towards this new faith; and confirmed it evidently on the ground

<sup>1</sup> *Pauline and other Studies in the History of Religion*, pp. 103-122.

<sup>2</sup> *C. B. Phryg.*, II, p. 566 ff., *Rév. des Ét. Anc.*, III (1901), p. 275, where my reading *τλα'* is corrected by M. Chapot to *τλδ'*, A.D. 249-50.



that the Empire had taken its stand on the settled Flavian policy, inherited by Domitian.<sup>1</sup> This settled Flavian policy was merely a recognition of the innate hostility of the Empire to the new religion, and of the new religion to the Imperial.

Trajan in writing to Pliny about A.D. 112 accepts it as the fixed principle of the imperial system that the Christians were setting up an anti-imperial unity, which could not be tolerated; they were therefore traitors and criminals who should be executed forthwith on acknowledgment of their fault unless they recanted and proved the sincerity of their recantation by religious acts such as no true Christian would perform, viz., offering to the Emperor. Trajan, indeed, did not like the principle. He had no interest in being called a god, and he warned Pliny that, although this was the policy of the Empire, yet it was not to be pressed. No inquisition was to be made into the opinions of individuals, but if any person made himself prominent and evident by overt action, he should be arrested and allowed full opportunity to deny and recant, but in persistent acknowledgment must be sent to execution.

Hadrian confirmed the principle in the same half-hearted way as Trajan; but he regarded the divine identification very much as a joke, useful only for the maintenance of government over an uneducated and superstitious mob. We may in fact say that it had been invented or tolerated<sup>2</sup> by the Emperor Augustus for much the same reason, except that Augustus saw no joke, but acted in serious deadly earnest. Hadrian saw the joke, and he also was amused when those solemn Christians

<sup>1</sup> Is this policy already fixed before the Flavian period? The time of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius was too short and troubled for the establishment of any permanent imperial attitude. Moreover, Otho and Vitellius were usurpers. Some respected scholars have maintained that Nero inaugurated and fixed the imperial condemnation of the new faith. They forget that Nero's *acta* were condemned and his memory erased. Nothing could be fixed permanently by him binding on the Empire and its policy: especially his latest acts were swept away in a storm of popular hatred. Nothing Neronian remained valid or constituted a precedent. Mommsen argued that the Empire was in its nature opposed to Christianity. That is true, but the question remains at what date and under what Emperor the opposition was recognized. Certainly not under the earlier emperors, nor under Nero in the earlier part of his reign.

<sup>2</sup> It was really an invention of the Eastern races, a Roman inheritance or adaptation from the times of the Seleucids and other half-Greek kings of the East, who had adopted it from the older West Asian kings.

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seriously opposed and denied the joke. 'If they only had a little humour': such was his point of view; and it did not stimulate him to active persecution.

Yet even Hadrian and doubtless Trajan countenanced and encouraged as a support of the Empire the increasing splendour and elaboration of the official religion and the official ritual. Magnificent shows, dazzling to the popular senses, accompanied the celebration of the imperial ritual. So much was well known; but it is, as I think, a fact hitherto unknown that under Hadrian, if not earlier, the imperial ritual was a 'Mystery.' It was enacted in conjunction with the native religion in each locality. Anything that deserves to be called 'religion' in the pagan imperialism was 'Mysterion.' The various Mysteries in different parts of the Eastern Provinces had some general resemblance in type, and they were enlarged at each religious centre by incorporation of ritual from other localities. Nothing was omitted; and thus the Imperial ritual grew longer and more elaborate, and, to obviate the danger of tedium, was made more splendid to the senses.

If we knew more fully the history of this Imperial ritual, we should certainly find that it appealed more and more to the lower nature of the people. The principle which was practically carried out seems to have been that there was always room at the bottom for something uglier and morally more detestable in the appeal to the popular taste. The Imperial religion corrupted the people, and did so deliberately in order to encourage loyalty among the vulgar.

The pressure of Imperial needs and the growing strength of the new faith, especially in the Eastern provinces generally, and particularly in the central Anatolian provinces (above all in Phrygia and Lycaonia <sup>1</sup>) seemed to the Emperors succeeding who really aimed at strengthening the Empire and not at mere personal enjoyment, to require that that fundamental principle of the Imperial Empire should be carried into effect more thoroughly than Trajan permitted. It was becoming necessary for the maintenance of the Imperial unity that the rival Christian unity should be extirpated. Hence it was in a way the best Emperors, *i.e.* those who were most desirous of doing their duty to the Empire, that insisted most on the anti-Christian principle, while the careless Emperors like Commodus were not

<sup>1</sup> The first Pauline Churches, always dear to Paul as the first.

inclined to take vigorous action either in this or in any other unselfish or patriotic (!) direction.

It was to the least educated classes that the alliance of Empire and paganism appealed. The middle class, the working and thinking class, was the soil of Christianity; and during the first century the new faith found strong support among the Roman nobility and even in the family and household of the Emperors.

The power given to the Emperors by the vast imperial estates and their cultivators was utilized. We see that in Asia Minor the people on several of those huge estates were formed into anti-Christian and loyal societies, and a tendency to 'revivalism' was encouraged in this appeal to a very uneducated class. The inscription here published takes us into the midst of this movement.

About six hours north of Konia, the ancient Iconium, and about three hours south of Lycaonian Laodiceia, there was situated one of the great Anatolian religious centres, controlling by a sort of theocratic dispensation the population of a considerable territory of hill country and plain. It was called in ancient times Zizima, and still retains the ancient name as Sizma. This locality among the Orondian hills was marked out as sacred by the gifts which the goddess who revealed herself here gave to all her willing and obedient people: the gifts were great mines of cinnabar, which the ancients worked till almost exhausted, and also, as I am informed by Mr. Edwin Whittall, mines of copper now wholly exhausted. The riches that lay under the surface of the earth was the property of the Mother-Earth goddess. It was part of herself, and she gave herself to her own people. But the condition in this covenant was that her children should keep her laws, and they were punished, if they disobeyed, by fever and otherwise.<sup>1</sup> The goddess of Zizima is mentioned in inscriptions (the first of which was discovered in 1882 in the work of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund). She is usually nameless, called only the Zizimene Mother, though doubtless in the progress of Hellenisation she was identified sometimes with one, sometimes with another, of the Greek goddesses who were in some point of character analogous to her. The estates which belonged to the god and the goddess

<sup>1</sup> Many 'Confessions' by sinners who suffered, together with warning to others against disobedience, are preserved in East Lydia, especially at Satala (Sandal), and in Phrygia at Dionysopolis.



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at those Anatolian sanctuaries, usually the very finest part of the land, came ultimately under the Roman rule to be Imperial estates. The mines in which the goddess gave her riches to her children, whether metals, or marble, or other minerals, also the land, became the property of the reigning Emperor. According to the Imperial religion, since the Emperor was identified with the god of each district, the property of the god became the property of his manifest representative on earth. In the *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 370 f., it is inferred from the considerable number of Imperial slaves and freedmen mentioned in the inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Sizma that the land here was an Imperial estate. Now the proof that any great Anatolian estate was Imperial property is practically sufficient to prove that it was previously an estate of the god, and vice versa; and that principle has been carried out in the review of various large Imperial Properties given in *H.G.A.M.*, p. 173 ff., and in Maspero's *Récueil*, vol. xiv, p. 3 ff.<sup>1</sup>

The form of dedication to the Imperial god is everywhere in Anatolia the same, 'On behalf of the salvation of the Emperor and of the people on the estate, certain persons or person made a dedication.'<sup>2</sup>

The people on an estate were not strictly free. They had been previously the servants of the god acting through his priests, and they became the servants of the Emperor when the estates passed into his hands. The old form and the old thought were preserved under the Emperor. The people on the estate regarded themselves practically as the slaves of the Emperor. Gradually the custom of the Empire and ultimately the Roman Law (in A.D. 415) came to look upon the owner of the estate as having a right to the labour of its people. In this condition they were practically serfs. Those Asiatic peoples, as a rule, preferred slavery to freedom, in the Roman expression as quoted by Strabo,<sup>3</sup> and the custom of the estates was taken up by the provincial Assemblies in which the representatives of a whole province met to declare their loyalty and faithfulness to the Empire under religious forms. It is now possible by

<sup>1</sup> See also *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 131 ff.; also *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 319, 329, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The people of the estate are often omitted; in many cases they, as a body, were the dedicators, being enrolled in a religious association worshipping the imperial lord.

<sup>3</sup> XII. 2, 11, p. 540.



correct restoration of an inscription published by Domaszewski<sup>1</sup> to say that at least as early as the reign of Trajan, the delegates of the province Galatia, assembling as the Koinon of the Galatians, prayed for the Imperial salvation as their first object. They were the servants of the Imperial god and record their willing acceptance of this relation to him.

In the records of that Meeting of the Koinon in A.D. 101, on the sacred day, the ninth before the Kalends of October, the birthday of the founder, Augustus, the names of all the delegates from the province are appended to a dedication on behalf of the Imperial salvation. Such a record has a general similarity to the records of Meetings of the Christian Councils, where the business of each sitting was authenticated by the signatures of all the Bishops who were present. It appears probable that the records of the Koinon were written on paper, and copied in the more permanent form on stone (as we know them). The signatures of the Nicene Council were afterwards classified according to provinces.<sup>2</sup>

This is only one of the many resemblances in organisation between the universal Empire and the universal Church. It used to be and perhaps still is held or assumed by many that these analogies were due to deliberate imitation by the Church of the imperial organisation. It has, however, always been my own view that in origin these resemblances were due not to any conscious imitation, but to the fact that during the first three centuries these ideas were in the air, that any organisation which was being constructed to be world-wide must inevitably at that time accept the ideas of the time. In the later stage, about 300 after Christ, it is absolutely clear that the neopagan 'revivalism' was consciously and intentionally imitating the

<sup>1</sup> Incorrectly restored, *A.E.M.O.*, 1885, p. 119, and in *I.G.R.R.*, III, No. 162; read [*Γαλατῶν τὸ Κοινὸν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας*].

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic version of the Acta alone has preserved the original arrangement, and it alone has 318 names, the correct number. In all other versions of the Acta, where the arrangement by provinces has been adopted, the number of names is much smaller (in one Greek MS. little more than half). The 318 Fathers passed into history, into invocation, and even into popular curses (the surest sign of antiquity and certainty): on the causes of this diminution see *J.R.S.*, 1917, p. 281, where the inferences are drawn from Prof. C. H. Turner's admirable edition of the various Latin texts. An intermediary between the Arabic version, almost unintelligible in its presentation of proper names, and the original Greek or Latin, is a *desideratum*.

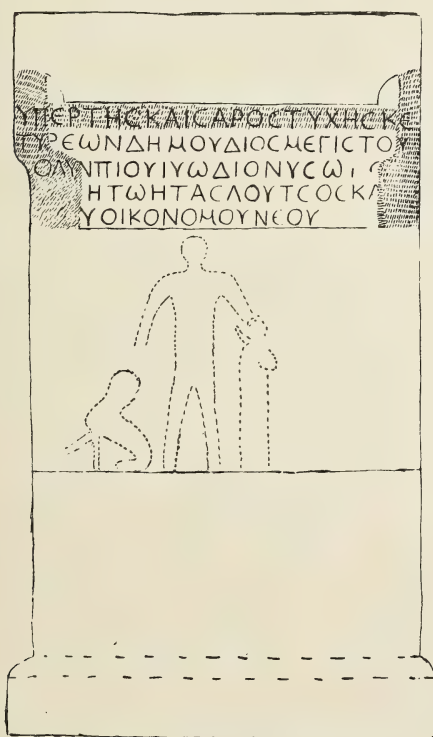
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forms of the Catholic Church. In one case at least the words of the Fourth Gospel are quoted and the ideas taken from the Church are expressed in an inscription of the highest importance, dated A.D. 313-14 (*C. B. Phr.*, II, p. 566). This inscription is perhaps the most important of all bearing on the subject, and it was among the first to be found and published (in *J.H.S.*, IV, p. 419). Many other inscriptions since found elucidate and explain this fundamental inscription, but except in the *Musée* of the Belgian Academy at Brussels, I have hardly noticed any reference to it. Another inscription of the highest consequence, but two centuries earlier in date, was published by Domaszewski in *A.E.M.O.*, 1895, p. 130, No. 98, from an incomplete copy which was given to him by a native of Angora, and is repeated from him in *I.G.R.R.*, III, No. 209. We can gather a great deal from this fragment, which was too long and tedious for the native copyist to complete. It is clear that at least in Hadrian's reconstruction of the imperial and world-wide association of Dionysiac artists, if not earlier, there was a religious ceremony which formed part of the celebrations held by the artists sometimes in one city and sometimes in another. This religious ceremony was called 'Mysterion'; and in the first celebration at Angora the celebrants, athletes, artists, etc., understood that the meeting was now at an end, when the religious mystic part of the ceremonial was finished, and were about to depart,<sup>1</sup> but they were persuaded by Ulpius Aelius Pompeianus, with some difficulty and personal expense, to remain and complete the secular part of the celebration, including the games with the prizes. It is obvious that in a gathering like this, the 'Mysterion,' i.e. the religious element, was extremely important, and was actually taken by many persons as the whole. The date of this fragment must be about 128-131, after the re-organisation of the association by Hadrian. A complete copy is a *desideratum*.

The altar on which the Sizma dedication was engraved forms one of the ornamental ends of the parapet of the new

<sup>1</sup> This misunderstanding evidently implies that there was something novel in the celebration, in other words it was the first celebration after the re-organisation by Hadrian with greatly increased splendour. As soon as the artists heard that there was to be more ceremonial and that there were to be prizes as the reward for success, they gladly returned.

bridge at Sizma and has been trimmed by the modern mason (who, unfortunately, had artistic aims without artistic training or archæological veneration). In the process of beautifying the stone he chipped off the first line, perhaps two lines, and the initial and final letters of all the rest. I copied the inscription in 1905, and again my daughter and I re-copied it in 1909. The most difficult place is the end of line 2, where an oblique fracture running down from left to right breaks the two letters following



omega. My MS. copy, 1905, shows that a broken 'K' is the probable reading of the letter immediately following omega; but I misinterpreted this as 'N' in the *Classical Review*, loc. cit., p. 370. In 1909 we both thought that the text was as above, mutilated 'K' followed by a mutilated 'C'. Mr. Calder's very careful re-examination of the stone in 1910, when he was aware of the doubt and of our reading, confirms our reading as given above; but he thinks 'K' cannot be restored, and only 'I' can

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be allowed. Adopting his ingenious restoration of the last word in 2, we have a prayer for the Lord and the demos.

- [ἐπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυρίου κέ]  
 1 . . . ἔων δήμου Διὸς μεγίστο[υ  
 2 Ὀλυμπίου Ἰωὺ Διονύσῳ [ἐδαν-  
 3 τ]ήτῳ Ητας Δουτσος Κα[ρ- ?  
 4 ικο]ῦ οἰκονόμου νέου

The construction of the inscription is quite clear: there seems little doubt that the village of the . . . reis was also the 'sacred village of Zeus, Greatest and Olympian.' It was common that the holy villages at these great priestly centres should be called by the name of one of the deities worshipped there, as, for example, Atyokhorion, Atyokome, Menokome, etc., also Phyle Dios at Amorium and many similar.

The strange name, Iuo, which is applied to Dionysos is illustrated by another dedication emanating from among the people of this theocratic region. It is in the wall of the mosque at Serai-Uñu, four miles north of Laodicea. I had several times attempted to read the dedication, which is extremely rude, but the name of the god eluded me. It was only in 1911 that Calder detected the meaning of the rude forms, and as soon as he pointed this out, the name was perfectly clear, *UOH OPONAIΩ ἐὸ χήν*.<sup>1</sup> The dedication is *Jovi Orondei*, i.e. *Jehovah Orondei*.<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew name was often employed in later paganism, especially after Alexander Severus thought seriously of forming a Pantheon which should include a statue of Christ, so as to make it possible for Christians to adopt the State religion.

Professor F. Cumont in the *Musée Belge*, 1910, p. 55 ff., 'À propos du Sabazius et du Judaïsme,' pointed out that there was an old superstition identifying the Hebrew Iahve Sabaoth with the Phrygian Iovem Sabazium. The superstitious Roman Jew whom Juvenal describes as fearing the Sabbaths *metuens Sabbata*, had some vague idea already in the first century of the resemblance and possible identity between the Phrygian and the Hebrew god.

The epithet, Orondian, points conclusively to the centre where this worship of Uoe was situated. The Orondian mountain country is indubitably the hill country which lies between Iconium East, Laodicea North and the plain east of the great lake

<sup>1</sup> Calder, *J.H.S.*, 1911, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Anatolian Huês.



Karalis West; and the divine power of the mountain country and of the level country around was the goddess of Sizma and this Jupiter or Jehovah or Sabazius Orondeis.

The double name, Etas Loutsos, is strange; it may be a compound, but is more probably two separate names of the same individual. The name, Tas, is extremely common in Lycaonia, also in Cilician compounds Etas.<sup>1</sup> I shall leave the discussion of the name Loutsos to Miss Ramsay in a paper which she has in hand.

The name of the steward who was the father of Etas Loutsos is quite uncertain. Kandidos, suggested by Calder, is tempting and I would prefer it, but when the inscription was drawn out completely by Miss Ramsay, the space seemed to suit Karikos better than Kandidos. Either name would well become a slave of the Emperor acting as steward on the imperial estates at Zizima.<sup>2</sup> His father, who must have borne the same name, is still living and, therefore, he is called Junior. Although the Emperor is not mentioned at this point, he is everywhere assumed: he lies at the basis of everything; he is in the mind of every person; he guides the expression of every dedication. Karikos must be the imperial steward.

There can be little doubt that either Kandidos or Karikos is the name of the father and grandfather; and the fact that the youngest member of the family who erects this dedication has a purely Lycaonian name, is an example of the way in which Græco-Roman civilisation gradually died out in Anatolia and the old Anatolian custom and spirit revived. It was with this revived Anatolian spirit that the later Empire allied itself in the last struggle against Christianity. It found there some trace of vigour and life. The Oriental or the Anatolian gradually absorbed and overpowered the Western spirit in Asia, and this must always be the case. The teaming life and the numberless millions of Asia form a background and a foundation of power which remain permanent and unchanging under all changes of government.

WILLIAM MITCHELL RAMSAY.

<sup>1</sup> Τβερας-Ητας, Μιρας-Ητας.

<sup>2</sup> The Roman principle that a slave was *nullo patre*, and that legal marriage was impossible for a slave, did not apply in the large imperial households of Asia Minor, and inscriptions record many cases contradicting it.



## 2. THE BRONZE AGE IN WALES

FOR many years past archæologists have been recording the discovery of remains dating from prehistoric times, more as objects of curiosity than as material for history. Some, however, imbued with the teachings of Darwin, have studied the evolution of form, whether displayed in stone, bronze, or pottery, and have deduced therefrom a system of comparative chronology. During the last twenty years, by means of synchronisms between the objects found in northern Europe and those discovered in Crete and other Greek lands, which can in their turn be synchronised with Egyptian specimens, other archæologists have laid the foundations of a positive chronology, at any rate from the first beginnings of the Bronze Age. Unfortunately, there is a difference of opinion among Egyptologists as to the chronology to be adopted for their region prior to 1600 B.C., and so the dates suggested for the earlier part of the Bronze Age are to some extent uncertain; but for the later periods the margin of error or of disagreement is seldom much more than a century.

Lastly some attempt has been made to study the distribution of certain types, especially of tools, weapons and ornaments of bronze or gold, and such investigations as have been made lead us to believe that by this means we shall be able to trace the movements of peoples and cultures. Not only so, but we think that we can distinguish between the arrival of peaceful traders and invasions of hostile tribes, and that we shall be able to restore the main features of the history of a region during those centuries when writing was still unknown.

Unfortunately all the objects discovered have not been recorded in print, and even when this has been the case the information vouchsafed is too often obscure or insufficient for our purpose. Many of the objects found have passed into private hands, often of those ignorant of the subject and indifferent to the scientific value of the record; these objects have frequently been dispersed at the death of the collector, unaccom-

panied by any information as to the site or circumstances of their discovery. The material for the study of distributions is therefore scattered and often insufficient. Some of the objects are in museums, often however without adequate details, others are in private hands, and the whereabouts of others, the discovery of which has been placed on record, is at present uncertain.

It was with a view to recovering and preserving all such information as is available which can throw light on the distribution of bronze implements that in 1913 the Anthropological section of the British Association appointed a Committee to report on this matter. This Committee decided that in the first instance it was necessary to form an illustrated card catalogue of all the metal objects of the Bronze Age in the museums and private collections in the British Isles, and, if opportunity arose, to extend this work to foreign collections. This work is one of great magnitude, but already more than 5,000 cards have been completed, and though much more remains to be done, it is possible to form some idea of the distribution of these objects throughout England and Wales, and to draw therefrom certain interesting conclusions.

The first point that strikes the investigator is that the vast majority of the metal objects of this period have been found in the south and east of England, and that as we proceed north-westwards the numbers diminish rapidly, and that they are relatively rare in the Midlands and in Wales, and a closer examination of the facts shows us that this distribution is in no way a matter of accident.

Some years ago Mr. O. G. S. Crawford pointed out that the distribution of Flat Celts, the earliest type of axe, and 'Beakers,' a form of pot roughly coeval with them, coincided very closely with the areas in which chalk and limestone were exposed. He argued very properly that such rocks would have been covered with open grass-lands, and that the remainder of the country would have been densely wooded. Outside of these grassy regions the discoveries were rare, and formed broken lines across the country, which he suggested might indicate the course of trade routes.

If we take the distribution of all the metal objects of the Bronze Age catalogued at present (and those in the museums of Wales and the west of England have been dealt with as thoroughly



as those in the rest of the country), we find that there is very little difference to be noted. The vast majority of the objects have been found south-east of the chalk escarpment which runs from Dorset to Yorkshire, and these come mainly from areas not covered by Tertiary deposits or Boulder Clay. North-west of the chalk scarp the finds are rarer, though they become slightly more abundant as we reach the Oolite rocks, the outcrop of which lies parallel to the chalk. Beyond this they occur still more rarely and their disposition is indicative of trade routes rather than of general occupation.

Now traders or invaders, bringing bronze tools or armed with bronze weapons, would arrive hither from the continent, from various points between Brittany and Jutland, and they would land on the south and east coasts, anywhere between Plymouth and the Moray Firth. Along a great part of this coast, from Dorset to Yorkshire, they would find open grassy chalk downs either close to the shore, or sufficiently near it to be reached in their small vessels by sailing up navigable rivers. It is easy, therefore, to account for the presence of a metal culture in these chalk lands of the south-east.

Just to the north-west of the chalk escarpment there is a belt of greensand, gault and other formations of a clayey nature, which produces naturally various types of woodland, sometimes relatively open and scrubby, at others of a denser character. This belt is not wide and is frequently broken by small outcrops of oolitic limestone which would have been free from trees, and it would have been possible in many places to have crossed this belt into the more open country of the oolite ridge—the Cotswolds and their continuation—without penetrating any considerable depth of forest.

But beyond the oolite scarp came the great Midland Plain, with its deposits of Lias and Trias, much of it covered too with Boulder Clay. Here was a densely forested region, unsafe for human occupation owing to the wild beasts which infested it, and presenting great difficulties and dangers to the traveller. It is not surprising, therefore, that but few bronze implements have been discovered in the Midland Plain.

But as we pass still farther westward, into Herefordshire, South Shropshire and Wales, we leave the Trias with its dense woodland and reach the Old Red Sandstone, the Carboniferous Limestone and the older Palæozoic formations. Here, as Professor

Fleure has pointed out, the forest has only covered the lower lands, leaving bare large areas of moorland which seem to have been peopled by pastoral folk since the Stone Age. Yet, although evidence of early settlements on these open uplands is not uncommon, as well as at sheltered spots near the sea-level by the coast, tools and weapons of bronze are extremely rare.

Though the evidence at our disposal leads us to believe that the English coast was subject to invasion, perhaps on more than one occasion, during the Bronze Age, we have long since abandoned the belief that the knowledge of metal was first brought to this land by hostile invaders. The old story of the men with stone weapons being overcome by those armed with bronze spears and daggers is now discredited. We have good reason for believing that the trader was here before the soldier, and that the new culture was introduced by adventurers coming from the south, prospecting in these islands for precious metals, and particularly in search of gold, which was to be found plentifully in the Wicklow Hills in Ireland.

To these goldfields came prospectors from many different lands, some from Brittany, and perhaps from Spain, others from the lands around the Baltic. Many, doubtless, sailed straight to Ireland, and the great wealth of objects in bronze and gold found in that island, many of them of foreign design, shows that the visitors were numerous. That some took back with them golden ornaments of Irish manufacture is clear from the wide distribution of gold *lunulæ*, which have been found from Brittany to Hanover.

Now it seems probable that many of these traders feared the long and dangerous sea voyage, and to shorten these landed on the English coast and crossed to ports in the west, sometimes on the Welsh coast, whence they set sail again for Ireland. Across the open downland of England their way was clear and the land thickly inhabited, but as they passed from the chalk, and still more as they left the oolite hills behind them, they had to plunge into the uninhabited forest. By the tools and weapons lost on the way, sometimes buried to be picked up later but never afterwards recovered, we can trace their footsteps, and the outline of some of their trade routes is known.

Some passed across Yorkshire and through the Pennines, then turned southwards to Warrington; others landed at the

Wash, crossed the Soar at Leicester and the Trent at Burton and reached the Peak country, passing thence by Knutsford and Macclesfield to Warrington. There are ample evidences of settlements on both sides of the Mersey at this place, which seems formerly to have been an island, and in the northern settlement at Winwick have been found implements of bronze and flint of obviously Danish origin.

Another route, used frequently in the early Bronze Age, left Southampton and crossed the Kennet at Newbury and the Thames near its source. It met several other routes from the south coast on the top of the Cotswolds, near Cirencester, then descending into the Avon Valley crossed that river near Evesham and the Severn at Bevere Island above Worcester. This route seems to have passed up the Severn Valley, at the foot of the Cleve Hills, till it crossed the river again at or below Shrewsbury. Thence it passed along the watershed between the basins of the Tern and Perry, and ultimately gained the upper Dee Valley near Corwen. Its objective seems to have been a port at or near Harlech.

Several hoards and stray implements of a later date show that this route was in use towards the end of the Bronze Age, for we have the discovery of a palstave at Church Lench, near Evesham, another at Battlefield, north of Shrewsbury, two socketed celts, a sword and a shield near Ellesmere, and one or two hoards at Ebnal, all found close to the same route. The Ebnal hoards seem to indicate that the way passed up the Ceiriog Valley, perhaps as far as Llanarmon, where a flanged celt has been found, then across the Berwyns towards Corwen. At this later date an alternative route to the coast seems to have led past Dolgelly, near which town a leaf-shaped sword has been found. Another route at this period seems to have passed up the upper Severn Valley by Montgomery, for a great hoard of this date was found some years ago at Guilsfield, thus the two most obvious ways across Wales at this date were those now followed by the Great Western and Cambrian Railways.

Another route, also of late date, seems to have left the former near Evesham and crossed the Severn at Worcester, where a leaf-shaped sword has been found in the river, passing by the north of the Malvern Hills, where two palstaves were dropped. Its further course westward has not been traced, but it seems to have kept north of the Wye between Hereford and Hay.



This route may have been aiming at Aberystwyth, or perhaps for some port a little to the south of that town.

Finally there is evidence of traffic along the south coast of Wales, between the mountains and the sea, or it may be that some part of this southern slope was more thickly peopled by a bronze-using population. Speaking generally, however, bronze objects have rarely been found on the high moorlands, which we know were inhabited early, and most of the finds have been in the lower lands, which seem to have been uninhabited, but through which it was easier for traders to pass. The conclusion seems to be that during the Bronze Age several routes existed through the Principality along which traders passed on their way to and from the goldfields of Ireland, and that the bulk of the population was living on the high moorlands or in fishing villages by the coast in a neolithic condition. Some exceptions to this rule there may have been in the coastal region of South Wales, especially in Glamorgan, and perhaps in the lead-producing area on the borders of Flint and Denbigh, but it seems unlikely that Wales, as a whole, enjoyed a true Bronze Age culture.

What is true of the Bronze Age seems to be equally true of the Early Iron Age; few if any metal objects of this period have been found in this region, at any rate apart from the exceptional areas already specified. There is no definite break in the culture of the Province until we come to the erection of hill-top camps, and the available evidence tends to show that even the earliest of these were erected but slightly if at all before the arrival of the Roman legions.

If my conclusions are correct, we must assume that the people then inhabiting Wales, though not wholly in ignorance of the existence of metal, were as a rule little accustomed to its use, until this culture was brought to them by Caractacus and his fellow Catuvelauni, when they fled before the troops of Aulus Plautius in A.D. 43. But until every metal object of the Bronze Age, found in Wales and the marches, has been catalogued, and the results mapped, we cannot feel quite confident that these conclusions, probable though they seem to be, are absolutely correct.

HAROLD PEAKE.



### 3. DIONYSIACA

IN the following paper I endeavour to explain a curious feature of Dionysiac mythology, and to add my quota to the literature which has gathered around the most puzzling of Euripides' plays.

#### I. DIONYSOS AND THE THIGH OF ZEUS

The story of the twofold birth of Dionysos is well known and will be found briefly told, with reference to the principal ancient narrators, in the learned article of F. A. Voigt in Roscher's *Lexikon* (vol. i., cols. 1044 ff.). I venture, however, to re-tell it in such a form as to show clearly what seem to me its essential parts.

1. Semele (daughter of Kadmos, king of Thebes)<sup>1</sup> was with child by Zeus.

2. Zeus (at her own request, she having been urged to ask him by the jealous Hera)<sup>1</sup> approached her in all his glory, attended by thunder and lightning.

3. (Being mortal)<sup>1</sup> she could not bear the blaze of the divine glory or the destructive power of the thunderbolts, and was reduced to ashes.

4. Her unborn child, however, being divine (or rendered divine by the lightnings of his father, *Ov. Fast.*, iii. 716)<sup>1</sup> was unharmed.

5. Zeus snatched him from the fire, named him (*Eur., Bacch.*, 526),

6. and, tearing open his own thigh, enclosed him therein.

7. On the completion of the full period of gestation the child was re-born from the thigh of his father.

#### NOTES

1. Semele is pretty certainly originally no mortal or the daughter of any mortal king, but the Thrako-Phrygian earth-goddess, whose

<sup>1</sup> Indicates a detail shown by internal or external evidence not to be original.

name in the mouths of her worshippers seems to have been something like Zemelo. That Zeus is essential to the story will I hope appear in the course of the article ; in the meantime I would note, against Voigt, who supposes that he is a patrilineal intrusion into an originally matrilineal tale (col. 1046), that he appears side by side with Zemelo in the famous Phrygian inscription, *με διως κε ζεμελω*, see Farnell, *C.G.S.*, v. p. 94 ; that such a sociological explanation of a detail of myth is hazardous in the extreme ; and that the idea of the sky-father being the consort of the earth-mother is world-wide.

2. The theme of Hera's jealousy is found in Apollodoros and Ovid. It has a distinctly Alexandrian flavour, and in the original tale what place is there for any other consort of the sky-god than Semele herself ?

4. That he was made divine by the lightning is a piece of good Greek folk-belief apparently, see Diod. Sic., v. 52 ; but there is nothing to show it Thracian, nor is it necessary, as the offspring of two deities would naturally be divine. That his mother, however, should be at least temporarily killed is not derogatory to her divinity ; she came back again from Hades (Pind., *Ol.*, ii. 26, and many other passages). There is no need for anyone coming after Frazer to labour this point.

5, 6, 7. Except for the grotesque incident of the thigh, there is a certain resemblance between this story and that of the unborn Asklepios' rescue from the pyre which consumed his mother (Pind., *Pyth.*, iii. 38 ff.), as has been repeatedly pointed out.

That the above story is Greek no one, I think, who knows the folklore of Hellas will believe. Greek deities, if we except one or two oddities of the Boiotian cycle of myths, behave in a very human fashion, albeit with more than human power. That the Zeus of Homer or of later mythology, that most virile personality, should act in this androgynous way in a genuinely Greek tale, is against all we know of him. If a final touch of grotesqueness is needed, it is supplied by the solemn statement of Euripides' chorus of bacchantes <sup>1</sup> that the child was kept from tumbling out of the rent thigh by the use of golden safety-pins. But when we turn to the other tales which seem to have a Thracian origin and which concern Dionysos and his father, we come across many incidents as ludicrous and much more horrible in the myth of the rending, devouring, and resuscitation of Zagreus. The Thraco-Phrygian Dios, or whatever the exact form of his name may have been, was likely enough capable of such extravagances.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eurip., *Bacch.*, 98.

<sup>2</sup> See Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, chapter on Dionysos, or any work dealing with Dionysiac and Orphic cults. In passing it may be noted

In dealing with the Thracians it is often well to remember that they appear to have had Mongol affinities, in culture if not in race. It is true that they themselves not only spoke an Indo-Germanic tongue, but apparently came, or at least their dominant stock came, from the region of the Carpathians; also that they were fair-skinned and light-haired, *i.e.* apparently of Nordic race.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless it has been suggested that the fact of some at least of them being red-haired points to a cross of Nordic with Mongol; their neighbours the Scythians certainly appear to have had the squat build, straight hair and yellow skin of Mongols<sup>2</sup>; and, whether from their own hypothetical Mongoloid element or under Scythian influence there is little doubt that they had Mongol stories current among them. This is most clearly seen in the famous tale of Orpheus and Eurydike. It has indeed been thought by some that Eurydike is a later addition to the narrative, for Orpheus as the incarnation of a vegetation-daimon does not need the motive of seeking for a lost wife in order to induce him to visit the under-world. Yet if we look at Japanese folklore we find a very similar tale told of the god Izanagi and his wife Izanami.<sup>3</sup> The story, then, of Orpheus and his ill-fated love may perfectly well be a genuine popular Thracian tale; whether it was originally told of Orpheus or of some one else, or simply of a nameless figure, as so many folk-tales are, is of minor import.

Now it is significant and interesting, not only for the study of that whatever the exact significance of Zeus' action may be, it is hazardous to regard it, with Bachofen, Voigt, and (doubtfully) Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 110, as reflecting a rite of adoption or of couvade. In the former case we should have to assume that the tellers of the story were in a transitional state between mother-right and father-right; to prove which one would first of all have to prove the highly doubtful proposition that the Greeks or the Thracians ever had the former system; in the latter, it is to be remembered that couvade does not signify simply the simulation of birth-pangs or the like by the male, but the practice by both father and mother of a whole series of pregnancy- and birth-tabus.

<sup>1</sup> Summary, with references to the literature ancient and modern, in my art. THRACE in Hastings' *E.R.E.*

<sup>2</sup> See Hippokrates *de aëre aquis locis*, pp. 558-560 Kühn; Arist. *de gener. anim.* v. 3 (p. 782<sup>b</sup> 33 Bekker), who says the same of the Thracians themselves. He goes on, however, to say that their hair was soft, which is hardly descriptive of Mongoloid hair.

<sup>3</sup> Aston, *Shinto*, p. 93. The story is very briefly told, but contains the essential features of the bereaved husband following his wife, finding her, breaking a tabu through curiosity, and so losing her again.

Thracian mythology and ethnology, but for the larger problem of the culture of northern Asia, to note that this tale is widely spread in North America, which by the most reasonable hypothesis owes its population to that region. The story, with sundry variants, is to be found among the Cherokee,<sup>1</sup> on the Pacific Coast, among the Malecites,<sup>3</sup> and something not very unlike it among the Modocs,<sup>4</sup> to take only such examples as come readily to hand at the time of writing.

It is therefore of interest to find that a close parallel to the story of Dionysos and the thigh of Zeus occurs among the Modocs in the form of the myth of Kumush the Creator and his son Isis.<sup>5</sup> It runs as follows:—

1. Látkakáwas, having lost her husband, by whom she was with child, took the crown of the dead man's head and went to Kumush to have him made alive again. On the way she bore a child which she put on her back, strapped to a board in the usual Indian fashion. Kumush, after performing the desired miracle, was filled with jealousy of the man's beauty and killed him again.

2. Látkakáwas in despair threw herself and her baby on her husband's funeral pyre, made by Kumush.

3. Kumush was just in time to snatch the baby from her back. He stilled its cries by naming it Isis.

4. Kumush then took from the ashes of the pyre the disk (the crown of the head) to which the young man had again been reduced. He put this on the small of his back and it was absorbed into his body.

5. He then placed the child 'in his knee, where it appeared as a boil.'

6. Shortly afterwards he asked an old woman to press the supposed boil, from which the child appeared.

7. His explanation of the arrival of the child was that the earth was kind and gave it to him.

#### NOTES

1, 7. Látkakáwas and her husband appear from the rest of the story to be no mere mortals. Among other mysterious properties

<sup>1</sup> Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*, pp. 253, 437.

<sup>2</sup> Hill-Tout in *J.R.A.I.*, xxxiv. (1904), p. 339 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Mechling, *Malecite Tales* (Ottawa, 1914), p. 88 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Curtin, *Myths of the Modocs*, p. 42 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Curtin, *op. cit.*, p. 5.



they are described as being blue in colour, which seems to be the Modoc notion of the complexion of gods and other ideally beautiful beings. I do not know the meaning of her name; is it permissible to infer from Kumush's rather lame story that she is an earth-deity?

4. Kumush's action would seem to identify him with the dead father of the child, whose characteristics he thus absorbs.

6. The child is begotten, born, and re-born within a few days. Apparently the heroes and heroines of Modoc stories are little affected by the ordinary laws of physiology. Thus, *op. cit.*, p. 130, Wus (the fox) meets and marries a girl who two days later presents him with a son.

Despite many minor divergencies from the Thracian myth, the above story seems to me to have too many points of contact to be reasonably explained by mere coincidence. I list them in order, putting in brackets those points on which the Modoc tale differs from the Thracian:—

1. A (woman or) goddess is mated to a divine being (or a man who is afterwards absorbed into a divine being).

2. She perishes by fire, through the direct (or indirect) agency of that being.

3. The deity, however, saves her unborn (or newly-born) son from the flames, and gives him a name.

4. He puts the child into his own body.

5. The child is re-born from his body.

I am one of those who are not much impressed by the occurrence of the same *motif* in two stories from different parts of the world. The imagination of man works along very similar lines everywhere, and when we find, for example, that alike in Sweden and in North America some part of a person's body is represented as having a voice of its own and pretending, to some one who does not see it, that it is the entire person, I am very ready to accept a theory of independent origin; but when a whole series of events, not necessarily arising one out of another, follow as they do in these two stories, the polygenetic hypothesis strains coincidence too much. I therefore postulate a real connection, though very distant, between the Thracian and the Modoc tales of the birth of a son to the sky-god in the one case and the Creator in the other; and as a corollary, the existence of intermediate stories, which my ignorance of matters Asiatic does not allow me to point out, on the long road separating the Balkans from the State of Oregon.

## II. THE PALACE OF PENTHEUS

The ingenious works of Norwood<sup>1</sup> and Verrall<sup>2</sup> have familiarised students with the problem of that great but perplexing masterpiece of Euripides, the *Bacchae*. Put as briefly as possible, the puzzle is as follows: in the prologue, Dionysos appears, saying that he has taken human shape and will vindicate his own and his mother's honour against unbelievers. Shortly afterwards the chorus of bacchantes enters. Later, at the command of Pentheus, a mysterious stranger, traditionally called Dionysos but never referred to by that name in the text, nor treated by the chorus as other than a man, is arrested. He behaves with great coolness and after a short colloquy is taken into the stables of the palace to be imprisoned there. A scene of great excitement follows, during which one of the chorus cries out that the palace is tumbling down. 'Dionysos,' as it is convenient to call him, reappears and tells how Dionysos delivered him and ruined the palace. Pentheus re-enters, is persuaded by 'Dionysos' to go secretly to visit the Theban women who are celebrating Bacchic rites on Kithairon, goes, and is there murdered by them in their frenzy. Neither Pentheus himself nor anyone else seems to notice anything wrong with the palace, which Pentheus and 'Dionysos' leave, enter, and leave again after the supposed disaster. Finally Dionysos reappears, *ex machina*, and among other things (most of his speech is lost) foretells the future destinies of Pentheus' family.

The authors above referred to explain as follows: The stranger is a mortal, the illegitimate child of Semele by an unknown father, and a clever schemer. In his own interests and those of his Oriental cult he gets power over Pentheus, whether by drugging or intoxicating him (Verrall), or 'hypnotising' him (Norwood).<sup>3</sup> The chorus are his dupes, and deserve to be; and he treats them with contempt, calling them 'barbarian women' (*βάρβαροι γυναῖκες*, 604; but this need mean no more than 'my countrywomen,' cp. Aesch., *Persae*, 391, 434, 798). Pentheus is foully murdered by fraud, and the stranger knows it.

<sup>1</sup> *Riddle of the Bacchae*, esp. ch. viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Bacchantes of Euripides*.

<sup>3</sup> That no such results could be attained by hypnotism is no argument against this theory. Granted that Euripides had from some source a hazy idea of such a power, comparable to that held by Du Maurier and other writers of about that time, the rest might follow. That the Greeks did believe in 'glamour' is clear enough; and conjurers and wizards the world over are thought able to make people see what is not there.

Such a theory, which presupposes the necessity for much reading between the lines, is of course impossible to refute by strict philological reasoning, as one could refute, for instance, the idea that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews or that Plato did not write the *Parmenides*. But it involves the very great psychological improbability of supposing that Euripides means us to disbelieve him when he is putting into the mouths of the chorus words of the most exalted religious fervour, coupled with insight such as one does not expect in the dupes of a schemer as detestable as ever imposed on the less intelligent elements of the American public.

Ought it not to be remembered that Euripides wrote this play, not in Athens, where the cult of Dionysos was a sober and civilised affair, but in Macedonia, next door to Thrace, where he may well have seen it at its best—wild, barbaric, but full of life and real, enthusiastic belief? This might well impress him, not with any new beliefs of his own, for he seems to remain as sceptical as ever, but with a new estimate of the feelings of believers.

Take a modern parallel. Suppose that a Londoner, brought up as an old-fashioned Agnostic somewhat of the type of J. S. Mill, has taken to writing novels in which he deals with such religious problems as he has observed among his own class. He goes on a holiday, to Wales or Scotland, and there finds himself in the middle of one of the recent revivals. He will see nothing to make him change his intellectual view-point; but may it not dawn upon him for the first time that popular Evangelical Christianity is for some people in some moods not simply a thing to be accepted but a source of the most fervent and desperately sincere emotion? He has imagination and sympathy enough to enter into the feelings of the revivalist and his flock; and he writes a novel in which he powerfully depicts their experiences—a novel, say, containing a character as true to life as Dinah in *Adam Bede*. The novel might indeed set forth the physical and mental ruin of some one of unbalanced mind who listened to the revivalist; but it would no more paint him a mere cheat and schemer than George Eliot does Dinah.

Let us try to interpret the play, keeping this in view.

*Prologue.*—Enter Religious Enthusiasm (conventionally named Dionysos, as Passion and Asceticism are called Aphrodite and Artemis in the *Hippolytos*). He will this day show his power





he wrestles with his bonds he cries out in a voice of majestic command to the Earthquake to come and help him :—

584 (σεῖε) πέδον χθονὸς Ἕννοσι πότνια<sup>1</sup>      - ○ ○ - ○ ○ - ○ ○ - ○ ○

The chorus are as mad as he now, and at once cry to each other that the palace is falling in ruins. Something turns the thoughts of the enthusiast within to a miracle of fire ; he calls for it, still in a dignified metre, appropriate to a commanding deity<sup>2</sup> :—

594 ἄπτε κεραίνιον αἶθοπα λαμπάδα,      - ○ ○ - ○ ○ - ○ ○ - ○ ○  
σύμφλεγε σύμφλεγε δώματα Πενθέως      - ○ ○ - ○ ○ - ○ ○ - -

They of course *see* the fire. The shaman has got loose now, and comes out full of the wonders within, first attributing all to his own power (614, 621), then, as the enthusiasm lessens, drifting into the third person and describing the doings, not of himself, but of the god. It is all very splendid, but hard to describe ; Pentheus was there—somewhere—and a bull—Dionysos is a Bull, so he must have been there—and I was there—but I am a Bakchos, so it was all one—Pentheus could not bind the Bull—so he could not bind me—so I am loose—he chased a phantom, I suppose—ah, here he comes, angry no doubt. And the speaker turns to meet the angry Pentheus with words of calm, almost heedless, command.<sup>3</sup> The man *is* such a fool, and quite harmless—to a god.

What of Pentheus ? He is very far from clever, and he respects ability, though he is suspicious of it. His first angry rush (642) is met with a few words of cool, incisive command : ‘Stop ! Be calm !’ The Stranger is a clever fellow, very clever, only in the wrong way (655). But he seems very sure of himself. Now the Messenger enters with the news of Bacchic miracles in plenty—such miracles as Euripides had doubtless heard described in perfect sincerity by Macedonians at the

<sup>1</sup> I follow the admirable and convincing conjectures of Willamowitz-Moellendorf and Murray.

<sup>2</sup> Being ‘possessed’ he reproduces faithfully the tone and language of his ‘control.’ See any description of savage shamans or civilised ‘mediums.’

<sup>3</sup> Or so it seems to me. I ask that readers of this essay will check my interpretation by re-reading for themselves, preferably in the original, the two scenes between ‘Dionysos’ and Pentheus, 451–518 and 642–659, 787–846.

court of Archelaos, or possibly by Macedonian peasants.<sup>1</sup> This rouses the poor bewildered Anti-Enthusiast to a last effort ; he will go out at the head of his troops (if they will follow him). Now the Stranger suggests a better way of dealing with the situation : why not take his advice and go quietly, in disguise, to see how much truth there is in these tales ?

Meanwhile the Stranger is surer than ever that he is either a god or the messenger of one. Kings obey him ! What is he to do with this obedient king ? Obviously, punish him terribly for his blasphemies ; it is Dionysos' doing.

*Act 4.*—He carries out the plan, with the result that he makes Pentheus as full of mad enthusiasm as any of the Chorus. Euripides had no doubt learned that enthusiasm is contagious ; we have in our own day plenty of examples of a person coming out of curiosity to a revival meeting and ending by being ' converted.' It is no great indictment of Euripides to assume that he did not know that for such effects a crowd is necessary ; he might plausibly argue that the man who could so rouse a hundred people would find it as easy, or easier, to affect one.

*Act 5* sees the terrible aftermath of the killing of Pentheus and the horror-stricken recovery of the mad Agaue. The Stranger does not re-enter ; is it unreasonable to suppose that he has dropped utterly exhausted somewhere on Kithairon and will sleep for several hours ? Dionysos now appears, to comment on it all from his point of view. To say that his words—what we have of them—are callous is to miss the point. He is a natural force, Religious Enthusiasm, and simply non-moral.

H. J. ROSE.

<sup>1</sup> That is, if he could understand them. We know that Macedonian was allied to Greek ; but our very scanty documents do not allow us to determine how like Greek it was. Still less are we capable of saying how long it would take Euripides to learn a foreign dialect. He knew of course not one but several dialects of Greek more or less thoroughly, and may have been in the position of a traveller in Friesland who starts with a competent knowledge of broad Yorkshire. As the kings of Macedonia claimed to be Argives (*Hdt.*, v. 22), Greek was presumably the usual court language, as French was at the court of Frederick the Great.

#### 4. THE CLAUSULAE OF AESCHINES <sup>1</sup>

It is not too much to say that no one will get very far in the scientific investigation of prose rhythms unless he has first studied, at least in part, the thorough and exhaustive works on that subject by Prof. Zielinski, *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden* and *Der durchgehende Rhythmus*. One may easily get lost in the wide range of his treatment and subtle distinctions; but something will have been gained if only the leading principles are mastered, and that is, perhaps, as much as most of us will be able to do.

It seemed to me that an experiment in this fascinating side-walk of criticism might be carried on in the Speeches of Aeschines, the reputed founder of that Rhodian School where Cicero him-

<sup>1</sup> Investigation into prose rhythms, though not exactly virgin soil, is yet a field that has not been much worked and in which there is room for more extended labour. From a merely utilitarian point of view it is a branch of textual criticism which should go far in proving or disproving the genuineness of any doubtful work. It is something to be able to say, after studying a MS. of unknown authorship, that it is or is not the work of any suggested writer, because it is or is not in his peculiar style, it has or has not his particular prose rhythm. Then, from a purely literary point of view, it will not be denied that to study the forms used by a prose writer, as you would study the metre of a poet, is not only to appreciate him better, but to improve your own style. And although we cannot deny the possibility of native untrained rhetoric, for instance, yet there is no doubt that, to *acquire* a good style, there can be nothing better than the old models, especially the study of Latin Prose; which will not only enable you to write good English with considerable freedom and ease, but will improve your logical sequence of thought, its arrangement and expression. On this point, see Cic. de Orat. III. 11.

The following attempt to classify the Prose Rhythms of Aeschines is the result of a suggestion made to me by Prof. Rose; and it is not too much to say that without his inspiration, help and kindly criticism it could never have been carried out. If this tentative essay, faulty as it inevitably is, should lead others to undertake similar investigations into the prose rhythms of other classical writers, it will not have been made in vain.

self studied. It would be interesting to see if there were any points of resemblance. And here I found excellent work on the Speeches of another Attic Orator, by Professor Münscher, Isocrates' *Panegyrikos*, §§ 1-50, a very original and suggestive treatise.

For the benefit of those who have made no special study of this subject it will be as well to call attention to a few elementary truths which underlie the subject of prose rhythms. We have to remember that words appeal to the ear as well as to the mind; and in oratory a sentence must have melody as well as meaning. Instead of the verses which we find in poetry, in prose we have cola, *κῶλα*, i.e. 'limbs.' Several cola taken together make a period. The term clausula, strictly the end of a period, may be extended to the end of a colon or clause. Now, poetry has metre, but prose must have rhythm, which, unlike metre, is not tied down to any definite succession of feet, though it requires metrical form of some kind for its expression, and an orator will naturally and instinctively have some favourite combinations of feet, which are characteristic of him: what these are, in the case of Aeschines, I have been endeavouring to find. It is clear that an orator must not fall into verse. Demosthenes, for instance, has a great number of iambs, but as they are divided between two cola, they are not to be regarded as forming one whole, for, in prose rhythms, we are not to jump, so to speak, over a comma or other mark of distinction between clauses. But in Aeschines, as we shall see further on, there are many complete iambic verses in distinct cola. But though prose and poetry must not have the same metre, that of the former may suggest the latter. Cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* III. viii. A clausula should consist of a base and a cadence, e.g. *cōllōcār | ētūr, aūdēāt | iūdīcārē*. It should be noticed that it is to the end of a period, chiefly, that we must look for these rhythms. Just as the end or peroration part of a speech, summing up all that has gone before and emphasising it, so the end of a clause focusses itself into an intensive and spontaneous collocation of feet, called rhythm, *ῥυθμός*, i.e. 'even flow'; in fact, brings into order and harmony the unstudied and perhaps hurried words preceding it.

The clausulae of Cicero, according to Zielinski, fall mainly into five classes, for simple rhythms: out of these spring a very large



number of resolved rhythms, which involve a good deal of classification which must be studied in the book itself. These five are the

V-class (verae clausulae)

L-class (licitae)

M-class (malae)

P-class (pessimae)

S-class (selectae)

In full: V1	- - -   - - -	morte vicerunt <sup>1</sup>
V2	- - -   - - -	cessit audaciae
V(2)	- - -   - - -	possem cognoscere
V3	- - -   - - -	audeat iudicare
V(3)	- - -   - - -	decreto restitutus
L4	- - -   - - -	spiritum pertimescerem
L(4)	- - -   - - -	adferri testimoniis
M5	- - -   - - -	posteram gratulationem
M(5)	- - -   - - -	indictis aestimationis
M6	- - -   - - -	curia propter abstinentiam
M(6)	- - -   - - -	damnato te referre noluit
M7	- - -   - - -	curia disputare noluerunt
M(7)	- - -   - - -	imprimis nobilem necare iussit
S1	- - -   - - -	maiores nostri
S2	- - -   - - -	et patres conscripti
S(2)	- - -   - - -	dilectus accedent
S3	- - -   - - -	consules designati
S(3)	- - -   - - -	audebas appellare
P1	- - -   - - -	iudicio credas
P2	- - -   - - -	regiae divitiae
P(2)	- - -   - - -	collegis de auspiciis
P3	- - -   - - -	tota res transigeretur
P(3)	- - -   - - -	ad praedam proposuerunt

These are the main forms. In Aeschines I found little use for L4 and (4), and for all the M-classes.

A very large variety of forms arise from the very common use of resolved feet, due to the fact that one long syllable may be resolved into two short:—*e.g.* the simple cretic may often appear in the form of the first or fourth paeon, - - - - or - - - -, or even as - - - - . The molossus may be resolved into the Ionic a maiore or a minore, *i.e.* - - - may appear as - - - - or - - - -, the latter often forming the base of the cadence - - - or - - - ; and there are many others.

While collecting and arranging the various rhythms to be found in Aeschines, I was at once struck by the iambic nature

<sup>1</sup> Syllaba anceps.

of a very large number of them. 'The iambic,' Aristotle tells us (*Rhet.* III. viii.), 'is the very cadence of common talk; hence men use iambs in conversation more than any other kind of metre' (Jebb's Translation). Aeschines had some experience as an actor and had learnt to manage a fine voice, to declaim and to pose. He had studied the drama. He was possibly more concerned with words than principles, lacking the *ῥηθός* of Demosthenes, for instance. It is, I suppose, a fact that he was apt in his oratory to degenerate into mere talk. Hence I think we may expect to find a marked iambic rhythm in his clausulae. I found it advisable, therefore, to add a few of such rhythms to the more familiar (Zielinskian) forms; but I did not find that they in any degree outnumbered those forms, found in Cicero, as you will see by comparing results. As to the complete iambic verses to be found in Aeschines, if we include all those that run along like true iambs, but break metrical rules, having no caesura, violations of the cretic ending, spondees in the wrong foot, and so on, we shall find a total of 133. Of these I believe some 14 are quite correct in every way. Nearly all of them are complete in their several clauses, and thus deserve the strictures of Aristotle on that point. Here and there is a lame trimeter, or Scazon, as *ἡγοούμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὁρμήν*, in Ctes. § 85.

The following sections in the three Speeches contain the true iambs:

Against Timarchus §§ 48, 62, 88.

On the Embassy §§ 66, 76, 167, 183.

Against Ctesiphon §§ 37, 42, 43, 133, 144 (*εἰ χοῦν . . . ἔχειν*), 186, 224.

These will all be found within their respective clauses, except 'Against Ctesiphon' § 186, where the last foot borrows from the next clause. There are a few more iambs very nearly as good, but not quite unexceptionable.

### GENERAL SCHEME OF RHYTHMS

To show on what principle the Rhythms are classified.

	SIMPLE		RESOLVED
I. Double ditrochee	— — — —   — — — —		— — — —   — — — —
II. Double diiambus	— — — —   — — — —		— — — —   — — — —
III. Cretic preceded or followed by			

## SIMPLE

(a) trochee or ditrochee

- ∪ | - ∪ - (a)

- ∪ - ∪ | - ∪ - (β)

- ∪ - | - ∪ (γ)

- ∪ - | - ∪ - ∪ (δ)

(b) iambus or diiambus

∪ - | - ∪ - (a)

∪ - ∪ - | - ∪ - (β)

- ∪ - | ∪ - (γ)

- ∪ - | ∪ - ∪ - (δ)

(c) preceded by bacchius

∪ - - | - ∪ -

## IV. Molossus followed by

(a) trochee or ditrochee

- - - | - ∪ (a)

- - - | - ∪ - ∪ (β)

(b) iambus or diiambus

(a) - - - | ∪ -

(β) - - - | ∪ - ∪ -

## V. Molossus with cretic

(a) - - - | - ∪ -

(b) - ∪ - | - - -

## RESOLVED

- ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ - (1) :

∪ ∪ ∪ | - ∪ - (1<sup>1</sup>)

- ∪ - ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ - (2)

- ∪ - ∪ | - ∪ ∪ ∪ (3)

∪ ∪ ∪ - - | - ∪ - (4)

∪ ∪ ∪ - - | ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ (5)

- ∪ - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ - (6)

- ∪ - | ∪ ∪ ∪ (7)

∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ (8)

∪ ∪ ∪ - | - ∪ - ∪ (9)

∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ | - ∪ (10)

- ∪ ∪ ∪ | - ∪ - ∪ (11)

- ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ (12)

∪ ∪ ∪ - | ∪ ∪ ∪ (13)

- ∪ - | - ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ (14)

- ∪ - | ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ (15)

∪ ∪ ∪ - | ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ (16)

∪ - ∪ - | ∪ ∪ ∪ - (1)

∪ ∪ ∪ - | ∪ - ∪ - (2)

- ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ - ∪ - (3)

∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ - ∪ - (4)

∪ - - | ∪ ∪ ∪ - (1)

- - - | ∪ ∪ ∪ (1)

- - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ - ∪ (2)

∪ ∪ - - | - ∪ - ∪ (3)

- - ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ (4)

- - - | ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ (5)

- - ∪ ∪ | ∪ - (1)

∪ ∪ - - | ∪ - (2)

∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ - | ∪ - (3)

- - - | ∪ ∪ ∪ - (1)

∪ ∪ - - | - ∪ - (2)

- - - | - ∪ ∪ ∪ (3)

- - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ - (4)

∪ ∪ - - | - ∪ ∪ ∪ (5)

∪ ∪ - - | ∪ ∪ ∪ - (6)

- ∪ ∪ ∪ | - - ∪ ∪ (1)

SIMPLE	RESOLVED
	$\cup \cup \cup -   --- (2)$ $- \cup \cup \cup   --- (3)$ $- \cup -   \cup \cup - (4)$ $\cup \cup \cup -   - \cup \cup (5)$
VI. Double Molossus or cretic	
(a) $---   ---$	$\cup \cup - -   --- (1)$ $- - \cup \cup   --- (2)$ $---   \cup \cup - (3)$ $---   - \cup \cup (4)$
(b) $- \cup -   - \cup -$	$\cup \cup \cup -   - \cup - (1)$ $- \cup \cup \cup   - \cup \cup (2)$ $- \cup \cup \cup   \cup \cup - (3)$ $- \cup \cup \cup   \cup \cup \cup - (4)$ $\cup \cup \cup -   \cup \cup \cup - (5)$ $- \cup -   \cup \cup \cup \cup (6)$ $\cup \cup \cup -   \cup \cup \cup \cup (7)$
VII. Molossus or cretic, with dispondees	
(a) $---   ----$	$\cup \cup - -   ---- (1)$
(b) $- \cup -   ----$	$- \cup \cup \cup   ---- (2)$ $\cup \cup \cup -   ---- (3)$ $\cup \cup \cup \cup   ---- (4)$ $----   \cup \cup \cup - (5)$
(c) $----   - \cup -$	
VIII. Choriambus preceded or followed by	
(a) trochee or ditrochee	
$- \cup   - \cup \cup - (a)$	
$- \cup - \cup   - \cup \cup - (\beta)$	$\cup \cup \cup - \cup   - \cup \cup - (1)$ $- \cup \cup \cup   \cup \cup \cup \cup (2)$
$- \cup \cup -   - \cup (\gamma)$	$- \cup \cup -   \cup \cup (3)$ $\cup \cup \cup \cup -   - \cup (4)$
$- \cup \cup -   - \cup \cup (\delta)$	$- \cup \cup -   \cup \cup \cup - (5)$ $- \cup \cup \cup \cup   - \cup \cup (6)$
(b) iambus or diiambus	
(a) $\cup -   - \cup \cup -$	
(β) $\cup - \cup -   - \cup \cup -$	
(γ) $- \cup \cup -   \cup -$	$\cup \cup \cup \cup -   \cup - (1)$
(δ) $- \cup \cup -   \cup - \cup -$	
(c) preceded by bacchius	
$\cup - -   - \cup \cup -$	
IX. Choriambus	
(a) with cretic or molossus	
$- \cup \cup -   - \cup - (a)$	$- \cup \cup -   \cup \cup \cup - (1)$ $- \cup \cup \cup   - \cup - (2)$ $- \cup \cup -   \cup \cup \cup \cup (3)$
$- \cup -   - \cup \cup - (\beta)$	$- \cup -   \cup \cup \cup - (1)$ $- \cup -   - \cup \cup \cup (2)$



## SIMPLE

## RESOLVED

	- ∪ ∪ -   - - - (γ)	- ∪ ∪ ∪   - ∪ ∪ - (3)
	- - -   - ∪ ∪ - (δ)	∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ - (4)
(b) double choriambus	- ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	- ∪ ∪ -   - - - (1)
	- ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -   - - - (2)
X. Pure dactylic (a) dipody	- ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ - (1)
(b) a second dipody	- ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	- ∪ ∪ -   ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ (1)
	- ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪   - ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ (2)
(c) tripod	- ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	
(d) tetrapody	- ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	
	- ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	
(contracted)	- ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	
XI. Dactylic combined		
(a) preceded by choriambus	- ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	
(b) preceded by ditrochee	(α) - ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	
	(β) - ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	
(c) preceded by cretic or molossus	(α) - ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ - (1)
	(β) - - -   - ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪   - ∪ ∪ - (2)
	- ∪ -   - ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	- ∪ ∪ ∪   - ∪ ∪ - (3)
	- - -   - ∪ ∪ -	
(d) combined with ditrochee	- ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪	
(e) combined with cretic	- ∪ ∪ - ∪ -	

The forms in the above scheme for which I am responsible are II, III (b), IV (b), VIII (b).

## TABLE OF RHYTHMS, IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

(The three speeches combined)

## A. ZIELINSKIAN CLAUSULAE

## Z.'s notation

1.	III (a) - ∪ -   - ∪	VI	607 examples.
2.	V (a) - - -   - ∪ -	V2	441 "
3.	VI (b) - ∪ -   - ∪ -	V2	388 "
4.	X (a) - ∪ ∪ - ∪	PP3	366 "
5.	VIII (a) (γ) - ∪ ∪ -   - ∪	P1	356 "
6.	V (b) - ∪ -   - - -	S2	298 "

7.	III (a) (11)	- u u u   = u - u	L1 <sup>2</sup> 3 <sup>2</sup> or }	226 examples.	
8.	VI (a)	---   ---	S2	214	"
9.	IV (a)	---   - u	S1	183	"
10.	IX (a) (α)	- u u -   - u -	L2 <sup>tr</sup>	180	"
11.	IX (a) (δ)	---   - u u -	P2	147	"
12.	IX (a) (γ)	- u u -   ---	MS2 <sup>tr</sup>	140	"
13.	IV (a) (β)	---   - u u u	V3	135	"
14.	III (a) (γ)	- u -   - u u u	V3	135	"
15.	III (a) (9)	u u u -   = u - u	L1 <sup>1</sup> 3 <sup>1</sup> or }	131	"
16.	VII (b)	- u -   ----	S3	119	"
17.	IX (a) (β)	- u -   - u u -	P2	119	"
18.	V (a) (2)	u u - -   - u -	L2 <sup>1</sup>	117	"
19.	VI (b) (1)	u u u -   - u -	L2 <sup>1</sup>	117	"
20.	VII (a) (3)	- u u -   u u u	P1 <sup>3</sup>	115	"
21.	VII (a)	---   ----	S3	107	"
22.	III (a) (7)	- u -   u u u	L1 <sup>3</sup>	94	"
23.	V (a) (1)	---   u u u -	L2 <sup>3</sup>	71	"
24.	IX (a) (β) (2)	- u u u   - u u -	P2 <sup>2</sup>	71	"
25.	VI (b) (3)	- u -   u u u -	L2 <sup>3</sup>	68	"
26.	IX (b)	- u u -   - u u -	P2 <sup>tr</sup>	66	"
27.	IV (a) (1)	---   u u u	MS1 <sup>3</sup>	62	"
28.	V (b) (2)	u u u -   ---	MS2 <sup>1</sup>	57	"
29.	IV (a) (3)	u u - -   = u - u	MS1 <sup>1</sup> L3 <sup>1</sup> or }	56	"
30.	III (a) (12)	- u u u   u u u	M1 <sup>23</sup>	54	"
31.	III (a) (10)	u u u u u   - u	M1 <sup>12</sup>	45	"
32.	IX (a) (2)	- u u u u   = u - u	P1 <sup>2</sup> M3 <sup>tr2</sup> or }	42	"
33.	VIII (a) (δ)	- u u -   - u u u	L3 <sup>tr</sup>	40	"
34.	V (b) (4)	- u -   u u - -	MS3 <sup>3</sup>	39	"
35.	III (13)	u u u -   u u u	M1 <sup>13</sup>	36	"
36.	IX (a) (1)	- u u -   u u u -	M2 <sup>tr3</sup>	34	"
37.	V (b) (3)	- u u u   ---	MS2 <sup>2</sup>	34	"
38.	XI (c)	- u -   - u u u	P3	32	"
39.	VI (a) (3)	---   u u - -	MS2 <sup>3</sup>	27	"
40.	IX (a) (β) (3)	u u u -   - u u -	P2 <sup>1</sup>	26	"
41.	IX (a) (δ) (1)	u u - -   - u u -	P2 <sup>1</sup>	26	"
42.	VII (3)	u u u -   ----	MS3 <sup>1</sup>	21	"
43.	VI (1)	u u - -   ----	MS3 <sup>1</sup>	21	"
44.	VI (b) (5)	u u u -   u u u -	M2 <sup>13</sup>	19	"
45.	V (a) (4)	- - u u   - u -	L2 <sup>2</sup>	18	"
46.	III (a) (8)	u u u u u   u u u	M1 <sup>123</sup>	18	"
47.	IX (a) (2)	- u u u u   - u -	M2 <sup>tr2</sup>	17	"
48.	XI (c) (β)	---   - u u u	P3	13	"
49.	VIII (a) (β)	- u - -   - u u -	P2 <sup>tr</sup>	13	"

50.	V (a) (6)	υ υ --   υ υ υ -	M2 <sup>13</sup>	11 examples.
51.	VII (2)	- υ υ υ   ----	MS3 <sup>2</sup>	11 "
52.	VI (b) (4)	- υ υ υ   υ υ υ -	M2 <sup>23</sup>	10 "
53.	III (15)	- υ -   υ υ υ - υ	L3 <sup>3</sup>	9 "
54.	XI (a)	- υ υ -   - υ υ - υ	P3	8 "
55.	VI (a) (2)	-- υ υ   ----	MS2 <sup>2</sup>	6 "
56.	VI (b) (6)	- υ -   υ υ υ υ υ	M2 <sup>34</sup>	6 "
57.	IX (a) (a) (3)	- υ υ -   υ υ υ υ υ	M2 <sup>tr34</sup>	5 "
58.	IV (a) (2)	-- υ υ   - υ - υ	MS1 <sup>2</sup> 3 <sup>2</sup> or }	4 "

## B. NON-ZIELINSKIAN CLAUSULAE

## (a) Differing in base

59.	III (a) (β)	- υ - υ   - υ -	232 examples.
60.	XI (e)	- υ υ   - υ -	187 "
61.	III (a) (α)	- υ   - υ -	181 "
62.	III (c)	υ --   - υ -	113 "
63.	I	- υ - υ   - υ - υ	103 "
64.	VIII (c)	υ --   - υ υ -	86 "
65.	XI (d)	- υ υ   - υ - υ	53 "
66.	VIII (a) (α)	- υ   - υ υ -	50 "
67.	VIII (a) (β)	- υ - υ   - υ υ -	48 "
68.	III (b) (α)	υ -   - υ -	36 "
69.	III (c) (1)	υ --   υ υ υ -	25 "
70.	II (a) (2)	- υ - υ   υ υ υ -	21 "
71.	II (a) (1)	- υ   υ υ υ -	21 "
72.	II (a) (1 <sup>1</sup> )	υ υ υ   - υ -	16 "
73.	XI (b) (α)	- υ - υ   - υ υ - υ	4 "
74.	VIII (a) (1)	υ υ υ - υ   - υ υ -	3 "

## (b) Differing in cadence or whole rhythm

75.	III (b) (β)	- υ -   υ -	101 "
76.	III (b) (2)	υ υ υ -   υ - υ -	75 "
77.	IV (b) (β)	---   υ - υ -	74 "
78.	III (b) (δ)	- υ -   υ - υ -	58 "
79.	IV (b) (α)	---   υ -	55 "
80.	VIII (b) (δ)	- υ υ -   υ - υ -	43 "
81.	III (b) (3)	- υ υ υ   υ - υ -	42 "
82.	VIII (b) (γ)	- υ υ -   υ -	40 "
83.	VIII (b) (α)	υ -   - υ υ -	17 "
84.	IV (b) (2)	υ υ --   υ - υ -	10 "
85.	III (b) (4)	υ υ υ υ   υ - υ -	9 "
86.	IX (a) (β) (2)	- υ -   - υ υ υ υ	5 "

## (c) Anomalies

87.	X (c) (β)	- υ υ - υ υ - υ	40 "
88.	X (d) (α)	- υ υ - υ υ - υ -	8 "
89.	IV (b) (3)	υ υ υ υ -   υ -	4 "

If we now compare the favourite rhythms of Aeschines with those of Cicero we shall find :—

(1) That the rhythm  $- \cup - | - \cup$  is the first favourite of both.

(2) That the following rhythms are nearly equally popular with both :  $--- | - \cup -$  ;  $- \cup - | - \cup -$  ;  $- \cup \cup \cup | - \cup$ .

(3) That the favourite rhythms cannot, on the whole, be said to be the same in each. Thus, the rhythms  $- \cup \cup - \cup$ ,  $- \cup \cup - | - \cup$ ,  $--- | ---$ ,  $- \cup \cup - \cup -$ ,  $--- | - -$ ,  $--- | - \cup \cup -$ ,  $- \cup \cup - | ---$ ,  $\cup - - | - \cup -$ ,  $\cup - - | - \cup \cup -$  and  $- \cup \cup - | - \cup \cup -$  which are rather frequent in Aeschines are by no means equally so in Cicero ; while in the case of the latter, his  $--- | - \cup - \cup$ ,  $- \cup - | - \cup - \cup$  are not found so very frequently in Aeschines.

(4) That whereas in Cicero the rhythms  $--- | - \cup - \cup$  and  $- \cup - | - \cup - \cup$  (which is as far as I have taken those in Aeschines) may extend to a cadence as long as  $- \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$  (M7 and M7), such effects are not to be found in our author.

(5) That whereas Cicero avoids closing a period with the end of a verse, *e.g.* *esse videtur, placuisse Catoni*, Aeschines is much given to this particular ending, in which fault he is kept in countenance by Livy, *e.g.* in *vincula duci*, who was, of course, often poetical in his diction.<sup>1</sup>

R. A. POPE.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Rose adds : If we take all the rhythms in the above list which can by any ingenuity be expressed in Zielinskian terms, we find that they amount to 5,712 out of a total of 7,472 (or 5,752 if we take 87 in the above list as  $- \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup$ , *i.e.* MS2<sup>th</sup>3), which is enough to show that excellent as Zielinski's terminology is for Ciceronian—and I may add, for Pauline—rhythms, it is inadequate for the Attic orator. We find, moreover, even among those rhythms which do come under his classification, no such preponderance of one or two classes over the rest as Cicero affords us. The figures are : *Verae clausulae*, 1,706 ; *Licitae*, 954 ; *Malae*, including MS, 780 ; *Selectae*, 921 ; and *Pessimae* or *pessimarum pessimae*, 1,351. This, however, is not to say that Aeschines had no preferences, *i.e.* that his prose was not rhythmical at all, or rhythmical only in Blass's sense, *i.e.* showing occasional recurrence of the same or approximately the same combinations of longs and shorts. If we take Mr. Pope's eleven classes, the figures are : i, 103 examples ; ii, 58 ; iii, 2,227 ; iv, 583 ; v, 1076 ; vi, 759 ; vii, 373 ; viii, 696 ; ix, 807 ; x, 414 ; and xi, 297. The order is thus iii, v, ix, vi, viii, iv, x, vii, xi, i, ii, *i.e.* the preference is given very decidedly to those combinations of feet in which the cretic, molossus, and choriambus—which, especially the first two, may be said to form the basis of Ciceronian rhythm—are most prominent. The process of selection from a much larger stock of possible rhythms, which we find at its best in Cicero and pushed to an absurd extreme in Byzantine Greek and mediæval Latin, had already begun when Aeschines fought his losing fight against Demosthenes.



## 5. FURTHER NOTES ON THE FAMILIAR LETTERS OF JAMES HOWELL

The Motto above Howell's portrait at the foot of the frontispiece to the first edition of the 'Familiar Letters,' *Sub mole resurgo*.

This refers to the Palm-branches that border the portrait. In one form or another, it is a familiar emblem. Alciatus's thirty-sixth, with the heading "Obdurandum adversus urgentia," has explanatory verses beginning,

Nititur in pondus palma, & consurgit in arcum;  
Quò magis & premitur, hoc mage tollit onus.

On the title-page of J. L. Balzac's 'Carmina,' &c., edited by Ménage, "Sumptibus Augustini Courbé, in Palatio Regio, sub signo Palmae," Paris, 1650, is a palm-tree with the legend "Curvata Resurgo."

On the reverse of sign. A4, in 'Poemata varii argumenti,' by William Dillingham, London, 1678, are three palm-trees, on one of which weights are hung; a scroll bears the legend "Depressa resurgo."

Laurentius Lippius has this distich 'De palma':

Pondere non premitur, sed sursum palma resurgit,  
Hinc sibi victores signa superba petunt.  
'Delitiae CC. Italorum Poetarum,' Part I., p. 1388.

In Jean Passerat's poem, 'Palma, Cal. Ian. anni 1591,' lines 95-100 are

Verùm haec eximias inter laus maxima dotes,  
Cedere quòd nescit, quamvis vrgetur iniquo  
Pondere, & aethereas contrà se tollit in auras,  
Indignata premi, geminatque iniuria vires.  
Scilicet expressa est animosi robore ligni,  
Quae tua in aduersis, Memmi, constantia rebus.  
'Delitiae C. Poetarum Gallorum,' Part III., p. 61.

John of Salisbury's account of this alleged peculiarity of the palm, 'Polieraticus,' V., 6, is taken *verbatim*, without acknowledgment, from Gellius, III., 6. Gellius, giving as his authorities "Aristoteles in septimo problematorum et Plutarchus in octavo symposiacorum," writes: "Si super palmae" inquit "arboris lignum magna pondera inponas ac tam graviter urgeas oneresque, ut magnitudo oneris sustineri non queat, non deorsum palma cedit nec intra flectitur, sed adversus pondus resurgit et sursum nititur recurvaturque."

Here, then, we get the *resurgo* of the emblem-mottoes. The statement

is not extant in Aristotle. The passage in Plutarch is in Bk. viii., chap. 4 of the 'Symposiaca,' 724E.

In the 'Symbola et Emblemata' of Joachim (II) Camerarius, I., lviii., is a picture of an Acanthus springing up about a basket weighted with a tile; and the motto "Depressa resurgit," with a reference to the story in Vitruvius, IV., 1, of the invention of the Corinthian capital.

Howell alludes to the palm-tree legend in another letter, II., ix., p. 387: "A Religion that in a most miraculous manner did expand herself, and propagate by simplicity, humbleness, and by a mere passive way of fortitude, growing up like the Palm-tree under the heavy weight of Persecution."

*The Vote, or a Poem-Royal*, the heading immediately over the first line, p. 5:

#### POEMA.

#### Στοηρητικόν.

In his Preface (p. xi. of the 1892 volume), Jacobs claims to "have corrected the few misprints" of the 1737 edition of the Letters which he follows generally. His correction is incomplete. The absurd stop, for instance, after POEMA which makes nonsense of the heading is mechanically reproduced. It was absent in the earliest editions, Στοηρητικόν being of course the adjective defining POEMA. It is a modern coinage from the Latin *strena* (Fr. *étrenne*), a New Year's gift, which appears in Greek in Athenaeus, II., 97D, τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων καλουμένην στοήραν.

*The Vote*, line 28, p. 6:

No Pistols, or some rare-spring Carabines.

"Rare-spring" calls for explanation. The reference is to the wheel-lock. Prof. C. H. Firth, in 'Cromwell's Army,' distinguishes the matchlock, the wheel-lock, and the snaphanse or flint-lock. "... the wheel-lock, so called because the spark which fired the charge was produced by the friction of a small steel wheel against a piece of iron pyrites. The wheel was set in motion by a strong spring, which was wound up by a key, or, as it was more often called, a 'spanner.' Wheel-locks, however, were expensive, and liable to get out of order; for these reasons they were little used in the Civil Wars except for the carbines or pistols of the cavalry." Ch. iv. (2nd ed.), p. 87.

*The Vote*, ll. 58 sqq., p. 7:

For as the Sun with his Male Heat doth render  
Nile's muddy Slime fruitful, and apt t'engender,  
And daily to produce new kind of Creatures,  
Of various Shapes, and thousand differing Features;  
So is my Fancy quicken'd by the Glance  
Of his benign Aspect and Countenance;  
It makes me pregnant and to superfete;  
Such is the Vigor of his Beams and Heat.

Book II., xxx., p. 423 : Now, *Melancholy is far more fruitful of thoughts than any other humour* ; for it is like the mud of *Nile*, which, when that *Enigmatical* vast River is got again to her former bed, engendereth divers sorts of new creatures, and some kind of Monsters.

See Ovid, 'Met.' I., 422 sqq. :

Sic ubi deseruit madidos septemfluus agros  
 Nilus et antiquo sua flumina reddidit alveo,  
 Aetherioque recens exarsit sidere limus,  
 Plurima cultores versis animalia glaebis  
 Inveniunt, et in his quaedam modo coepta sub ipsum  
 Nascendi spatium, quaedam imperfecta suisque  
 Trunca vident numeris, et eodem in corpore saepe  
 Altera pars vivit, rudis est pars altera tellus.

Again in 434-437 :

Ergo ubi diluvio tellus lutulenta recenti  
 Solibus aetheriis altoque recanduit aestu,  
 Edidit innumeras species, partimque figuras  
 Rettulit antiquas, partim nova monstra creavit.

*The Vote*, ll. 88-90, p. 8 :

I have had Audience (in another Strain)  
 Of *Europe's* greatest Kings ; when *German* Main,  
 And the *Cantabrian* Waves I cross'd.

Jacobs explains " Cantabrian Waves " as St. George's Channel. The Bay of Biscay is meant, the reference being to Howell's mission to Spain in 1622, on the *Vineyard* affair.

*The Vote*, ll. 145, 146, p. 10 :

Sound Sleeps, green Dreams be his, which represent  
 Symptoms of Health, and the next day's content.

Compare Andrew Marvell, 'The Garden,' stanza vi., *ad fin.* :

Annihilating all that's made  
 To a green thought in a green shade.

*To the knowing Reader touching Familiar Letters*, ll. 65, 66,  
 p. 15 :

Words vanish soon, and Vapour into Air,  
 While *Letters* on Record stand fresh and fair.

A version of the mediæval saying :

Vox audita perit, littera scripta manet.

*To the knowing Reader touching Familiar Letters*, ll. 77 sq.,  
 p. 15 :

*Speech is the Index, Letters Ideas are  
Of the informing Soul.*

Index est animi sermo, morumque fidelis  
Hand dubiè testis.

Palingenius, 'Zodiacus Vitae,' I., 194 sq.

W. H. D. Suringar, in his edition of Heinrich Bebel's 'Proverbia Germanica' (Leyden, 1879), no. 118, under "Qualis homo, talis sermo," quotes from Ian. Anysius, 'Sententiae Morales,' 80 (Basel, 1529):

Oratio index animi cogitantis est.

But the thought is very old. It was Socrates, according to Apuleius, 'Florida,' 2, "qui, cum decorum adulescentem et diutule tacentem conspicatus foret: 'ut te videam, inquit, aliquid et loquere.'"

"Sententia haec" as a commentator on this remarks "est vulgatissima: ex sermone homines agnoscit."

Book I., Sect. 1, ii., p. 20, His Predecessor the Earl of *Somerset* hath got a Lease of 90 years for his Life.

William Howell (1638 ?-1683) employs a like metaphor in his 'Medulla Historiae Anglicanae' (1679), p. 216 in the ed. of 1712, "The Earl and his Countess were also arraigned and condemned, but had a Lease of their Lives granted them for Ninety Nine Years, yet so as never after to see the King's Face more."

Jacobs, after mentioning that the Earl was respited, but kept in the Tower till 1622, and not definitely pardoned till 1625, adds, "What the Lease of 90 years for his Life refers to, I have been unable to ascertain."

Where is the difficulty? Howell, whether referring to Somerset's respite from execution or anticipating the later pardon (the date he puts to the letter is 1 March, 1618), would appear to mean that the Life forfeited to the King has been granted again on a lease which will last for the rest of the Earl's natural existence.

Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.

The figurative "new lease of life" is surely common enough.

Book I., Sect. 1, ii., p. 20, "... yet the subservient Instruments [of Overbury's poisoning], the lesser Flies could not break thorow, but lay entangled in the Cobweb."

An allusion to the saying attributed to Solon in Diogenes Laertius, I. 2, 10, 58, τοὺς δὲ νόμους τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὁμοίους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ἐὰν μὲν ἐμπέσῃ τι κοῦφον καὶ ἀσθενές, στέγειν, ἐὰν δὲ μεῖζον, διακόψαν οἴχεσθαι.

See Ménage's note showing that Valerius Maximus, vii., 2, *Ext.* 14, and Plutarch, Life of Solon, 5, attribute it to Anacharsis, while in Stobaeus, 'Florilegium,' xlv., 25, a similar saying is given to Zaleucus.

Book I., Sect. 1, ii., p. 21, Sir *Gervas Elways*, Lieut. of the Tower.

Jacobs writes that he "had been appointed to supersede Sir William Wood." This is an error or misprint. Helwys's predecessor was Sir William Waad, or Wade.



Book I., Sect. 1, iv., p. 23, But what will not one in Captivity (as Sir Walter was) promise, to regain his Freedom? who would not promise, not only Mines, but Mountains of Gold, for Liberty?

See "Aureos montes polliceri" in Erasmus's 'Adagia,' and the quotations under 'Mons' (1) in A. Otto's 'Sprichwörter der Römer.'

Book I., Sect. 1, viii., p. 32, . . . the *Oxonians* and *Can-tabrigians* — *Bona si sua norint*, were they sensible of their own Felicity, are the happiest *Academians* on Earth.

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,  
Agricolas!

Virgil, 'Georg.' ii. 458.

Book I., Sect. 1, x., p. 34:

*To Sir James Crofts, from the Hague.*

In a note on an earlier letter, I. 1, iv., p. 22, we are told that Sir James Crofts or Croft, a pensioner or member of Queen Elizabeth's bodyguard, was a grandson of the elder Sir James, Controller of Queen Elizabeth's household; but an article in the *Retrospective Review* and a note of Sir Sidney Lee's, in his edition of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Autobiography, to both of which we are referred, say that he was the 3rd son of the Controller. The end of the present letter, in which Howell wishes "that the Sun may make many progresses thro' the *Zodiac*, before those comely gray Hairs of yours go to the Grave," would, according to Jacobs, "indicate that it is the earlier Sir James who is addressed." But the date to Howell's letter is 3 June, 1619, and the elder Sir James died, according to the D.N.B., in 1590.

Book I., Sect. 1, x., p. 34, This Prince (*Maurice*) was cast in a Mould suitable to the temper of this People.

Prince Maurice did not become "Stadholder of the United Provinces on the death of his father, 1584," as in Jacobs's note. He was elected Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland on Nov. 1, 1585, and of Overijssel, Utrecht and Gelderland in 1590.

Book I., Sect. 1, xv., pp. 41, 42, This Province [Normandy] is also subject to *Wardships*, and no other part of *France* besides; but whether the *Conqueror* translated that Law to *England* from hence, or whether he sent it over from *England* hither, I cannot resolve you.

The note "*Wardships*, qy. wardmotes, courts held in each ward of a city?" is entirely uncalled for.

Book I., Sect. 1, xx., p. 54, Yours *χρήσει καὶ κτήσει*, J. H.

Book II., xlvi., 440, I am still yours *κτήσει*, tho' I cannot be *χρήσει*: for *in statu quo nunc*, I am grown useless and good for

nothing, yet in point of possession I am as much as ever—Your firm inalterable Servitor,

J. H.

Compare the beginning of Curius's Letter to Cicero (Fam. vii. 29), S[i]v[ales] b[ene est]; sum enim *χρήσει μὲν tuus, κτήσει δὲ Attici nostri*.

Book I., Sect. 1, xxvi., p. 62, Had I come time enough to have taken the Opportunity, I might have been made either Food for Haddocks, or turn'd to Cinders, or have been by this time a Slave in the Bannier at *Algier*, or tugging at an Oar.

The N.E.D. quotes from Heywood's 'Foure Prentises' "I might haue fed the Haddockes." Coryat, 'Crudities,' ed. 1905, vol. i., p. 152, describes his arrival in Calais, "about five of the clocke in the afternoone, after I had varnished the exterior parts of the ship with the excrementall ebullitions of my tumultuous stomach, as desiring to satiate the gormandizing paunches of the hungry Haddocks."

Book I., Sect. 1, xxxi., p. 71, This made me think on that famous Ship at *Athens*.

Jacobs is mistaken when he says that this ship went yearly to Crete in memory of Theseus's victory over the Minotaur. If he had read with attention the passage of the 'Phaedo' which he mentions in his note, he would have seen that the vessel's yearly voyage was to Delos, in fulfilment of the vow which Theseus was supposed to have made to Apollo. It was reputed to be the original ship which had once carried Theseus to Crete with the tribute of youths and maidens. The Athenian *Theoris* was thus being continually repaired, like the Venetian *Bucentoro*, and suggested to the Greek philosophers reflections like those in which Howell here indulges. For Plutarch in his Life of Theseus, ch. 23, tells us that it served as an example in discussing whether things that grow retain their identity.

Book I., Sect. 1, xxxvi., p. 78:

To Robert Brown, *Esq.*, at the Middle-Temple; from Venice.

On p. xi. of his Preface to the volume containing the Introduction and Notes, Jacobs wrote, "In my annotations, I have endeavoured to identify the many persons mentioned by Howell, and have for the most part been successful."

But Jacobs's standard of identification, like Wordsworth's of intoxication, was miserably low. In the present letter, though "your Cousin Brown" (p. 79) draws from him the remark, "It is impossible to identify so common a name," yet on the address "To Robert Brown, *Esq.*, at the Middle-Temple" we get the comment, "Evelyn's father-in-law was so called, also a person named in Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 282." But Evelyn married the daughter of Sir Richard Browne, and the parliamentary officer mentioned in Warwick's 'Memoirs' (afterwards a Baronet, and a well-known personage) was also *Richard*.

Possibly, we will not say "probably," the Brown whom we have here was Robert, third son of John Browne of Frampton, Dorset, Knt.,

who was admitted to the Middle Temple on May 1, 1607, and called in 1615-16. 'Middle Temple Records,' ed. by C. H. Hopwood, vol. ii., p. 477.

Book I., Sect. 1, xxxviii., p. 84, . . . the Stoves of *Anthony*.

It ought perhaps to be explained that these, which Howell here names among the "chiefest" antiquities of Rome, are the well-known Baths of Caracalla (M. Aurelius *Antoninus*), in the S.E. quarter of the city.

Book I., Sect. 1, xli., p. 92, Among other Customs they have in that Town [Genoa], one is, That none must carry a pointed Knife about him; which makes the *Hollander*, who is us'd to *Snik* and *Snee*, to leave his Horn-sheath and Knife a Ship-board when he comes ashore.

Of "*Snik* and *Snee*" Jacobs offers the singular explanation "Du. tool and knife," from what source is not apparent. But see the N.E.D. s. "*Snick* or *Snee*," which is shown to be an adaptation of the Dutch *steken*, to thrust, stick, and *snijden*, *snijden*, to cut, with later assimilation of the *st-* of the first to the *sn-* of the second.

With Howell's mention of this proclivity of the Dutch mariner may be compared Marvell's lines in his 'Character of Holland,' 93 sqq.:

Or what a spectacle the skipper gross,  
A water Hercules, butter Coloss,  
Tunned up with all their several towns of beer;  
When, staggering upon some land, snick and sneer,  
They try, like statuaries, if they can  
Cut out each other's Athos to a man,  
And carve in their large bodies, where they please,  
The arms of the United Provinces.

Book I., Sect. 2, xii., p. 112, The News is, that the Prince *Palsgrave*, with his Lady and Children, are come to the *Hague* in *Holland*. . . . The old D. of *Bavaria's* Uncle is chosen Elector and Arch-sewer of the *Roman* Empire in his place (but, as they say, in an imperfect *Diet*), and with this *Proviso*, that the transferring of this Election upon the *Bavarian* shall not prejudice the next Heir.

Jacobs's note on "The old D. of Bavaria's Uncle" is "'Whatever that may mean,' says Prof. Gardiner; I will not rush in where he fears to tread." Quite so; but if Mr. Jacobs and Professor Gardiner had consulted the 1st edition of the letters in this place, they would have seen that the text runs, "The old D. of Bavaria his Uncle." Is not this a description of Maximilian as the Pfalzgraf Friedrich's uncle, which in some later edition was changed through a misunderstanding into "D. of Bavaria's Uncle"? Howell, as his editor points out elsewhere, used "Uncle" at times to denote a less precise relationship. The Duke of Bavaria was brother-in-law of Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg, who was the nearest Agnate to the reigning family at Heidelberg. Besides, as Ferdinand II. had transferred the *Kur* to Max and his heirs by a secret document on Sept. 22, 1621, and the public *Belehrung* had taken place at



a *Reichsdeputationsloge* at Regensburg on Feb. 25, 1623 (see the 'Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie'), Howell could not be referring to any one but the Bavarian Duke.

Book I., Sect. 2, xv., p. 117, So that at last matters succeeding ill with him [the Duke of Alva], and having had his Cousin *Pacecio* hang'd at *Flushing-Gates*, after he had trac'd out the Platform of a Citadel in that Town also, he receiv'd Letters of Revocation from *Spain*.

We find this note in Jacobs: "Pachicho or Paceotti, an Italian engineer and architect of the Antwerp citadel, but not related in any way to Alva, nor was Alva the cause of his death, as he was put to death during an *émeute* at Flushing (Motley, ii. 361)."

Howell nowhere says that Alva was the cause of his death. The obvious meaning of "having had his Cousin hang'd" is that he suffered the misfortune or indignity of having him thus executed.

As to the relationship between the two men, we begin to distrust Jacobs's denial of any connexion when we find Famianus Strada in his 'De Bello Belgico,' Decas I., lib. vii., p. 360, ed. Lugd. Bat., 1645, describing the victim of the Flushing outrage as "Tribunus Alvarus Pacechus Albani propinquus." Presently we notice that with Strada this officer, Alvarus Pacechus, Alva's kinsman, has an existence independent of "Franciscus Paciottus bellicorum operum machinator." We now feel that some details in Motley's account are breaking down—"That vengeance soon found a distinguished object. Pacheco, the chief engineer of Alva," &c. "Treslong . . . was especially incensed against the founder of the Antwerp citadel." Our doubts are finally confirmed on consulting A. J. van der Aa's 'Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden.' According to this authority, Pedro Alvarez Pacheco was of the noble family of Alvarez, from which Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, whose grandmother was a Maria Pacheco, was also descended. This unfortunate Pacheco has, we learn, been called out of his name in a variety of ways, and Francesco Paciotto of Urbano, the engineer, has been confounded with him by most historians and named accordingly. Enough!

Book I., Sect. 2, xv., p. 120, . . and this was the *Bone* that Secretary *Walsingham* told *Q. Elizabeth* he would cast the K. of *Spain*, that should last him twenty years, and perhaps make his teeth shake in his head.

See Sir Robert Naunton's 'Fragmenta Regalia,' p. 37 (Arber), at the end of the chapter on Sir Fr. Walsingham,

"And it is a likely report that they father on him, at his return, That he said unto the Queen, with some sensibility of the Spanish designs on *France*: Madam, I beseech you be content not to fear; The *Spaniard* hath a great appetite, and an excellent digestion, but I have fitt'd him with a bone for this twenty yeares, that your Majesty shall have no cause to doubt him; provided that if the fire chance to slack which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and now and then cast in some English fewel, which will revive the flame."



Book I., Sect. 3, iii., p. 147, . . he saith, that he must apply to them a Speech of Queen *Elizabeth's* to an Ambassador of Poland, *Legatum expectavimus, Heraldum accepimus; We expected an Ambassador, we have receiv'd a Herald.*

See the account printed in John Nichols, 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. ii., 'Embassador from the King of Poland, 1597.'

"The Polonian ambassador, being of a blunt and harsh behaviour, delivered his mind accordingly . . . whereat the Queene, being much amazed, was driven into admiration, and unawares and unprovided on the sodaine what to say, with a sharp look and earnest mind, very learnedly and eloquently spake these words: 'Oh, quam decepta fui; expectavi legationem, tu vero querelam mihi adduxisti. Per literas accepi te esse legatum, inveni vero heraldum; numquam in vita mea audiavi talem orationem,' " &c. "Never heard such a speech in my life!" There is perhaps just a touch of the undergraduate's "Sed hae observationes neque hic sunt neque illic" about the royal style.

Book I., Sect. 3, xix., p. 171, Mr. *Vaughan* of the *Golden-Grove* and I were Comrades and Bedfellows here [at Madrid] many months together: his Father, Sir *John Vaughan*, the Prince his Controller, is lately come to attend his Master.

Jacobs identifies "Mr. Vaughan of the Golden Grove" with "Sir W. Vaughan (1577-1640), author of *The Golden Grove*, an allegorical poem in three books, 1600. See also 4 *Arch. Camb.* xii., 274."

Sir John Vaughan he declares to be "the Judge (1608-74)" and mentions that the 'Golden Grove' was dedicated to him.

We are thus asked to believe that Sir John was the dedicatee of a book published eight years before he was born, and the father of a son over 30 years his senior!

Jacobs too hastily assumed that "of the Golden Grove" referred to the book bearing that title instead of the family seat in Carmarthenshire after which the book was named.

Sir John Vaughan, Controller of the household to Prince Charles, was not the same as the judge. He was already, at the date to which Howell assigns this letter, 13 Aug. 1623, Baron Vaughan in the peerage of Ireland. He was created Earl of Carbery in 1628. His eldest son Richard, afterwards the second Earl and patron of Jeremy Taylor, was apparently Howell's comrade in Madrid. See Mr. D. Lleufer Thomas's lives of both these Vaughans in the D.N.B. under *Vaughan, Richard* (1600-1686).

The author of the 'Golden Grove' was William, son of Walter Vaughan and younger brother to the first Earl of Carbery. The 'Golden Grove' is not an allegorical poem but a prose work.

Book I., Sect. 5, xi., p. 260, This makes me think of the Lady *Southwell's* news from *Utopia*, that he who sweareth when he playeth at dice, may challenge his damnation by way of purchase.

Query No. 11 on p. 808 of Jacobs's edition is "What was Lady Southwell's news from Utopia?"

See 'New and Choise Characters, of seuerall Authors: Together with that exquisite and vnmatcht Poeme, The Wife, written by Syr Thomas

Ouerburie. With the former Characters and conceited Newes, All in one volume. With many other things added to this sixt impression. Mar. —*non norunt haec monumenta mori.*' London, 1615.

On sign. H3 recto begin 'Certaine Edicts from a Parliament in Eutopia; Written by the Lady Southwell,' and on H4 recto is "*Item*, hee that sweareth when hee loseth his mony at dice, shall challenge his damnation, by the way of purchase."

These 'Edicts' were included in the miscellaneous additions in several later issues of Overbury's works. They are rejected, with other pieces, by E. F. Rimbault in his ed. of Overbury's 'Miscellaneous Works,' 1856.

Book II., xxviii., p. 420:

*To Mr. T. Jackson, at Madrid.*

On this Jacobs observes "Too common a name to identify with any certainty, but probably a relative of Jackson, Bishop of London, to whom H. dedicated the Latin version of his *England's Tears* (see Bibl. List, No. 37 [should be 17])."

This will never do. There was a Jackson, Bishop of London in the latter half of last century, said to have been an authority on the sinfulness of little sins, but in 1646, the year of Howell's dedication, the Bishop of London was, of course, Juxon. Yet in the Bibliographical List, Appendix, p. lxxxvii., we again read that No. 17 is dedicated to Jackson, Bp. of London.

The explanation of this extraordinary mistake seems to be that Jacobs was misled by the unusual spelling of the Bishop's name as *Juckson* in the dedication of 'Angliae Suspiria.' In the British Museum copy (possibly in others) the impression of the *u* is very faint, and a careless reader would readily mistake the word. That the title, &c., were noted from the Brit. Mus. copy is very probable, as against the date 1646 an early hand has written Feb. 6th and altered 1646 to 1645. Jacobs appends to his transcript of the title "Appeared 6th Feb., 1646." This title as printed in Jacobs's list is defaced by several errors or misprints. *Plufquàm* of the original appears as *phifquam* (!), *miferè* as *miferi*, *dilacerantur* as *delacerantur*, *Flere* as *Heu* (*heu*! indeed), and *Excudit* as *Exaudit*. It might be unfair to say, "Ab uno disce omnes," but one's faith is grievously shaken.

Book II., lxii., p. 488, Let me hear once more from you before you remove thence, and tell me how the squares go in *Flanders*.

Jacobs's comment on "squares" is "The only meaning which suits the context is the application to bodices with square opening in front, used here for the ladies generally."

Out, hyperbolical fiend! talkest thou nothing but of ladies? The N.E.D. defines this figurative meaning of "squares" as = affairs, events, matters, proceedings, a sense found only in the phrase "how (the) squares go," which is very common in the 17th century. A reference is given to Howell's 'The True Informer.' Skeat, 'Tudor and Stuart Glossary,' has "*How go the squares?* how goes the game? The reference is to the chessboard."

Though these helps were not to be had in 1892, yet Johnson at least might have kept the editor from his blunder.

EDWARD BENSLEY.

(*To be continued.*)

## 6. FURTHER NOTES ON 'THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE'

### (1) THE RELATION OF THE POEM TO THE RELIGIOUS AND DIDACTIC LITERATURE OF THE AGE

ONE of the most interesting features of *The Owl and the Nightingale* is the way in which it reflects the intellectual activities of the age. Written in all probability in the opening years of the thirteenth century, it illustrates in remarkable fashion most of the literary interests of the time—the contemporary delight in fables, natural history and allegory, the fondness for such things as debates and proverbs, the close links that existed between law and literature, above all, the growing interest felt in the new love-poetry of France—and traces of all these things are to be found in the poem.

But while such elements as these are doubtless of the greatest interest to modern readers, they cannot be said to exhaust the characteristic features of the poem. It was an age in which the moralistic tradition prevailed in literature, when most of the works written were of a religious or didactic kind: and *The Owl and the Nightingale* may be regarded as further representing its age in the reflection it gives of the prevailing literary tradition as well as of the religious literature then so popular. In many respects, it is true, the poem seems to offer a direct contrast to works of that kind. Its object would seem to have been to challenge the religious tradition in literature, to plead for the recognition of the secular love-theme in poetry: while in tone and form alike, it is vastly different from anything else then being written in the vernacular. Yet the poet is unable to escape entirely from the tradition he challenges: his work throughout bears the impress of the spirit of the age. In his discussion of the two kinds of poetry, for instance, it is the moralistic argument that is his test and touchstone: his work, moreover, contains many religious commonplaces, reminiscent of the orthodox



thought and doctrine of the time : while his methods of exposition are also notable as being characteristic of the religious writers of his age.

(a) In the first place, then, the poem reflects the moralistic tradition in literature. According to the medieval theory, built up on patristic teaching, the controlling principle of all intellectual effort was man's desire for the kingdom of Heaven : and from this it followed that the only sort of literature which counted was that which prepared men for the heavenly life and so led to their salvation. This theory became for medieval writers the test of all literature : and it is the test applied in *The Owl and the Nightingale* to the two kinds of poetry considered, viz. religious poetry represented by the singing of the Owl, and secular love-poetry represented by the Nightingale's song. Thus the Owl, to begin with, claims for her didactic songs, that they urged men to do penance and to weep for their sins (ll. 860 ff.) : that they filled good men with longing for the heavenly life, while evil men they inspired with fear of the terrors to come (ll. 886 ff.). Elsewhere it was argued that such songs were free from all wantonness (ll. 535 ff.) : that they reminded men of the troubles and vexations of life (ll. 1190 ff.) : and that they also made use of the sacred writings, as well as the symbolical method of conveying religious truths (ll. 1207 ff.). The Owl's defence is therefore based on moralistic grounds : her songs, so she claimed, made for edifying, and were therefore of the most valuable kind. But the Nightingale's plea on behalf of the new love-poetry rests also on much the same basis. Her main arguments are that her songs encouraged men to sing, thus preparing them for the songs of Heaven (ll. 735 ff.) : that although her songs were songs of love, yet honourable love was their theme (ll. 1347 ff.) : and that men from her might learn that earthly passion lasts but for a season (ll. 1449 ff.). Incidentally, it is true, she hints at arguments of a more aesthetic kind, as when she claims that her love-songs are more artistic than the didactic songs of the Owl (ll. 790 ff.), or that her main object is to bring delight to men (ll. 437 ff., 737 ff., 986 ff.). But, in general, it is the didactic value of her singing that is emphasised : for it was only in this way that the case for the new secular poetry could be brought home to men. And here, under the guise of allegory, we have the first discussion on poetry in English. With that discussion English criticism may, in a sense, be said to begin : and it embodies, clearly enough, the



moralistic theory of literature which formed part of the twelfth century literary tradition.

(b) But the poem does more than reflect the current views with regard to literature: it has also abundant traces of the actual religious thought of the time. At every turn may be found religious commonplaces, ideas, and phrases, reminiscent of the homiletic works of the age: so that in spite of its secular objective, the poem reflects clearly the religious spirit of the age. The most obvious example of all is perhaps the passage dealing with the Seven Deadly Sins (ll. 1395 ff.), for there the orthodox doctrine is expounded in all its details. There is the usual division into sins carnal and sins spiritual (ll. 1395-6 note <sup>1</sup>): the usual condemnation of sins of the spirit in particular (l. 1410 note). The conceptions of Envy (l. 1402 note) and Sloth (l. 1400 note) are similar to those set forth in *The Ancren Riwe*: while the phrase 'companions of devils' (l. 1412 note) is one that is elsewhere associated with the sin of pride. But, apart from this, use is frequently made of other familiar material. Sometimes a doctrine is reproduced with some amount of detail, as when the Owl explains that tears, not mere singing, can alone bring a man to heaven, and she mentions, by the way, the four kinds of tears that are necessary to salvation (ll. 865-86 note). More commonly, however, reference of a more fleeting kind is made to religious thoughts and sentiments which were doubtless familiar to the poet's contemporaries, if we may judge from parallel places found in the religious works of the time. Thus, there is the Nightingale's assertion that 'man was born for the bliss of Heaven' (ll. 716-7 note): likewise the statements made with regard to the virtue of moderation (ll. 351 ff. note) and to the evil effects of anger on human judgment (ll. 945-50 note), though such sentiments, it is true, also formed part of the popular wisdom. In the descriptions of the envious malignant man (ll. 245 ff. note, ll. 421 ff.), however, we have passages which recall the character-sketches in *The Ancren Riwe*: the reference to the law of the old Dispensation, the *olde laze* (l. 1037 note) may be paralleled in many of the contemporary homilies: while the statement that follows as to the duties of the wise husbandman (ll. 1039 ff. note) would seem to have been taken from a twelfth century homily or else from a passage out of the teaching of Gregory.

(c) In yet a third way does the poem betray the influence of

<sup>1</sup> The references throughout are to the notes below in section (2).

contemporary religious writings, and that is in the methods of exposition employed by the poet. There are, broadly speaking, two methods characteristic of the religious teaching of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> One is the method by which a given statement is emphasised or illustrated by figures of speech—by similes, analogies, proverbs, and the like: the other method is that in which the exemplum or short story is used for that particular purpose. Up to the middle of the thirteenth century, the former method prevailed in vernacular writings, though instances of exempla are found, more especially in the Latin works of contemporary Englishmen like John of Salisbury and Walter Map. With the coming of the preaching Friars, however, the exemplum became the more popular device: and from then on, it entered into most of the medieval religious teaching.

In this method of exposition *The Owl and the Nightingale* follows, in the main, the vernacular practice of the time. A copious use is made of figures of speech: whereas there are but two instances of the exemplum. Of the latter, the first example is found in ll. 99–138, where the fable of the Owl and the Falcon<sup>2</sup> is related by way of illustrating the general truth that 'Nature will out.' The second instance occurs in the Nightingale episode (ll. 1049 ff.), into which each of the disputants reads a different moral. The Owl quotes it to illustrate the evil effects of love-songs, while the Nightingale claims that the story bears out the value of her singing.

It is, however, in the figures of speech used by the poet that we find his characteristic rhetorical devices. He makes use not so much of the stories technically known as exempla but rather of those similes and analogies which were common in patristic writings and Latin homilies, and which were often more effective than the cumbrous exempla. Thus, instances of similes are to be found in ll. 245 ff., 413 ff., 421 ff., 917 ff., 1665 ff., and elsewhere: and all of them, it will be noted, are taken from life and Nature. Instances of analogy occur in the following places:

(a) The Owl, in spite of her lurking habits by day, claims to be able to see: and she enforces her claim by pointing to the ways of the hare (ll. 373 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> See J. A. Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England*. New York, 1911. (Ch. I.)

<sup>2</sup> See note ll. 99–138 below.

(b) The Owl condones the filthy habits of owlets by recalling similar habits in animals and infants (ll. 629 ff.).

(c) The Nightingale illustrates the fact that skill counts for more than brute strength by pointing out the effects of strategy in warfare (ll. 765 ff.), of tricks in wrestling (ll. 795 ff.), of the cat's device when chased by the hounds (ll. 809 ff.): whereas the horse's great strength by itself cannot prevent it from becoming subject to man (ll. 772 ff.).

(d) The foreknowledge of the Owl, so it is claimed, does not involve her guilt: a man, for instance, is not guilty of wrongdoing because he sees in advance the fate awaiting a blind man who is heading straight for a ditch (ll. 1237 ff.).

(e) The Owl is said to know nothing of astrology, though she may gaze at the stars. Thus an ape may stare at a book and yet be none the wiser (ll. 1325 ff.).

(f) Good things may be abused. Gold, for instance, may buy wickedness, and weapons in the hands of evil men may lead to murder (ll. 1365 ff.).

Thus does the poet employ comparisons and analogies to furnish illustrations, to add to the interest and to establish his various points: and in using such devices he was but following the practice of his time. His illustrations, it is true, are taken from sources of his own: they are drawn, not from classical or biblical works, nor from the fanciful natural history of the Bestiaries, but from the actual life of animals and men. Occasionally he may make use of a well-worn comparison, as when, for instance, he employs the wrestling analogy (ll. 795 ff. note). But in the main his treatment is fresh and original: while his methods are those of the religious and didactic writers of his age.

## (2) NOTES ON THE TEXT <sup>1</sup>

99-138. The treatment of the Owl and the Falcon fable is notable as being that employed later on in Bozon's *Contes Moralisés*. Thus the fable is preceded by the "sentence" (ll. 99-100) which it is designed to illustrate: it is followed by a moral explanation (ll. 129-34), in which the fable is treated as a

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations employed in the Notes:

*O.E.H.* = *Old English Homilies*, ed. R. Morris (1st and 2nd Series).

*E.E.T.S.* London, 1868.

*A.R.* = *Ancren Riwele*, ed. J. Morton. Camden Soc., London, 1853.  
References to the pages in those works.



parable, and is then supported by proverbs (ll. 135-9) corresponding to scriptural passages in Bozon.

165. *spene* = 'spend.' This form is common in contemporary writings. Cf. *spenen*, *speneð*, *O.E.H.* 85: *spene*, *O.E.H.* 105.

245-6. Cf. *A.R.* 212. Uor ȝif ei seið wel oðer deð wel, nonesweis ne muwen heo loken piderward mid riht eie of gode heorte.

351 ff. Cf. *O.E.H.* 101. Alle oferdone þing deriað, and imetnesse is alre mihta modor.

439, 443. *lilie . . . rose*. For the conventional character of this description, cf. the description of Paradise: þer bloweð inne blisse blostmen hwite and reade (*O.E.H.* 193, l. 37): also, Heo beoð so read so rose so hwit so þe lilie (*ibid.*, l. 53).

643-5. For a religious house compared to a bird's nest, rough on the outside and soft within, cf. *A.R.* 134. Nest is herd, of prikinde þornes wiðuten, and wiðinnen nesche and softe.

716-7. Cf. *O.E.H.* 7. Ne we ne beoð iboren for to habbene nane prudu . . . we beoð on þisse liue for ernien þa eche blisse in houeneriche.

795 ff. The tricks of wrestlers supplied the religious writers of the time with many of their metaphors and analogies. Thus the subtlety of the Devil in tempting anchoresses is illustrated in *The Ancren Riwele*. He is represented as saying: ichulle don ase þe wrastlare deð—ich chulle wrenchen hire piderward ase heo mest dredeð and worpen hire oðere half (=on the other side) and brenden uerliche adun er he lest wene (throw her violently down before she is aware) (*A.R.* 222). Elsewhere the tricks of the wrestler, such as the hip-throw and the falling stratagem, are described in rather more detail, see *A.R.* 280.

865 ff. The doctrine of tears is here set forth. Man must weep for his own sins (l. 865), and for the sins of others (l. 885): also on account of his longing for Heaven (l. 881) and because of the sorrow everywhere around (l. 884). With this should be compared *O.E.H.* 159: þe tere þet mon wepð for his aȝen sunne: . . . þe ter þat mon schet for his emcristenes sunne, . . . þe ter þat mon wepð for laðe of ðisse liue, . . ., þe ter þat mon wepð for longinge to heouene.

945-50. For the effects of anger on man's judgment, cf. Wreððe þe hwule þat hit ilest, ablendeð so þe heorte þet heo ne mei soð iknowen . . . heo bireaued and binimed mon his rihte wit (*A.R.* 120).



1007. *fīhs*, *flehhs*, cf. Petrus wes fixere (*O.E.H.* 97): also *flehhs*, *O.E.H.* 187; *flehslīche*, *O.E.H.* 185; *flechhs*, *A.R.* 8.

1037. For reference to the *olde laze*, cf. *O.E.H.* 9, 15, etc. It was usual to contrast the severity of the old with the gentleness of the new Dispensation.

1039 ff. For a parallel quotation, cf. *O.E.H.* 133. Sed obseruandum est quod prudens sator obseruat et glebe aptitudinem et temporis opportunitatem: hit is to witene þet alrihtes swa also þe wise teolie þenne he wule sawe nimeð ȝeme of twam pingē, an is hweðer þet lond beo bicumelic to þe sede. . . . The passage is apparently taken from Gregory's works (cf. ut ait Gregorius, *ibid.* 131).

1062. *mid wilde horse were todrawe* = ' (thou) shouldst be torn asunder by wild horses.' The poet is here following Neckam's account of the nightingale story (see *De Nat. Rerum* I. 51), according to which the punishment decreed for that hapless bird was that she should be torn to pieces by four horses (*quatuor equis distrahi*). This feature of the story is peculiar to Neckam: and the association of such a death-penalty with the Nightingale is not easy to explain. Possibly it represents a piece of uncritical learning: for Neckam himself quotes the case of Hippolytus as a parallel—Hippolytus, who was falsely accused of attempting to dishonour Phaedra and was subsequently dragged to death by his frightened steeds (*instar Hippolyti Thesidae equis diripi*). But this story does not supply a parallel episode: it can scarcely have suggested that 'death by wild horses' was part of the penal code of the ancients. On the other hand the idea seems to have been familiar in the twelfth century religious teaching. It was said to have formed part of the Jewish law, according to which a serious crime was punishable by death brought about either by wild horses or by stoning. In a twelfth century homily, for instance, the following statement occurs in connection with the Jewish law: 'ȝef þu sungedest toward pine drihtene, and me hit mihte witen, nouper gold ne seoluer ne moste gan for þe (avail thee), ac me þe sculde nimen and al toteon mid horse oðer þe al totoruion mid stane' (*O.E.H.* 7). It is not improbable that this or some similar passage may have supplied Neckam with the suggestion for his picturesque addition to the nightingale story.

1128. *sheueles* = 'scarecrow.' Of similar formation (with n. sg. ending in *s*) are *fīndles*, *fundles* (invention), *A.R.* 6, 8, cf.

Dan *findelse* (see Str-Br): *hudles*, *hudels* (O.E. *hȳdels*), hiding-place. *A.R.* 146: *uetles* (vessel), *A.R.* 164.

1169. *budel* = 'preacher.' Cf. *O.E.H.* 95, 'ȝif þe halia gast ne learð þes monnes heorte . . . on idel beoð þes budeles word wiðutan icleopde' (. . . in vain will the preacher's words be uttered).

1273-4. Cf. *O.E.H.* 5, 'þes þe we heoueden mare wele on pisse liue þes we ahte to beon þe admodde.'

1395-6. Cf. *A.R.* 194, 'þe inre uondinge (temptation) is twofold—fleschlich and gostlich.'

1400. *wrouhede* = 'sloth; that vexed or irritable state of mind which prevents a man from doing deeds of goodness.' This conception of Sloth was familiar in the twelfth century: cf. the definition of *Desidia* (pat is slewðe on englisc) as, 'þenne þan mon ne lust on his liue nan god don and bið eure unȝearu to elchere duȝeðe' (*O.E.H.* 103).

1402. *murhpe of monne shonde*. Cf. *A.R.* 200, where one of the offspring of Envy is said to be 'gledschipe of oðres vuel: lauhwen oðer gabben ȝif him misbiueolle.'

1410. In *A.R.* 194, it is pointed out that carnal temptations seem to be the greater because they are easily felt: but that spiritual temptations are more to be feared as being more odious in the sight of God.

1412. *deouel-imene*, cf. *deoulene fere* (l. 932). Pride was commonly said to make men 'companions of devils': cf. *O.E.H.* 103. Modinesse . . . þene mon makeð, ȝif heo modigað to swiðe, þes deofles ifere, þe feol er ut of heouene þurh modinesse.

### (3) SCRIBAL ERRORS IN THE C TEXT

Amongst the scribal errors found in the C text of the poem, the most important are those which arose out of the confusion of similarly-formed letters. Such errors were by no means peculiar to the C scribe: they were in fact common to most of the MSS. of the period. Napier in his *O.E. Glosses* (p. xxxi.), for instance, points to the existence of similar mistakes in slightly earlier texts: while in *The Old English Homilies* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the same errors again are present. They were, in short, the natural result of careless copying of the handwriting of the time: and their prevalence is illustrated by the following examples taken from *The O.E. Homilies*:—

(a) *p* (*ð*) written for *h*: ex. *purð* (for *purh*), 49, 34<sup>1</sup>; *peð* (for *peh*), 77, 5; *pe* (for *he*), 5, 7.

(b) *h* written for *p*: ex. *wurh* (for *wurp*), 73, 8; *henne* (for *penne*), 75, 2.

(c) *w* and *p* confused: ex. *wu* (for *pu*), 7, 16; *pe* (for *we*), 23, 12; *wunres* (for *punres*), 43, 36; *wenien* (for *penien*), 109, 21.

(d) *t* and *r* confused: ex. *ridan* (for *tidan*), 115, 29; *ðer* (for *ðet*), 205, 3.

(e) *m*, *n* and *u* confused: ex. *sunt* (for *smit*), 13, 7; *zene* (for *zeue*), 19, 4; *slande* (for *slaude*), 19, 15; *earned* (for *earued*), 21, 11; *strenies* (for *stremes*), 41, 34.

(f) *d* written for *ð*: ex. *segged* (for *seggeð*), 3, 9; *beod* (for *beoð*), 7, 2; *ladeð* (for *laðeð*), 101, 25.

(g) *it* written for *u* (*n*): cf. *stutteð* (for *stinteð*), 267, 1; *strotige* (for *stronge*), 15, 16, where one of the short strokes forming *u* (*n*) has been mistaken for *t*.

#### (4) THE J MS. AND THOMAS WILKINS

The actual date of the gift of the J text to Jesus College, Oxford, is mentioned in a memorandum which appears in the handwriting of the donor (Thos. Wilkins) at the end of a volume containing the *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio*, by Sir J. Price (and two other works), now in the possession of Principal J. H. Davies of University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, to whom I am indebted for the information and for permission to make use of the same. The memorandum is as follows:—

Memorandum that on Munday y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> of January 1693 I gave three velom M.S.<sup>vis</sup> to Jesus College Library and sente them up with Rees Bowen.

All three new bound and claspt.

1. One large thicke 4<sup>to</sup> a very necessary Canon Law-book. Latine.
2. One other 4<sup>to</sup> being 17 of Brittish storyes and written for Griffydd ab Llën, ab Trehaiarn of Cantref maior now in Carmarthenshire Añ D<sup>m</sup> 1346.
3. An Antient Cronicle ab Aõ 900 usque ad Añum 1444. Latine.  
And a Saxon Manuscript bound with it  
Being y<sup>e</sup> Poetry of M<sup>r</sup> Johan  
of Guildeuorde now  
called Gilford.

From this it would appear that the donor of the MS. attributed all the poems in the MS. (including *The Owl and the Nightingale*) to John of Guildford—an assumption which was probably based

<sup>1</sup> The references are to page and line in *O.E.H.*

on a statement made on 'a broaken leaf' of the MS., as it came into the donor's hands, and afterwards copied by him on f. 228 r. of the MS. In connection with *The Owl and the Nightingale*, however, Wilkins' assertion would seem to have been a mere guess; and the case for John of Guildford as author of that particular poem has been elsewhere discussed at some length.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning Thos. Wilkins himself but little is known. In 1641 he matriculated at Oxford (Jesus College), received the B.C.L. degree in 1661, and in the meantime had become Rector of Gelligaer, Glamorgan, in 1661.<sup>2</sup> In March 1667 he was already 'Beatae Mariae super Montem rector,'<sup>3</sup> when he was admitted to the canonry or prebend of Llangwm in the Cathedral Church of Llandaff.<sup>4</sup> On June 23, 1668, he was admitted to the rectory of Llanmaes,<sup>5</sup> while still remaining rector B.M. super Montem: for on September 9, 1699, one, Thomas Collins, was inducted to the rectory of St. Marychurch, which was described as having become vacant through the death of the last incumbent, Thos. Wilkins<sup>6</sup>—an event which took place in 1698.<sup>7</sup>

J. W. H. ATKINS.

<sup>1</sup> See Atkins, *Owl and Nightingale*, Intro. § 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Foster, *At. Ox: Fasti* 11, 252.

<sup>3</sup> St. Mary Hill or St. Marychurch, now attached to Llandough.

<sup>4</sup> See *Llandaff Records*, vol. iii. (Acts of the Bishops of Llandaff, ii. and iii.). Cardiff, 1909, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40.

<sup>7</sup> See Foster, *loc. cit.*



## 7. THE ARTHURIAN EMPIRE IN THE ELIZABETHAN POETS

It was in the sixteenth century that Arthur received his special prominence as the chief hero of the British race, and it is interesting to examine into the causes which led the Elizabethans to place him in that position.

These causes were not in the main either poetical or historical, but political. The most important causes were three in number :

(1) The claim that they inherited the blood of the ancient British line and were the prophesied restorers of the Arthurian Empire was used to support the house of Tudor upon the English throne.

(2) The claim that Great Britain had been in the Arthurian days an Empire co-equal and coeval with that of Rome was employed as a weapon against the papacy.

(3) The claim that the Arthurian Empire had included the whole circuit of the British Isles—England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland—was used as a foundation for the sixteenth century plan of an all-British unity.

I will deal with these points in order. In the first place the importance given to the Arthurian legend was a piece of political support for the Tudors. The Tudors had not a good title to the English crown and they very naturally supported their claim by any means they could discover, and one of the most fruitful proved to be the ancient British prophecies. When Henry VII landed at Milford Haven he published a proclamation to the Welsh in which he claimed that the old Welsh prophecies, those of Merlin as interpreted by Cadwaladr and those of the Eagle, had announced the accession of the true Arthurian blood to the British throne. The Tudors were supported in Wales by a whole class of bards, known as the 'Tudor bards,' who interpreted the so-called prophecies of Merlin and the Eagle in their favour.

Drayton and Selden both testify to the great political import-

ance attached to these prophecies, though the latter obviously takes them mainly as a curiosity.

Selden says: 'This Eagle (whose prophecies among the Britons, with the later of Merlin, have been of no less respect than the Sibyllines to the Romans) foretold the reverting of the Crown after the Britons, Saxons and Normans to the first again, which in Henry VII, grandchild to Owen Tyddour, hath been observed as fulfilled. This in particular is peremptorily affirmed by that Count Palatine of Basingstoke: "Et aperte dixit tempus aliquando fore ut Britannium imperium denuo sit ad veteres Britannos post Saxonas et Normannos rediturum" are his words of this Eagle.' (Selden's *Notes to Polyolbion II.*)

Selden goes on to explain that Merlin, as interpreted by Cadwaladr (Cedwallo), whose date he gives as about A.D. 700, promised the restitution of the Crown to the British.

The Tudors were an extremely popular dynasty in England; after a cruel and long-lasting civil war they had once more united the country, and this in itself was a service of the greatest importance and value; the nation was disposed to lay all possible stress on their Arthurian inheritance because it assisted their claim, and also because it surrounded them with the halo of romance. As Spenser, Drayton, Ben Jonson, and numerous other poets discovered, the Arthurian legend was admirable material for romance. The personal popularity of the Tudors counted in the same direction. Henry VIII, however tyrannical he might be to his nobles, was admired by the nation at large, and Elizabeth was one of the most popular sovereigns who have ever occupied the throne, her genius giving a new lustre to monarchy itself.

The Arthurian idea was also employed by the Tudors as a weapon against Rome. Henry VIII, in his Act of Supremacy, asserted that Britain had once been an Empire and declared this as a reason for claiming independence of Rome.<sup>1</sup> As a simple king he could not have claimed independence; as inheriting an empire he could and did. The Arthurian idea thus became an important support to Protestantism, and this is the reason why Spenser makes 'Arthur' the centre of 'The Faerie Queene,' whose essential subject is the struggle of the true faith and of the British race against their enemies.

<sup>1</sup> The claim had been asserted as early as the reign of Richard II, but it was not stressed until the sixteenth century.

There can be no doubt that the Spenserian view was Shakespeare's also, for in 'Cymbeline' he makes his king refuse tribute to Rome on the ground that Britain was a great and a free empire, which took its laws not from Rome, but from one of its own British kings—the law-giver, Molmutius :

' Our ancestor was that Mulmutius which  
Ordain'd our laws; whose use the sword of Cæsar  
Hath too much mangled ; whose repair and franchise  
Shall, by the power we hold, be our good deed,  
Though Rome be therefore angry. Mulmutius .  
made our laws.'

And Cymbeline emphasises the fact that Cæsar met with bitter opposition and that his claim to tribute was refused :

' his shipping—  
Poor ignorant baubles !—on our terrible seas,  
Like egg-shells moved upon their surges, crack'd  
As easily 'gainst our rocks : for joy whereof  
The famed Cassibelan, who was once at point—  
O giglot fortune !—to master Cæsar's sword,  
Made Lud's town with rejoicing fires bright  
And Britons strut with courage.'

This was the kind of argument that was always employed when the question of Roman ecclesiastical authority over Britain was discussed.

In the third place the Arthurian idea was the foundation for sixteenth century imperialism. The Elizabethans had developed very strongly the ideal of British unity, and the Arthurian Empire in which they really and genuinely believed as a historic fact, was the model to which they looked back. The claim to Ireland was believed to have been far older than the time of Henry II ; they traced it back in fact to the Early Iron Age, and based it on two passages in Geoffrey of Monmouth's history ; one describes how a certain son of Belinus gave permission to some Spaniards, under a leader called Partholoim, to settle in Ireland, and how, in exchange for this permission, Ireland having previously been a waste and desolate island, the Spanish settlers swore obedience to the British kings. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Arthur inherited a claim over Ireland and this claim was acknowledged, for a king of Ireland paid tribute to him (Bk. X.) in company with other tributary kings.

The Arthurian Empire involved equally a claim to rule over

Scotland. Geoffrey of Monmouth describes how a certain king—Eboracus or Ebrauc—founded York and also the fortresses of Dumbarton and Edinburgh. Arthur completed the conquest of Scotland:—

‘He next led his army into Moray, where the Scots and Picts were beleaguered, for after they had thrice been defeated by Arthur and his nephew they fled into that province. When they had reached Loch Lomond they occupied the islands that be therein, thinking to find safe refuge. . . . But small profit reaped they thereby for Arthur collected a fleet and went round about the inlets of the rivers for fifteen days together and did so beleaguer them as that they were famished to death of hunger.’ (Bk. IX.)

Later on he is said to pardon Scotland and to hold a great Christmas festival at York to celebrate his triumph over the North.

Nennius also represents Arthur as defending Scotland against the Saxons and fighting them even in the Caledonian forest.

The general situation in the Elizabethan period can be best understood by realising that the Tudors had conceived the truly statesmanlike idea of uniting the four nations under one rule. They aimed at placating and pacifying the Welsh and did so most successfully, for the relations between Welsh and English in the sixteenth century were of the most genial kind, and the Welsh took an important part in the army and the navy and in general affairs. Henry VII, in marrying his daughter Margaret into Scotland, aimed at uniting the Scotch and English crowns; the same plan was in Henry VIII’s mind when he endeavoured to procure the infant princess—Mary—to marry to his son, Prince Arthur, though he pursued his scheme with less wisdom and more violence. As we know Elizabeth made a long though disheartening attempt to establish her authority over Ireland.

Under the circumstances it was natural that Elizabethan Englishmen should stress that element—the Celtic blood—which all four nations had in common and should use the Arthurian idea both for its poetic and for its political value.

It is important to remember in this connection that the Stuarts, who also had a doubtful title to the throne,<sup>1</sup> laid just as much stress on their Arthurian succession; in fact they claimed the right twice over, once by their descent from Margaret Tudor,

<sup>1</sup> The claim of James I had been twice invalidated by Act of Parliament.



but also by their descent from Fleance, son of Banquo, who was said to have married the daughter of Llewelyn ap Griffith and so to have brought the blood of the genuine British line to the throne of Scotland.

It was probably this story which suggested to Shakespeare the subject of 'Macbeth,' for Macbeth was the unwilling agent by whom the Merlin prophecies were fulfilled and the true British line succeeded, first to the throne of Scotland and afterwards to the throne of England.

It was Macbeth who, by slaying Banquo, compelled the flight of Fleance, who took refuge in Wales; like the parents of Œdipus Macbeth fulfilled the prophecies by the very efforts he made to avert them.

Drayton speaks of :

Tudor, with fair winds from Little Britaine driven,  
To whom the goodly Bay of Milford shall be given,  
As thy wise prophets, Wales, fore-told his wished arrive,  
And how Lewellin's line in him should doubly thrive.  
For from his issue sent to Albany before,  
Where his neglected blood his virtue did restore,  
He first unto himself in fair succession gain'd  
The Stewards nobler name, and afterwards attain'd  
The royal Scottish wreath. . . .  
This Stem, to Tudor's joined . . .  
Suppressing every Plant, shall spread itself so wide  
As in his arms shall clip the Isle on every side  
By whom three severed realms in one shall firmly stand  
As Britain—founding Brute first monarchized the land.'<sup>1</sup>

Whatever we may think of the historical foundations of the Arthurian story there is no doubt that its use by the Elizabethans had a very great moral and political value. It helped them to grasp firmly what would otherwise have been a very difficult and novel idea—the idea of British unity.

The Arthurian claim involved even more than this: 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's Arthur ruled over France as well as over England; among those who were to pay homage to him were Leodogar, Earl of Boulogne; Bedevere the Butler, Duke of Normandy; Borel of Maine; Kay the Seneschal, Duke of Anjou; Guitard of Poitou; the Twelve Peers of the Gauls, led by Guerin of Chartres; Hoel, Duke of the Armorican Britains' (Bk. IX.).

<sup>1</sup> See also my book: *Macbeth, King Lear and Contemporary History*.

Now the Tudors took over from the Plantagenets the claim to the throne of France and, as is well known, they quartered the arms of France. This claim also could be worked into the Arthurian descent, but in the reign of Elizabeth it had practically relapsed and become obsolete and England devoted itself mainly to assisting the succession of Henry of Navarre.

There can be little doubt that Shakespeare shared the general political views of his time. As we have already seen in the case of 'Cymbeline,' he laid great stress on the 'British,' *i.e.* the Welsh descent, and he shows us the actual refusal of the Roman tribute. This particular defiance—the repudiation of the authority of Rome—was nearly always symbolic in the sixteenth century and should of itself suggest that Shakespeare was probably a Protestant.

In 'Henry V' we see that Shakespeare is quite plainly a believer in the unity of the British Isles. He introduces four soldiers, who are the representatives of the four nations: Gower the Englishman, McMorris the Irishman, Jamie the Scotchman, and Fluellen the Welshman; 'Henry V' has often been described as the epic of England in arms; it would be more correct to describe it as the epic of Britain in arms. Professor Stanley Roberts has called my attention to the fact that the representation of these four nations in the army of Henry V is quite inappropriate to the reign of Henry V, and is obviously applicable only to Shakespeare's own day. It is an excellent symbol for the unity of the four nations; when we remember that the chorus of the play makes a marked and pointed compliment to Essex, who was at that very time (1599) attempting to subdue Ireland, we can see still more purpose in the scene of the four soldiers.

Fluellen himself was probably suggested by the character of Sir Roger Williams, who had played a very prominent part in the English campaigns in France in aid of Henry of Navarre, and was a devoted friend and supporter of the Earl of Essex.

This figure has all the appearance of being an affectionate study from reality, and it probably was. It is most likely that Shakespeare knew Sir Roger well.

It is also to be observed that Shakespeare works up to 'Henry V' through the two parts of 'Henry IV,' and the whole trilogy shows us an attempt to achieve national unity through the person of a national king. Thus it is the chief fault of Henry's rival—Hotspur—that he wishes to divide England into parts

and invokes the aid of the Scotch and Welsh in order to do so ; Henry frustrates Hotspur and achieves the unity of England, conquering Wales in the person of Owen Glyndwr, and Scotland as represented by Douglas. Owen Glyndwr was a great popular leader who really, by his rebellion, prepared the way for the popular dynasty of the Tudors. Shakespeare knew that he did and has given a most flattering portrait of this great Welshman, whom he represents as a soldier, musician, poet and chivalrous lover all in one.

These three plays, taken together, represent the achievement of an all-British unity ; Shakespeare is certainly *not* correct when he represents it as taking place in the reign of Henry V, but it was the aim of his own generation and of his patron—Essex—in particular.

The same idea is borne out by a study of 'Richard II.' The dying speech of John of Gaunt describes England as a 'sceptred isle,' defended by the sea 'against the envy of less happier lands.' Now this was quite untrue of the reign of Richard II, for England was not then a 'sceptred isle,' nor was it defended by the sea against invasion. On the contrary. The Scots were a different and a hostile nation and it was their hereditary policy to invade England as the hereditary allies of France. We may remember that 'Richard II' was played some forty times during the Essex conspiracy and was supposed to have been amended for that purpose. It is quite possible that this was one of the passages added in the emendation, for Essex declared that his real aim was the assurance of the Scottish succession as against the Spanish succession, and his friends always asserted that he had died a martyr to the cause of the Scottish succession and British unity. 'Richard II' was quoted at the Essex trial as a play with a strong political bearing.

It is important to remember that Essex helped in every way possible towards a similar aim in France, where Henry of Navarre was struggling to consolidate the country under himself, and either with a Protestant rule or a rule tolerant of Protestants.

The Essex party appear to have had two great aims : the achievement of the unity of Britain and the Protestant succession in Britain and the achievement of the unity of France and the Protestant succession in France.

I believe that most of Shakespeare's plays are really political and are devoted to the furtherance of this aim. With regard



to Spenser there can be no doubt whatever : the ' Faerie Queene ' is a great religious and political poem, and the author is impassioned for two ideals : the achievement of British unity and the establishment of the Protestant succession in England and France.

The attitude taken by the Elizabethan poets towards Wales is very definite and very interesting. They regarded Wales as the mother-country of the British Isles and as typifying the British qualities in purer and more unmixed fashion than the rest. First and foremost among these qualities they placed the love of liberty ; England, the Elizabethans were regretfully bound to admit, had been four times conquered : by the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans ; but Wales, they maintained, had never been, in any effective sense, conquered at all. Also, as I have pointed out, the Arthurian precedent happened to be the most useful in the particular dispute with Rome.

The Elizabethans also regarded the British race as specially gifted in poetry and music ; the Welsh Eisteddfod, which had kept these arts active for many centuries and had cherished them among the people as a whole, was the most striking proof of this. (See Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Bks. I. to V.) It is interesting to observe that the Elizabethan antiquaries—W. Camden, for instance—marked out the whole of Great Britain in Celtic tribes ; on Camden's atlas Shakespeare's county of Warwickshire is marked as Cornavii, and Shakespeare would probably regard himself as belonging to the same Celtic tribe as Cornwall.

Certainly the Elizabethans used to the full what they thought their Celtic birthright ; they established the liberty of Britain on so firm a basis that it has never been shaken since ; they wrote the greatest poetry in Europe, and they composed the greatest music in Europe.

They assuredly followed in the steps of those whom they claimed with such pride and eagerness as their Welsh ancestors.

It is significant that the work of Dr. Fleure and his assistants goes to prove that the ethnological conceptions of the Elizabethans were very largely right.

LILIAN WINSTANLEY.



## 8. A NOTE ON A PASSAGE IN *BEOWULF*

*Beowulf*, l. 1150. 'ne meahte wæfre mōd forhabban in hreþre.'

THE word 'wæfre' in this line is usually translated 'flickering,' e.g. Clarke-Hall, 'his flickering spirit could not keep its footing in his breast.' Bosworth-Toller (*Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*) gives as translations of the word: (i.) flickering, wavering, quivering; (ii.) fig. wavering, languishing; (iii.) active, nimble. The word is usually found describing fire, and it is to be doubted whether the desired sense is not more often that of a raging fire—an interpretation which would be close to Bosworth-Toller (s.v. iii.). It surely has this sense in *Daniel* 241: 'wylm þæs wæfran liges,' where the expression describes the 'burning fiery furnace' of the Authorised Version.

The equivalent Old Norse word 'vafr' seems to be always used with this more virile meaning: Cleasby-Vígfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, however, gives 'wavering,' 'flickering.' In the Prose Edda (Skáldskapármal, cap. 40) the expression 'vafrlogi' is used to describe the circle of fire that encompassed Brynhildr's dwelling. Since Gunnarr's horse refused to pass through the fire we may assume that the flames rose high and fierce and presented a barrier of some considerable difficulty. In the Volsunga Saga, where the same story is told, a later scribe has added at the head of the chapter, 'Sigurðr reið vafurlogan Brynhildar Budla dóttur,' evidently regarding the episode as another example of the hero's prowess. In the Elder Edda the word is used in two places, and in each with the meaning of 'furious.' In Skirnismál str. 8 Skirnir says to Freyr, 'Now give me the horse to bear me through the dark "vafrloga"': that the fire was regarded as an unsurmountable barrier is shown by the words of astonishment which greet Skirnir's arrival, 'How didst thou all alone pass through the huge fire (eikinn fyr) to visit our hall?' In Fjolsvinns-mál str. 31 the hall Lýr is known by its encircling 'vafrlogi.' The evidence, therefore, goes to

show that in Old Norse literature the word most probably meant 'furious' rather than 'flickering.'

In *Beowulf* the word 'wæfre' is used three times and in each case the translation 'furious' improves the sense. In l. 1331 it is used to describe Grendel's mother ('wæl- $\gamma$ æst wæfre'), where the sense required is one of fierceness. Again in l. 2420 it describes Beowulf's feelings before his last encounter,

'Him wæs  $\gamma$ ëomor sefa  
wæfre ond wæl-fūs wyrd un $\gamma$ emete nēah.'

It has been usual to suppose that this passage indicates the wavering of a spirit about to depart (so Chambers' *Beowulf*, p. 59 note): the expression 'wæl-fūs' shows, however, that although 'sad at heart' the hero was still eager to do battle.

The third example, quoted above, occurs in the Finn Episode in *Beowulf*; here the suggested interpretation of 'wæfre' as 'furious' enables us to remove a difficulty. The general interpretation of these lines is that they apply to Finn and bespeak his forthcoming death (*i.e.* 'his flickering spirit could not keep its footing in his breast'). By taking 'wæfre' as 'furious,' 'raging,' and applying the words to Gūðlāf and Ōslāf, Finn's slayers, we conform with Dr. Chambers' suggestion that these lines should, in accordance with O.E. style, be parallel to l. 1149-50, and at the same time give support to Ettmüller's original suggestion that the translation should be 'the spirit of the attacking part (Gūðlāf and Ōslāf) could no longer restrain itself.'

G. N. GARMONSWAY.

## 9. WELSH WORDS FROM PEMBROKESHIRE

THE Welsh dialect of North Pembrokeshire is known to contain words and expressions which have been forgotten, or were always unused, in other parts of Wales. Here also words, which are common to all the Welsh-speaking people, often assume unusual forms of great interest to the philologist. The use of some of these strange words and expressions is limited to a few parishes. The following short list are in regular use in the north-western portion of the lordship of St. Davids. The snares which lie in wait for the amateur philologist shall not daunt me from drawing attention to these, or from hazarding an occasional explanation. If some of them have been noted already, and commented on in learned journals, I must apologise to ABERYSTWYTH STUDIES for burdening its pages.

*'Cyfer' and 'Cyfar.'*—*'Cyfar'* without doubt meant coaration, and the name was given some time or other to that amount of land a composite team could plough in a day, an acre or thereabouts. In Pembrokeshire *'erw'* is always used for acre, not *'cyfar.'*

*'Cyfer,'* however, is used regularly, but denotes a yoking, or inspan. In the short days of spring, the farmer *'keeps one cyfer.'* *'Cadw un cyfer.'* When the days wax long he keeps two. In other words the farmer or ploughman yokes his team once or twice in the day, and uses an expression implying that he has relays of horses or teams. When he keeps *'doi gyfer'* he, of course, uses the same horses, but the length of the day enables him to give them rest and livery *'hanner dydd.'*

*'Cyfer'* is undoubtedly the *'kyveir'* of the Mabinogion, and is not the same word as *'cyfar,'* and meant a combination of straps of raw hide or leather, a bridle, or harness. Mr. Morgan Rees tells me that his grandfather, who came from the neighbourhood of Llandovery, always called a harness *'cyfer.'* The *'eirw'* of Pembrokeshire, elsewhere *'eirwy,'* is the single rope or chain for fastening or tethering oxen in their stalls.

In the following quotation from the Mabinogion, the use of

'kyveir' is extended from harness and a yoking to the distance horses could travel without rest and livery, or loss of speed. Just as the Romans obtained fresh horses at the 'mansiones' on the great roads, so arrangements were made for a rapid journey to the coast as described below. 'Ar swyddwyr adechreuassent ymaruar am ranniat y meirch ar gweisson, ac eu rannu awnaethant ym pob kyveir hyt y mor.' In the same way the Dutch of South Africa measured the distance from point to point across the trackless veldt by inspanns.

In the following quotation from Pwyll the meaning of 'kyveir' must be a district, or tract of country which could be hunted without exhausting hounds or horses. 'Sef kyveir oe gyvoeth a vynnai y hela Glyn Cuch.' In primitive societies, when population was scanty, stock, horses, hounds and cattle were more valuable than land, and men estimated distance and space in terms which expressed the capacity of their animals.

In some parts of Wales 'cyfer' came to denote the amount of land a team of oxen could plough in a day. As oxen can work for a longer time than horses without food, it is reasonable to suppose that the 'cyver' could be turned over without a break. 'Cyfer,' therefore, came to denote the same thing as 'cyfar,' and the two were confounded, or regarded as local or dialect forms of the same word. The history of 'kyveir' or 'cyver' is far more interesting than that of 'cyfar,' however important coaration must have been.

*Gwyddeifon.*—This word is the name for harness now in use in Pembrokeshire. It explains itself, and tells of the days when the harness of the oxen was made of wood and tough and pliant willows. It is never used for carriage harness; 'gwyddeifon' are used for ploughing and other kinds of farm labour only. The harness is for the carriage horse.

*Cleddeifon.*—This is the form of the plural of 'cleddyf' or 'cledde' in the local dialect. A door made of planks, or substantial boards, has 'cleddeifon' or cross pieces to hold the door together and to hold the hinges. The old hinges on castle or church doors often have blades like elaborate or artistic swords. Possibly 'cleddeifon' as a name for the cross pieces of doors was given for that reason. In any case an old form of the plural of 'cleddyf' or 'cleddaif' has been preserved. It would be interesting to know whether the plural of 'gwellaif' is formed in the same way, in any part of Wales to-day.



*Heblaw*.—‘Heb-law,’ with the accent on the second syllable, is in general use throughout Wales, and means besides, or as well as. In Pembrokeshire the same words or compound are used also with the accent on the first syllable, and the expression means careless, or unskilful. The Parable of the Sower and Art have invested that essential labourer with a dignity not given to many callings. The reaper is equally indispensable, but his scythe inspires terror, and his coming is the end. Few, however, realise that sowing was a skilled occupation and entrusted to the elders. The drill and other machines a youth can drive as well as the greybeard of seventy. But corn was once expensive, and could not be trusted to the novice, his sowing would be ‘heblaw.’ Uneven thatching is also ‘heblaw.’ Judging from these examples ‘irregular’ would be the best translation of the term.

*Danllaw*.—Perhaps the primary import of this compound was possession or control. In Pembrokeshire it is an agricultural expression also, or part of one. As the ploughman draws his furrow, the ground on the one hand is ‘yr ochor danllaw,’ on the other ‘ochor y rhych.’ In the days when the ploughboy led the team with his right hand the left hand side of the oxen was the controlling side, or ‘yr ochor danllaw.’ ‘Danllaw’ in the sense of corrupting, corrupt or crooked is the equivalent of the English underhand, a translation, and the degradation of an honourable term.

*Cydel*.—Dr. Sylvan Evans found this word in the Dimetian dialect. It has a curiously amphibious history. It is the ‘Kydellus’ of mediæval Latin and means a weir (Magna Carta, c. 33). But in Pembrokeshire and South Cardiganshire ‘cydels’ have deserted beach and stream for the country, and have given their name to the angular corners of fields. ‘Cydel’ means the same thing as gore, an awkward V-shaped corner which it is difficult or impossible to plough. It would be interesting to know whether the Welsh ‘gored’ or weir is, or is not, an amphibious word also. The *Oxford Dictionary* gives ‘coryd’ as the Welsh for weir. But ‘gored’ with a ‘g’ suggests the V-shaped end of the gored acre. The barons of Magna Carta failed to destroy the ‘cydels’ which hindered the navigation of river and estuary. They still survived as ‘fishgarths’ in the waters of the Humber and Ouse in the reign of Henry VIII, when that monarch’s zeal for the development of shipping decreed their destruction, because they obstructed the navigation of the said

waters. Centuries ago a 'fishgard' or 'fishgarth' gave its name to that small town which is supposed to, and does not, mark the terminus of the Great Western Railway. In the nineteenth century or earlier, antiquarians succeeded in getting the word spelt Fishguard because it guarded the fish of the river or of the bay or those of the channel. It was never explained which.

The English 'gore' or 'gored acre' may have travelled westwards, and taken to waterish ways in its adventures. The Welsh 'côr' suggests something round, not the spreading arms of the 'goreds' found on beaches extended to embrace as many fish as possible stranded by the ebbing tide. Such was the 'gored' at Bangor mentioned in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*.

*Lledrog*.—This is the name given to a piece of uncultivated land contiguous to a farm-yard, and into which cattle, horses, calves, and pigs are turned to suit the convenience of the farmer. One such 'lledrog' is about seven acres in extent, on a gentle slope. It is abundantly supplied with water, and is a paradise for geese. From it lead two lanes, and around it are gates to the nearer fields of the farm.

*Feidyr*.—The use of this word is not restricted to Pembrokeshire, but it means a lane, wherever it is found. Its form and origin have been sources of considerable speculation. It is suggested here that it is the equivalent of 'pentir' or 'headland.' Every holder of a strip, or strips 'llain' or 'lleiniau,' had the right or liberty of way over the headland. Such a right was essential for the carting of manure and produce. At the back of Fishguard the mediæval strips, half acres, acres, and two acres remain intact. Their dividing double furrows have grown into earthen banks or hedges. They have survived the rapacity of man and the progress of agricultural science. The lanes leading to them are still called 'feidyr' with distinguishing names.

The early French form of 'vectura' was 'veiture',<sup>1</sup> and denoted the obligation of carting for a lord. It is suggested here that the peasants of Dimetia extended the use of the word and applied it to the lanes along which they carted the produce of their Norman masters. In the same way 'llafur', which meant labour, came to mean corn, the production of which was the most important work of the farmer.

*Gweryd*.—This word is used to denote manure of all kinds,

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor A. Barbier for drawing my attention to 'veiture.'

and 'gwerydo' is to manure the land. This use of 'gweryd' is reminiscent of the age-long utilisation of marl as a fertiliser. In George Owen's opinion it surpassed all others. For the farmer who used sand farmed for himself, the one who used lime, for his children; but the provident cultivator who marled his fields prepared for his grandchildren a series of abundant harvests. The greatest of the Pembrokeshire historians and his contemporaries believed marl to be the fat of the earth, deposited on the relatively low parts of her surface by the subsiding waters of Noah's flood. It would be highly entertaining to know that they confounded 'gwêr' with 'gweryd,' and very comforting to philologists to be in such goodly company.

*Gweryd-cwdyn*.—This compound denotes artificial manures, because they are contained in bags. It is interesting, for it shows that the Dimetian dialect has not wholly lost its creative force.

Farm-yard manure is 'dom.' The use of this word as a verb is unseemly to the Pembrokeshire man, for to him it is the excrementing of animals. Such is a result of the general use of 'gweryd.'

I am indebted to my colleagues the heads of the Department of Welsh for their encouragement and advice; but they are in no sense responsible for the conclusions arrived at in this short article.

T. STANLEY ROBERTS.





## 10. AN ENGLISH FLEXIONAL ENDING IN WELSH<sup>1</sup>

SINCE the publication of Ellis's monumental work, *On Early English Pronunciation* (London, 1869-1895), considerable attention has been paid to the development of English pronunciation from the fourteenth century to the present day. All kinds of sources of information on the subject have been examined. Among these Ellis mentions two Welsh ones: Wm. Salesbury's *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* . . . London, 1547, and his *Playne and Familiar Introduction* . . . London, 1567. He is guarded, however, in his use of information furnished by Salesbury, for the following reason (Vol. I., p. 32): 'As a Welshman, Salesbury was, of course, liable to mispronounce English, but he was so early removed to England, and had so long an opportunity of studying the Southern English pronunciation to which his treatises show that he was fully alive, that any assertion of his must carry great weight with it, however much opposed it might be to theory.' Sweet, in his *History of English Sounds* (Oxford, 1888), makes use of a further Welsh source of information, a phonetic transliteration in Welsh orthography of a Hymn to the Virgin, published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1880-1, and annotated by Ellis. This is really a poem to God and the Virgin, in strict metre, and was published in the collection of the works of *Howel Svrddwal a'i Fab Ieuan*, ed. Morrice, Bangor, 1908, pp. 32-36. Here the 'transliteration' is given, and is generally attributed to Ieuan (*flor.* c. 1470). It was composed, according to a Welsh note attached to the poem, 'by a Welshman at Oxford, because an Englishman had asserted that Welsh had neither metre nor *cynghanedd*.' Sweet states, on p. 203 of his work, that results obtained from the study of other sources are 'further confirmed and supplemented' by this transliterated poem. Other similar sources might be mentioned; for example, a series of English prayers for each day of the week in Welsh

<sup>1</sup> See end for abbreviations.

orthography (Llanstephan MS. 117, first half of sixteenth century), and *Cywydd y Saesnes* by Tudur Penllyn (fifteenth century), published in Ll. MS. 6, p. 125 (early sixteenth century).

So far as I have seen, however, no one, in investigating the development of the pronunciation of English, has examined for this purpose the large mass of helpful material found in the form of English loan-words in Welsh, ranging in date from the Old English period to the present day. These, which have been collected by the writer, confirm the results otherwise obtained. They afford additional proofs, and may even supply disproofs, of the deductions made by English phoneticians. Jespersen, in his *Modern English Grammar* . . . Part I (Heidelberg, 1909), pp. 3-9, mentions the various ways in which the pronunciation of former periods may be obtained, viz., spelling, versification, puns and plays upon words, the works of old phoneticians, grammarians, and spelling reformers. Yet he does not even suggest here that loan-words may be a help, in spite of the fact that in his *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 29, he writes, 'Loan-words have been called the milestones of philology, because in a great many instances they permit us to fix approximately the dates of linguistic changes.' Cf. also his *Language* . . . (London, 1922), pp. 208-215.

It is proposed in this article to consider one very small point only, the flexional ending *-es* of the 'strong' plural in English, as seen in loan-words in Welsh.

In borrowings from English into Welsh, not many flexional forms have been taken over. The *-an* case-ending of the 'weak' declension of Old English, however, seems to occur in the following borrowings—*berman*, *capan*, *cupan*, *hosan*, *sidan*, *suran*, *tarian*, among others, all being singular; and the umlaut-plural is, perhaps, seen in *-myn*, the plural of *-man*, *-mon*, in compounds. There appears to be at least one case of the Old English plural ending *-as*, in *ffoxas* (*Book of Taliesin*, p. 15, ed. Evans), of the O.E. 'strong' vocalic (*a*) declension (see *Y Beirniad*, Haf, 1916, p. 316). *Ysgadan* 'herrings' (found as early as in R.P. 130a 22), if, as is very improbable, from O.E. *sceadd* (Mod. E. *shad*), may contain the O.E. 'weak' plural ending *-an*. But cf. Irish *scadán*. The *-es* ending of Middle and Modern English, however, appears in different forms in a large number of borrowings. To realise the significance of the Welsh forms, it will not

be out of place, perhaps, to discuss briefly the history of the pronunciation of English *ĕ* in unaccented syllables.

The *ĕ* in this ending is one of the many cases in M.E. of *ĕ* which became 'weak' in unstressed syllables. The O.E. unaccented vowels were levelled under *e*. The results arrived at by Ellis and later writers as to the actual pronunciation of this 'weak' *e* in various positions at different periods are confirmed by English loan-words in Welsh. The weakening appears to have set in very early, although Ellis, in discussing the pronunciation of *e* final in the fourteenth century (*Early E. Pron.*, I., p. 318), says guardedly: 'That the *e* final was at least occasionally pronounced, and that its sound did not differ, except in accent, from that of *me*, *the* (= mee, dhee) is conclusively proved by . . . rhymes.' The tendency nowadays is to consider these 'weakening' changes as having taken place earlier than it was once thought. 'The sound-changes to which the present day pronunciation of Standard English owes its characteristic features had begun as early as in the fifteenth century.'<sup>1</sup> 'At least as early as the middle of the fifteenth century vowels in unstressed syllables were shortened, reduced, or confused, very much as in Colloquial English at the present time.'<sup>2</sup> 'The loss of weak *e* /ə/, the M.E. representative of O.E. full vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, in weak syllables, is one of the most important changes in the history of the language. . . . The loss did not take place in all positions at the same time. . . . When it disappeared from the pronunciation, it was very often retained in the spelling.'<sup>3</sup>

'There appear to be two quite different tendencies at work from early in the modern period among different sections of speakers. One group tends to level all weak vowels under some front vowel, written *i* or *e*; the other to level all weak vowels under some "obscure" vowel [ə] or some such sound, written variously *a*, *o*, *u*. It is probably safe to infer that the symbols for old back or back-rounded vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*, generally imply some sound corresponding to [ə] at the present time, and that the symbols for front vowels—*i*, *e*—imply the kind of vowel now heard in the second syllable of *ladies* . . .'<sup>4</sup>

The unstressed *ĕ* in the actual flexional syllable under con-

<sup>1</sup> Zachrisson, *Englische Studien* (1918), Vol. 52, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Wyld, *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, 2nd ed. 1921, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, Part I. (1909), pp. 186, 192.

<sup>4</sup> Wyld, *op. cit.*, p. 260.



sideration, *es* of the 'strong' plural, is discussed by Salesbury in the Introduction to his Dictionary (sixteenth century; see above). He states that the *e* before *s* disappears in the plural ending, except after sibilant sounds. Wyld<sup>1</sup> cites instances of forms in *-ys*, *-is*, *-us* from the fifteenth century, *-is*, *-ys* from the sixteenth century, and *-is* from the seventeenth century, all after sibilants. He states further<sup>2</sup>: 'It is rather doubtful how far we can take the spelling *-ys*, *-es*, etc., seriously in the fifteenth century as representing a syllable, except after the words ending in the consonants above mentioned (*i.e.* ending in *-s*, *-sh*, *-dge*). We may be certain, however, that it was at least pronounced as a syllable in those cases where we now so pronounce it, and if we find *causis* written, it is reasonable to suppose that a pronunciation identical with our own, so far as the suffix is concerned, is intended. It is probable that *-ys* was pronounced as a syllable in poetry long after it was lost in colloquial speech. . . . In the London area *-es* was the traditional spelling, and when the scribes depart from this it must mean something. If the scribe often, or even usually, writes *-es*, but occasionally *-ys*, we are, I think, justified in believing that in the former case he is merely following tradition, but that in the latter he is recording the usual pronunciation. In the sixteenth century it is certain that the vowel of the suffix was only pronounced where we pronounce it.'

In view of the above statements regarding the pronunciation of *-es* in Middle and Modern English, the subjoined Welsh forms are significant. It is strange that instances of *-es* in Welsh are very rare: *-as*, *-ys* (*-us*), and later *-s*, are frequent, indicating a period of borrowing when the M.E. *ĕ* was already reduced. There are a few instances of *-is* (*-ins*), *-os*, *-ws* (*-uns*, *-wys*), due chiefly to vowel assimilation. In the other cases of final *ĕ* unstressed, that is, not before final *s*, the examples with *e* in Welsh borrowings preponderate, forms with *a* and *y* being also fairly common. Perhaps the reduction of the *e* began earlier in the case of the plural ending *-es*. When the *e* was final, that is, with no consonant after it, Welsh has in the majority of cases, if not in all, an *a*. Here again may be another case of earlier reduction of *ĕ*.

It will be seen that in some of the Welsh examples the quality of the vowel depends on that of the vowels in the preceding syllable. This is also true to a large extent of the Middle Welsh

<sup>1</sup> Wyld, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319.



native words in cases where an inorganic vowel was written in final consonantal groups, the colour of the intrusive vowel being very often determined by the vowel in the preceding syllable. In cases where English *-es* appears in Welsh as either *-ys* or *us*, or both, the value of the vowel (*y* or *u*) is the same in such a position in the Modern Welsh period (from the fourteenth century) at any rate, but in Middle Welsh the sound of *y* and *u* in this position were distinct.<sup>1</sup> Where English has preserved the syllabic value of the plural ending up to the present day, after sibilants, its preservation as a separate syllable in Welsh loan-words is not necessarily, of course, an indication of early borrowing. The case is different when the syllable is found in Welsh but lost in English (after non-sibilant sounds).

Below are appended examples of the forms which the English ending assumed in Welsh. The dates of the texts in which they are found, although they do not, of course, decide the actual period of borrowing, may be of some use in determining the pronunciation of the English sound at certain periods or in confirming the results already obtained. As the final group consonant *+s* is foreign to Welsh, it might be urged that some of these examples contained inorganic vowels that have developed in Welsh itself; but as a large number of them have been borrowed very early, when the syllable preserved its identity in English, this cannot be true of the examples in general. But compare *bocys* 'box(-wood)' in Davies's *Botanologium*, and, perhaps, *cecys* 'kex,' but English has *keckes* in the sixteenth century (see N.E.D. s.v. *Kex*).

I. English *-es* appearing in Welsh as *-es*. Instances are rare and uncertain. If genuine, they must have been borrowed before the sixteenth century at the very latest, before the beginning of the reduction of *ĕ* in *-es*.

Examples: *botesseu*, possibly from M.E. *botes*, with an additional Welsh plural suffix. It occurs in the *Black Book of Chirk* (Fac. ed. Evans, 1909, thirteenth century), p. 103. In Owen's text (Vol. II, p. 888) it is *botasseu*.

*ysglates* 'slates,' M.E. *sclates*, Rep.W.MSS. II. 993.

W.S.T. has *cwtese* (final *e* = W. plur. *au*, *eu*) Acts i., cf. *cwtys* below. *Gwales* R.M. 40 (*gwalas* R.M. 41) and R.P. 58b 36 is doubtful; *ynyales* 'annals' R.P. 141b 22 and *ynyaeles* R.B.B. 371 may be Lat. *annales*.

<sup>1</sup> On the Welsh vowels see *Welsh Grammar*, J. Morris Jones. Oxford, 1913, §§ 9-16.

II. English *-es* appearing in Welsh as *-ys* or *-us*. Instances are comparatively plentiful. I quote a few :—

*artsus* 'arches' Rep.W.MSS. I. i. p. 154; *amralys* 'admirals' S.E., M.E. sing. *amrel*, later *amrel(le)* (N.E.D.); *betys* 'beet' S.E., M.E. *betes*; *blattys* 'blades' S.G. 40; ? *cecys* 'kex' from sixteenth century E. *keckes* (N.E.D.), *kekysseu* 'keckes' W.S. (cf. *cecs* D.G.G. 69); *cedys*, *cidys* 'faggots,' see N.E.D. s.v. *Kid*<sup>2</sup>; *ceilyys* 'nails'; *cwtys* 'cuts, lot'; *kwtyys* 'a cutte, lot' W.S.; *cwplys* 'couples,' *kwplys* 'couples' W.S. (cf. *cwtws* below); *chwalcys* 'whelks' R.P. 90a 5; *ffeinys* 'fines' Rep.W.MSS. I. ii. 1047; *ffigys* 'figs' G.a.C. 146, S.G. 46, 155, M.M. 98, *feigyys* 'fygges' W.S., *fficus*-, *ffycus*- W.S.T. Mk. xi., Lke. xiii.; *fflockys* 'flocks' R.P. 96a 39; *hocys* 'hocks, mallows' M.M. 20, 22, R.P. 96a 40, Job xxx. 4; *maelus* 'mails' D.G. (1873) 308; *mestys* 'masts' (coll.); *mintys* 'mint' Rep.W.MSS. II. ii. 443, Mt. xxiii. 23 (*myntys* W.S.T.); *Moyrys*, *Moerys* 'Moors' C.C. 40a, 62a, 132; *picys* 'pikes' Ll.MS. 6, p. 74; *platys* 'plates' Pen.MS. 57, p. 84 (cf. D.G. (1873) 273 *plats*); *poplys* 'poplars, popples' Gen. xxx. 37; *seifyys*, *sifyys* 'chives,' *taplys* 'tables' R.P. 69b 11; *teilyys* 'tiles' D.G.G. 19, Ll.C.I. 30; *waedgyys* 'wages' Rep.W.MSS. I. i., p. i. (cf. *waedys* W.S.T. Lke. iii.); *wrllys* 'orles'; *wystrys* 'oysters' (Rep.W.MSS. I. ii. 423 has *oesstryys*); *ysglatus* 'slates,' *ysclatys* Rep.W.MSS. I. i. 182; *ysbinys* 'spines' Ll.MS. 6, p. 183, *spinus*, *ysbeinys* D.E. 120.

III. English *-es* appearing in Welsh as *-as*. In some cases this was due to vowel assimilation.

Examples: *botas*, M.E. *botes* [W.Ll. (Geir.) has *bottas*: *bwthos*; W.S. has *bwtiasen*: a boote]; *clotas* 'clods' (dial. Cards.); *cocas* 'cogs' S.E.; *crabas* 'crab-apples'; *sbarras* 'spars (of a roof),' also *prond. sbarraitsh* (dial. Carn.); *sciabas* 'scabs' (in *Bardd Cwsc*, p. 58, ed. Jones, 1898); *syartrasseu* 'chartes' R.B.B. 335, S.G. 371; *taplas* 'tables' (ref. to a game) R.B.B. 203; *westras* 'oysters' (dial. Carn.).

IV. English *-es* appearing in Welsh as *-ws* (*wys*, *wns*). All cases are due to vowel assimilation.

Examples: *cwplyws* 'couples' D.G.G. 107; *cwtws* 'lot, cuts' Is. lvii. 6, also coll.; *plwmws* 'plums' (colloq.), also *plwmwns* (colloq.), *plwmwys* I.D. 17; ? *munws* plur. of E. *money* in W.S.T. 1 Tim. vi., cf. *mynws* R.P. 146b 2.

V. English *-es* appearing in Welsh as *-os*: due to vowel assimilation.

Examples: *cocos* 'cogs of a wheel'; *cocos* 'cockles'; *rhopos* 'ropes' (colloq.); *tropos* 'drops' (cf. dial. Pem. *dropas* 'soot').

VI. English *-es* appearing in Welsh as *-is*.

Examples : *prinsis* C.C. 146a ; *sirins* (colloq.) 'cherries' ; *tiglist* 'tiles' Ll.A. 44 ll. 15, 16 ; cf. *amis as* 'ambes as' F.N. 167.

The ending *-is* is the usual present-day Welsh representation of English *-es*, e.g. *sparblis* 'sparables.'

VII. The monosyllabic ending *-s* of English appearing in Welsh as *-s*.

Examples : *buliwns* 'bullions' D.G.G. 79, D.E. 37, Pen.MS. 67, p. 110 ; *grabs* 'grapes' F.N. 101 ; W.S.T. Mt. vi. ; *graens* 'grains' F.N. 101, *grains* D.E. 47 ; *guns* 'guns' Pen.MS. 67, pp. 110, 133, *Cymmrodor* xxxi. 186, Ll.C. 62 ; *herawds* 'heralds' Rep.W.MSS. I. 219 ; *hwrswns* 'whoresons' *Cymmrodor* xxx. 186 ; *Mŵrs* 'Moors' C.C. 121b ; *plats* 'plates' D.G. (1873) 273 ; *siwels* 'jewels' Ll.MS. 6, p. 107 ; *teils* 'tiles' I.D. 14.

It will be noticed from these examples that the total reduction took place at a fairly early period.

The Welsh forms have some special features :—

(a) Double plurals. A further plural suffix is sometimes added to the English form, e.g. *botasau*, *botysau*, *botesau* (see above I) ; W.S.T. has *cwtese* (Acts i.), *cwttyssae* (Mark xv.), *cwttyse* (Luke xxiii.), *cyttysae* (John xix.), cf. *cwtys*, *cwtws*, above II, IV ; there are colloquial or dial. forms like *locsis*, *locsys* 'locks or beard,' and *galosis* 'braces,' from *gallows* 'braces' (see Powel in *Cymmrodor* vi. p. 114).

(b) Singulative forms in *-en*, *-yn* (*-ysen*, *-ysyn*, *-sen*, *-syn*) from the English borrowed plural, e.g. *cecysen* F.N. 195 ; *ffigyssen* 'a fig' I.D. 31 ; *poplysen* 'a poplar, popple' Hosea iv. 13 ; later, colloquially, the shorter form is frequent, e.g. *bricsen* 'a brick' ; *locsen*, *locsyn* C.C. 255b 'lock, beard' ; *teilsen* 'a tile.' In the dials. we have also *clotasen* 'a clod' (Cards.), *plwmwnsen* 'a plum' (cf. IV above). In Carns. *spyrssyn* and *sprisin* are heard, sing. of *sparras* 'spars' (see III above).

(c) Two forms of the plural, borrowed, perhaps, at different periods, e.g. *Mŵrs*, *Moyrys* 'Moors' (see II, VII above) ; *peics* C.C. 184b, *picys* 'pikes' (see II above) ; *plats*, *platys* 'plates' (see II, VII above).

(d) We sometimes find the Welsh umlaut-plural forms : *ceirt* 'carts' I.D. 53 ; *cyrt* 'cords' (*Bardd Cwsc*, ed. Jones, 1898) ; *pyrs* 'porches' D.G.G. 92 (and ? R.P. 120a 14) ; *tyrs* (*turs*) D.G.G. 85, Ll.MS. 6, p. 2.

(e) In the modern colloquial speech some curious double



plurals are found, *cyrts* 'cords' (also *cyrt*), *ffyrcs* 'forks' (also *ffyre*).

(f) Penultimate affection is seen in *mestys* 'masts,' and *metshys* 'matches,' colloquially.

There is a peculiar form *traitwyr*s 'traitors' in C.C. 185b.

An examination of the English loan-words found in Cornish texts will reveal similar developments. Williams, the compiler of *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*, seems to have omitted these. They were, however, collected with others by Stokes, and published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1868, pp. 137-250. As final *t* (*d*) became *s* in Cornish, it is sometimes hard to distinguish between the native plural suffixes *-os*, *-as*, *-es*, *-ys*, and the English borrowed suffix. We may be tolerably certain, however, that in words borrowed from English we have the English ending. Such forms as the following are found in Cornish: *battas* 'bats,' *branchis* (*branchys*), *cappas*, *cencras* 'crabs,' *chaynys* 'chains,' *cymbalys* 'cymbals,' *floures*, *flowrys* 'flowers,' *syres* 'sirs,' *whyppes* 'whips.' The later simple *s*-form is also very frequently found: *doctours*, *onours*, *persons* (see Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama*, Vol. II, p. 232).

In Breton the French *-es* is seen in such forms as *almandes* 'amandes,' *baetes* 'bettes,' *botes*, *bottes*, 'bottes, souliers,' *carotes* 'carottes,' *perles* 'perles.'

#### ABBREVIATIONS

C.C.: *Cannwyll y Cymry*. 3rd ed. Wrexham.

D.E.: *Gwaith Dafydd ab Edmwnd*, ed. Roberts, Bangor, 1914.

D.G. (1873): *Barddoniaeth Daf. ab Gwilym*. Liverpool, 1873.

D.G.G.: *Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr*, ed. Williams, Bangor, 1914.

Ga.C.: *The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, ed. Jones, Manchester, 1910.

F.N.: *Y Flodeugerdd Newydd* . . . Gruffydd, 1909.

I.D.: *Gwaith Ieuan Deulwyn*, ed. Williams, Bangor, 1909.

Ll.A.: Llyfr yr Ancr (1346). *The Elucidarium* . . . ed. Jones and Rhys, 1894.

Ll.C.: *Llên Cymru* I, T. Gwynn Jones, Caernarfon, 1921.

Ll.MS.: *Llanstephan MS.* 6 (Guild of Graduates Series I), ed. Roberts, 1916.

M.M.: *Meddygon Myddfai*, ed. Williams, 1861.

N.E.D.: *A New English Dictionary* . . . Murray, Oxford, 1888-.

Pen.MS. 57: *Peniarth MS.* 57 (Guild of Graduates Series III), ed. Roberts, 1921.

Pen.MS. 67: *Peniarth MS.* 67 (Guild of Graduates Series II), ed. Roberts, 1918.



- R.P. : *Poetry from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. Evans, 1911.  
 R.B.B. : *The Red Book Bruts*, ed. Jones and Rhys, 1890.  
 S.E. : *A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* . . . Silvan Evans, 1888–1906.  
 S.G. : *Y Seint Greal (Hengwrt MSS. Vol. 1)*, ed. Williams, 1876.  
 W.Ll. (Geir) : *Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn* (containing *Geirlyfr W.Ll.*, pp. 267–289), ed. Morrice, Bangor, 1908.  
 W.S. : *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* . . . Salesbury, 1547.  
 W.S.T. : Salesbury's Testament, Carnarvon edition, 1850.

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## 11. A 'COURT OF LOVE' POEM IN WELSH

As far as is known to us, there is in Welsh no early specimen of direct translation from Troubadour poetry, yet the parallels are so numerous and close that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Welsh bards, even in the twelfth century, were already familiar with customs very much like those reflected in the poems of the Troubadours. The existence in Welsh of forms resembling the *alba*, the *pastorela* and the *tenso* has been pointed out, but the similarities extend to matters of much greater detail. To begin with, the aristocratic character of Troubadour poetry at the outset of the twelfth century is exactly paralleled in the case of Welsh poetry of the same period. The highly technical style of this poetry on the Continent is also characteristic of Welsh poetry, although, of course, the nature of the metrical complexity is quite different, and obviously unrelated. In France, princes and nobles themselves pursued the art, and also became the patrons of other Troubadours. Such also was the case in Wales, for among the bards we have princes like Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd and Owain Kyveiliog, and other men of the noble class. The *joglar*, *jongleur*, was probably represented in Wales by the *croesan*, who seems to have been a kind of buffoon. Of his position and function we know but very little, and that, singularly enough, not from the works of the bards themselves. Some of the characteristics of the *croesan*, however, have persisted in the bardic attitudes down to the present day, such as the bravura element, the caricature habit, the utter disregard of historical accuracy in some matters, the unconscious tendency towards illusory abandonment and the half serious statement, followed by the fiercely serious defence, of purely imaginary extravagance as solid fact. Some of the Welsh bardic controversies of the present day illustrate these survivals with a fulness and clearness remarkable enough to attract the attention of any student of group psychology.

Later, the *gŵr wrth gerdd* seems to have fulfilled the less

degraded function of the *joglar*—that of reciting or singing his master's poems at different courts. (Cp. the poem written by Wiliam Kynwal, making a request for Rhys, the *gŵr wrth gerdd* of Sion Tudur, as late as the sixteenth century). The bard's position in Wales, as in Ireland, seems to have corresponded almost exactly with that of the Troubadour in France. 'When he was dependent upon his patron's bounty, he would stoop to threats or to adulation to obtain the horse or the garments or the money of his desire.'<sup>1</sup> This was also what was happening in Wales, where the threatening poem was quite as much of an institution as the eulogy. Llywarch ap Llywelyn (circa 1160–1220), for instance, says to his patron, Prince Davydd ab Owain :

'Thou, support of warriors, I have been patient ; famous one, of the ears of corn upstanding above the rest, if thou silence me, I will not promise thee, chief of the house of Beli, that I may not be angry-minded, through long displeasure. I know how to put in what I may sing—baneful it will be—a wrathful tongue-wound that no salve may heal ; my gift is ireful in conflict, direful in an assembly, in contention.'<sup>2</sup>

In a similar poem to Prince Gruffudd ap Kynan, the same bard says :

'To thee, let not the sowing of my song be like the sowing of pearls before swine. And do thou consider, thou chief of rulers, how valuable is the gold of Arabia, though it be not asked for. Feeble ones consider not my brilliance in my art ; do thou send the wretches away from thee ; and if thou dost not, I shall bring to thy cheeks a blush that shall pursue thee like a persistent shame, which thy grandson may hear as a reproach to him, and thy great-grandson, and my own great-grandson, out of my wrath ; and now, do thou take a free choice, a curse or praise shall follow my coming.'<sup>3</sup>

In Wales, as in France, jealousy between rival bards, and accusations of slander in their contentions with each other and with their patrons, were of constant occurrence. On the Continent, the poetical powers of the Troubadours seem often to have been in demand by princes and nobles involved in a struggle. The bards seem to have been similarly sought in Wales, as we can see from many poems. Llywarch ap Llywelyn again claims in a poem to Davydd ab Owain :

<sup>1</sup> *The Troubadours*, H. J. Chaytor. Cambridge, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> *Poems of the Gogynfeirdd*, Denbigh, 1909, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> *Poetry of the Gogynfeirdd*, p. 92.



'Generous lord, I am better for thee than numbers of steeds, far better than horsemen in thy expeditions.

'The day has come for thee, Davydd of the profound fame and the generous nature, either to have or to lose me.'<sup>1</sup>

There is evidence that in Wales, as well as in France, bards retired to some monastery or religious house to end their days: as for instance in the stanza written by Kynddelw Brydydd Mawr when the monks of Strata Marcella had threatened to refuse him Christian burial, or in any of the religious poems in which the bards express their contrition for having lent their aid in the quarrels of the princes.

Of the ladies whose praises were sung or whose favours were desired by the bards again, many seem to have been married, and the love celebrated in the poems of the Welsh bards for several centuries was conventional love, mixed up, especially with the spread of French and English influences, with a good deal of mere pornography. The claim that Troubadour love is the outcome of the theory of knighthood under the influence of mariolatry is strikingly enforced by the character of a poem of Hywel ap Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Rhys, of which neither the interest nor the significance in this connection is diminished by its later date (fifteenth century). The poem gives a description of the superlative beauty of the lady whom the bard loves, and ends as follows:

'I love her, grace that has no bitterness; she is my friend, and my love is she; and the name of the faultless lady whom I love is Mary the Virgin; strength of weak ones, I prefer to meet with her and to behold her, gentle, delicate-tressed maid, blessed Mary, than with any living maid.'

The idea that the lover stood to his lady in a position analogous to that of the vassal to his overlord is not, as far as I am aware, to be found clearly defined in Welsh, but the Troubadour idea that the lover attained such a position by stages (*fegnedor*, *precador*, *entendedor* and *drut*) is suggested in the use of the terms *peddestrig*, *latai* and *yolydd*, particularly the latter, in Welsh; and a poem by Dafydd ap Gwilym speaks of the cultivation of love in stages, the bard introducing into it the terms and seasons of husbandry. The Troubadour custom of referring to the lady by a pseudonym (*Senhal*) may be reflected in Dafydd ap Gwilym's 'Morvudd,' 'Gwenonwy,' etc., and is certainly

<sup>1</sup> *Poetry of the Gogynfeirdd*, p. 89.

found in the poem in which he gives the letters forming the name of the lady,<sup>1</sup> and in another in which he says:

'Un peth a wnaf yn vy myw—  
peidio â dwedyd pwy ydyw.'<sup>2</sup>

In none of the earlier Welsh bards do we find a sublimation of this pretended passion, such as we get in Dante, or even in Petrarca. Dafydd ap Gwilym has absolutely no chivalry, and not much courtesy even. The complaints of the bardic lovers are precisely those of the Troubadours, and of all the 'amour courtois' poets,—they lose self-control, do not hear when they are addressed, cannot eat or sleep, grow thin and feeble and sink to an early grave. Kynddelw Brydydd Mawr pleads, for instance:

'Kolledic wyf,  
kolleis gall ateb i neb, a'm nwyf,  
na wna vi veinwen val na hunwyf.'

Davydd ap Gwilym sends Morvudd on a pilgrimage to Menevia for having caused his own death through scorn of his love of her. In another poem, he describes his own funeral, he having died for love of Morvudd. The Troubadour custom of beginning poems with a reference to spring or winter is reflected in Welsh. Marcabrun's device of sending a bird (the starling<sup>3</sup>) as a messenger to his lady is very common in the poems attributed to Davydd ap Gwilym, who sends all kinds of creatures on the same errand. The occurrence of passages of pure poetry in some of the Troubadour fancies of this type is paralleled in Welsh. Cp. Bernard de Ventadour's description of the lark with Davydd ap Gwilym's poem on the same subject:

'Quant vey la lauzeta mover  
de joi sas alas contral rai,  
que s' oblida e's laissa cazer  
per la doussor qu'al cor li vai.'

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<sup>1</sup> 'Henw 'r ferch a anherchir,  
hyn yn wawd yw ei henw 'n wir:  
U sy fry [H] hy hoywen,  
a thair D ac Y ac N.'

—*Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr*, Ifor Williams, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr*, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Is there any tradition that the starling could be taught to speak? One remembers the starling in the Story of Branwen.

'Oriau hydr yr Ehedydd  
 a dry fry o'i dŷ bob dydd,  
 borëwr byd, berw aur bill,  
 barth â'r wybr, borthor Ebrill,' etc.

Even the love letter, first introduced by Arnaut de Mareuil, is found later in Welsh. The two schools of stylists prevailing in Provence—*trobar clus* and *trobar clar*—are also to be found at the time of Dafydd ap Gwilym in Wales, and have continued to be found ever since, more or less. Dafydd belonged to the latter, and Gruffudd Gryg at first defended the former. Guiraut de Bornelh, objecting to the use of the easy style, says, in effect, 'there is no sense in making another speak out what one wishes to conceal and keep to oneself.' This may be compared with the attitude of Dafydd ap Gwilym in a little conceit entitled 'Cywydd yr Annerch,'<sup>1</sup> in which the messenger is commissioned to invite a lady unknown to meet one unnamed at a place not mentioned. There is also a beautiful poem by Gutun Owain, to 'the language of the eyes,' in which he says:

'Y fo wŷr y galon vau  
 dy vedwl ar dy vodau;  
 llygaid a dywaid i doeth  
 synnwyr lle nis kais annoeth;  
 dywed air mwyn â'th wyneb,  
 o'th galon im', ni'th glyw neb;  
 di a wydost, wyd aŵyn,  
 i dŵedud mewn munud mwyn;  
 edrych arnad, kyd gwadaf,  
 dan gël, yng ngŵyð dyn a gaf,—  
 un edrychiad pechadur  
 ar nef, kyn goðef i gur;  
 golwg lleidr drwy i neidrwyð  
 ar dlysau siopau 'n i swyð!'

There is one instance, in a poem attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym, of the use of information contained in material specifically collected in Provençal for the use of Troubadour poets. In one of the Morvudd poems, he says:

'She, the lady of light and of fine deportment, has pledged herself to me, by the form of her ring-burdened hand, by the devotion of soul and limb—that she will love me foremost of mankind, if the mother ape love her fostered son!'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym*, 1789, p. 66.

Compare with this the note, 'De la Simia,' in the treatise 'Aiso son las naturas d'alcus auzels e d'alcunas bestias,' given in Appel's 'Provenzalische Chrestomathie,' p. 203 :

'La simia fay dos simios ; e cant hom la cassa, ela met sel que mens ama, sul col, e tenga se, si's vol ; e sel que mays ama, lo maior, met entre sos bras, e fug ab dos pes. E cant ve que non li val re, per tal que puesca mielhs fugir ab catre pes, ela laissa sel que mays ama, e faga s'en ab lo menor.'

It has, of course, been demonstrated that the views at one time set forth with regard to the existence of 'Courts of Love' are untenable. One would hardly expect to find that there ever were such institutions of a recognised legal character, or even of a character meant to be taken quite seriously, but there seems to be no good reason to doubt that pretended courts of the kind may have been held. The Welsh poems, at any rate, provide evidence of the prevalence of such romantic attitudes among the bards and their friends. Cp. the poem attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym, in which he tells how he had been wed to Morvudd in the grove, Madog Benfras, another bard, having acted as the priest who solemnised the marriage. The poem herein edited and translated, written in North Wales about 1283, as shown in the notes, prove at any rate that some such amusement as that suggested by the legend of the 'Court of Love' was known to the bard who wrote it, for in it the institution is described as a 'court' (*llys*), the complaint is carefully stated in legal form, specifying time and place, the names of the witnesses are given, the pleading quoted and the precedent of the case of Gorlois and Uthr referred to.

The author of the poem is Gruffudd ap Davydd ap Tudur. Of his history we know nothing, but he was a Northern bard who, according to the dates suggested in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, flourished between 1290 and 1340, and who, judging from references in his poems, was acquainted with the territory extending from Maelor to Arvon and Meirionydd. The poem was written in 1283, as the text shows, and the date of the author can therefore be put back a few years. There are three poems to women by this bard in the Red Book, cols. 1254-5, 1264, 1266, and in the *Myv. Arch.* They all reflect the attitudes of the *amour courtois*. In one of them, the bard celebrates the beauty and virtue of a girdle given to him by a lady in return for a song. The second is a complaint against the treatment of the author



by a lady, described as 'the lady of Eitun.' Eitun is in Denbighshire, and Coed Eitun is twice mentioned in the poems attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym. Pennant's description of the place agrees well with the impression given by these romantic poems: 'The Dee rolls beneath, and forms a long and solemn reach, overshadowed by hanging woods. At Overton bridge, which lies about a mile beyond Eyton, the channel is contracted, and the stream flows picturesquely between the lofty banks.' (*Tours*, ed. Carnarvon, 1883, vol. ii, p. 289). The poem to this 'lady of Eitun' contains a remarkable defence of free love:

'Kyntaf vu Aðaf o ðyn  
a morwyn wyl am aeron,  
a deu gymar trydar trin  
y gelwid, govid gyvun.

'Un vu Aðaf, am aval,  
ac Eva, kyd bei govul,  
a roes oe merched vedel  
oe meibyon doethyon dethol.

'Yn ol Aðaf, naf nwyfrað,  
kynn kyfreith Pab noe drabluð,  
y goruc pawb y gared  
ae gares yn ði geryð.

'Digeryð vyð, ryð rwyðgael,—  
da y gwnaeth Mei dei or deil,—  
deuoed dan goed, y dan gel<sup>1</sup>  
y minneu, vi am annwyl.'

These two poems, and the third, which follows, reflect perfectly the ideas and mentality of the Troubadours; they even conserve the attractive youthful quality which is, perhaps, the explanation of all such poetry.

The metre of this composition is that known as *Kyhydedd Hir*, composed of three five-syllabled leading lines, with end-rhyme, and a tail-rhyme line of four syllables. The tail-rhyme is preserved throughout the poem. The leading lines are not regularly alliterated, but alliteration between the third leading line and the tail-rhyme line is regular. It is difficult here and there to make out the meaning with certainty, as the style is highly artificial, sentences being cut up and metrical material introduced

<sup>1</sup> *cel* makes defective rhyme—*y dan goel*?

freely—note how three lines are inserted, for instance, in the middle of the expression, 'yr unved vlwyddyn ar ddeg.' It is not quite clear whether the argument is between the bard and the lady only, or whether a third person is made to speak. I have presumed that the reply to the lady's defence is spoken by the bard himself.

## TEXT

(*Llyfr Coch Hergest*, cols. 1254–5).

'Nyd lles <sup>1</sup> ym geissa6,—  
 llavur br6yngur bra6,—  
 rof â phryd ala6  
     —val ffr6d 6yleis,—  
 llunya6 tanghneved ;  
 llifrann, g6ahan g6ed,  
 breint kyflavared  
     kyflavuryeis ;  
 llidyawc vu genti,—  
 llidyant r6ydyant ri,—  
 beida6 y hen6i  
     pan y hen6eis ;  
 llithged, breinged br6yn,  
 llaes virein vorwyn,  
 llyma vy ma6rg6yn,—  
     nyd am eurgeis,—  
 rac lli6 tonn ertrei,—  
 mae vy ll6 <sup>2</sup> arnei,  
 rei ae ryfedei  
     nas r6y vedeis,—  
 llifa6 vying gruðyeu,  
 am llað heb arveu,  
 minneu, y maðeu  
     nys medylyeis ;  
 yn y Llun kyntaf  
 o <sup>3</sup> ðechreu gaeaf,  
 pan vyð anaraf  
     tonn vassaf veis,<sup>4</sup>  
 yr unved vl6yðyn,—  
 o oed a thervyn,

<sup>1</sup> *Nyt lle* in the Red Book text. The reading *nyd lles*, in the *Myv. Arch.* seems preferable.

<sup>2</sup> *vy lla6*, R.B. and *Myv. Arch.* texts. *ll6* seems to be more intelligible.

<sup>3</sup> *a dechreu*, R.B.

<sup>4</sup> *safaf sais*, *Myv. Arch.*, an evident scribal error.

ya6nder y6 gofyn,  
     hynn a honneis,—  
 ar ðec, r6ymdec rin,  
 tr6y lid a gorðin,  
 o oed y brenhin,<sup>1</sup>  
     breinya6c kemmeis ;<sup>2</sup>  
 yn llygrant ym grann,  
 yn lle y gelwir Llann  
 yn lloga6d Vodvan,  
     hoedran hydreis,  
 yngheindref Aber,  
 anghendreul<sup>3</sup> lla6er,  
 lle bu ner niver,  
     naf a golleis,<sup>4</sup>  
 ynghym6t pennaf  
 Arllechweð Uchaf,—  
 y dyn a garaf  
     nys digereis !—  
 yn siry/yaeth<sup>5</sup> Dôn,  
 yn Sir Gaer Arvon,  
 lle bu ron dragon,  
     dreigeu Emreis.<sup>6</sup>  
 O mynn6n vying kl6yf  
 gan li6 tonn 6rth r6yf,  
 n6yf nyd esgor6yf,  
     kan dwys gereis !  
 yr deugein s6llt nod

<sup>1</sup> The date assigned to Gruffudd ap Davydd ap Tudur, as has been stated, is 1290–1340. Thus the king would be Edward I. He came to the throne in 1272, so that his eleventh year would be 1283, a year after the fall of Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd.

<sup>2</sup> I treat *kemmeis* as a variant of *camse*, *camsai*, also found written *casmai*, from Low Lat. *camisia*. The confusion of the form with *Cemmaes* would have been easy.

<sup>3</sup> *angheudreul* in the R.B. text, but the initial consonance shows that it should be *anghendreul*.

<sup>4</sup> Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, who had a court at Aber, was slain at Builth in 1282. His bodyguard of eighteen at the time was composed of men from Aber, see the reference to 'llu Bod Faeaw' in his elegy by Gruffudd ap yr Ynad Coch. The detailed character of the reference to Aber suggests that the bard was acquainted with the court of Llywelyn, 'naf a golleis,' when it was yet a place where men of his class were welcomed with 'ample disbursements' (*anghendreul llawer*).

<sup>5</sup> *Sirydyath*, R.B. text ; *seryddiaeth*, *Myv. Arch.*, the first a modernisation, and the second probably an attempt to connect astronomy with the name of Dôn. Cp. Gwydion ap Dôn, and Caer Gwydion=the Galaxy.

<sup>6</sup> Dinas Emrys, in Snowdonia.

o ysterlingod,<sup>1</sup>  
 vyn namaes<sup>2</sup> amod,  
     mi ae symmeis;<sup>2</sup>  
 ys g6yr vyn niva,  
 ys g6ann ym adwna;  
 os g6enn ae g6ada,—  
     g6ydn yδ holeis,—  
 mae ym bra6 glywed  
 g6ybod, a g6eled,  
 Carwed, Ednyved,  
     Ednywein Seis!  
 g6enn,—a hoew y6 honn,  
 g6ynlli6 ertrei tonn  
 pann vyδ eglur vronn  
     a llonn y lleis,—  
 ae g6ada6δ yn veith  
 yr llys, dyfrys deith,—  
 cam ac anghyfreith,  
     g6eith g6ythla6n dreis!'

'Dy g6yn vu gynneu  
 dy laδ heb arveu  
 â llafneu geireu  
     g6yron, lledneis;  
 am ll6, bei 'th leδid,  
 â geir,—llesmeir llid,—  
 yn vy6 na 'th welid,  
     edlid adleis;<sup>3</sup>  
 a by6 y'th welaf,  
 y ba6b y tystaf,  
 a bra6d a archaf,  
     ac a ercheis.'

<sup>1</sup> The date of the poem is further proved by the employment of the term *esterlingod*. In one of the laws of Edward I there is a reference to 'Denarius Angliæ, qui vocatur *Sterlingus*.' The form has been derived from *esterling* or *esternling*, 'from A.S. *ēastan* = from the east, or *ēasterne* = eastern, and suff. *-ling*; so called after the *Esterlings* or North Germans (Hanse merchants), who were the first moneyers in England.'—*Lloyd's Encyclopædic Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> *fynn anaes amyδ ai sommais*, *Myr. Arch.* The rhyme establishes *amod* and the consonance *mi ai*. One might read *vy na maes*, and adopt *sommais*, but it seems to me now much more likely that we have here a borrowing of the legal term, from the O.Fr. *damage*, which would have become *damaes*, a form yet heard alongside with *damaij*. This verifies the R.B. reading *symmeis*, from the Fr. *sommer* (Eng. *sum*, W. *sum*), to reckon, calculate. The bard lived at a time when the English legal system was being introduced.

<sup>3</sup> *atreis*, R.B. *adlais*, *Myr. Arch.* The consonance substantiates the latter reading.



'Na ðilyn6ch dla6d  
 ny ðilyn6y <sup>1</sup> 6a6d,  
 a rec <sup>2</sup> eur dava6d,  
     lliw eiry diveis ;  
 dedlid <sup>3</sup> hoed yn haf,  
 didla6d y'th welaf ;  
 dadleu ny allaf,  
     ac ny elleis ;  
 a diallu 6yf,  
 a deall6r cl6yf,  
 a diellvyd v6yf <sup>4</sup>  
     kan dyelleis.'

'Dealled doethyon  
 ðyvod dialon,  
 o g6naeth Penndragon  
     dr6g y Wrleis.' <sup>5</sup>

Nyd eilha6s—digna6s, dygneis—ðawn dadleu  
 ar ðyn didla6d c6rteis  
 no myned, h6yrged hirgeis,  
 Iwerdon o Von y veis.<sup>6</sup>

## TRANSLATION

'It were of no avail for me to seek to make peace between myself and the lily-white maid, it were but the labour of sorrow and alarm ; and my tears have been like a stream—with wet cheeks and a change of countenance have I striven for the privilege of a meeting.

Wrath was hers,—wrath, the lord over success,—that I dared to name her when I did ; mine has been a gift of enticement, the privileged dower of sadness ; stately and beauteous maid, bright as the breaking wave, whom it marvels many that I have not possessed, this—my oath upon it—is my great complaint against her, and not for amends in gold—that she caused the flooding of my cheeks, and slew me without weapons—yet have I never thought of abandoning her.

<sup>1</sup> *ny ðilynaw*, R.B. *ni ðilynwy*, *Myv. Arch.* The second seems to be the best reading.

<sup>2</sup> *ar ol*, R.B. *ar ec*, *Myv. Arch.* From the latter I deduce *a rec*, which gives better sense.

<sup>3</sup> *dedlis*, R.B. *dedlis bed* (or *bod*), *Myv. Arch.* The form in *-id* seems more intelligible—an old indicative used imperatively, cp. *bid*, etc. ? Another possible reading is *Dedlid bedw yn haf*, or *Dedlid bedwen haf*. Cp. the many references to *bedw* in the later love poems.

<sup>4</sup> *nwyf*, R.B. *fwyf*, *Myv. Arch.*

<sup>5</sup> A reference to the tale of Uthr and Eigr (Uther and Igraine).

<sup>6</sup> *o vais*, *Myv. Arch.*, perhaps a better reading.

It is right to inquire, in regard to time and place, and this I have stated: It was on the first Monday of the beginning of winter, when the wave is wild on the shallowest shoal, in the eleventh year of the reign of the King of the royal robe, this being a fairly sworn secret, that she, through anger and violence, caused the defilement of my countenance, in the chancel of the church called after the name of Bodvan, in the fair habitation of Aber of the many favours, where were formerly the prince and his followers, a lord I have lost—in the chief commote of Upper Arllechwedd—ah! I shall not unlove her whom I have loved!—in the shirevalty of Dôn, in the county of Caernarvon, where once were the warrior's arms and the dragons of Emraais. If I ever desired my wound from her who is white as the foam round an oar, may I never escape from the passion, for I have deeply loved! And the damaging of my bond, I have reckoned it up at forty minted shillings of sterling coin. She knows of my undoing, and again she causes me to be faint; if the fair one deny it, having diligently inquired, I have proof that Carwed, Ednyved and Ednowain Sais have heard, known and seen all. The fair one—and stately is she, bright as the breaking wave when its surge is lucent and when there is joy in its voice—has long denied herself to the court—a fleeting journey—a wrong and an injustice, a work of vicious oppression.'

'Thy complaint, just now, was that thou hadst been slain without weapons, with the blades of deceitful, delicate words; my oath upon it, if thou hadst been killed—a swooning of anger—by means of a word, then wouldst thou not be seen alive to utter thy plaint again. Yet, alive I see thee, I testify to all, and I claim judgment as I have claimed it.'

'Follow not a wretch who does not follow song, and has not the gift of a golden tongue, you of the beauty of deep-drifted snow! Let the longing of summer plead [or, let the summer birch plead]—splendid I behold thee, but plead I cannot, nor have I been able to plead; powerless am I, but one who understands a wound, and may my lot be fair, since I have known this!'

'Let the wise ones know that vengeance came, if Pendragon caused wrong to Gorlois!'

Enraged, I exerted all my wit at words in pleading with the bright and courteous maid, yet was it a long and unrewarded task: no easier than it were to pass from Mona to Erin through shallows all the way!

T. GWYNN JONES.

## 12. THE EVOLUTION OF THE WELSH HOME

LITTLE has been done, so far as I am aware, to trace the history of the development of the Welsh home, and anyone who tries to read intelligently many portions of Mediæval Welsh literature with the aid of only such apparatus as is available will feel as if he were walking on 'duckboards' after dark. Professor Loth's brilliant interpretation of the kind of house implied in the 'correspondence' between Tristan and Esyllt, and Professor K. Meyer's happy comparison of that house with Llyfrbryf's description of Ceiriog's old home at Penybryn, Llanarmon (*Zeit. für rom. Phil.* xxvi, p. 716) show the tenacity of tradition and the possibilities of the material. True, the information available is traditional, linguistic and indirect, for the material remains in Wales are very few for the early period; but it is no exaggeration, I think, to say that the meaning of *cyntedd*, the position of the fireplace, or the seat of the honoured guest in the hall, may afford determining clues to the age of a document, or at least to the stage of development relative to contemporary society.

Jordanes says of the Britons, 'virgeas habitant casas, communia tecta cum pecore.' We find in N.W. Europe in historical times people living in movable houses drawn by bullocks, but there is a great gulf between these dwellings and Ehangwen (King Arthur's Hall) or the great Tech Midechuarta of Tara, whose ground plan is given in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, p. 418, or the wonderful hall of Gwlad Ieuan Fendigaid of Elucidarum, p. 171.

*Movable Houses.*—There is considerable evidence that these were common in Wales as elsewhere. In the *Life of G. ap Kynan* (†1200) we find them taking movable houses with them 'dug eu cyfanned ir gwladoed,' 150.9 (*Myv Arch.* 733a<sup>2</sup>); 'Mudasant eu hannedeu ganthunt,' 142.22 (M.A. 731a<sup>31</sup>); 'gossot yr annedeu yny lle,' 152.16 (M.A. 733b<sup>4</sup>). The expedition of Bran to Ireland seems to imply the same, for they improvise a bridge over a navigable river with *clwydeu*, which may mean *wattle* or *hurdles*.

The word *car*, *carr*, which enters very often into Med. W. compounds like *carddychwel*, *cargychwyn*, *carllawedrog*, appears to me to imply or to have implied once a 'movable home.' Up to 1900 when Rhys and Jones published *The Welsh People* it was translated as Engl. *car*, and in *A. Laws* (Owen) II, 876, § xx., we find *carlauedrauc* (*carrifractus*). In Appendix D of *Welsh People* it is argued that *car* in these words means *kin*. But *car* (vehicle) is a title to possession of land, and we find '*cum karro ad terram venerit*,' *A. Laws* II, 858, xxv.; *dyuot a charr yr tir*, Pen.MS. 36A, fol. 33a. (See Lewis, *Glossary M.W. Laws*, pp. 59, 60.)

According to Dirksen's *Manuale* the house in the Roman Laws was regarded as one of the *movable* things, '*Mobilis res-fundus et aedes*,' s.v. *mobilis*, and Ihering corroborates this (*Evol. of the Aryans*, p. 105). In the Life of St. Kevin (Plummer, *Vit. Sanct. Hib.* I, 247) we find, '*Die constituto tu cum tuis ad me ueni, ut sarcinas et edes fratrum ad alium locum, a Deo nobis constitutum, transferatis*.'

It may be risky to regard *cartref* as one of this series of *car*-compounds. It appears to be assumed that *cartref* = *car kin*, *clan*, *tref home*. Grupp (*Kultur d. alt. Kelt. u. Germ.*, p. 124) has drawn a ground plan of such a communal home. It is divided into four divisions for four families of four members each, but to support it he equates *gwely* (bed) with *wall*, and *rhandir* with *Rand*, so that it does not beget confidence. *Carennnyd* is the usual word for the nine degrees of kinship regarded as a unit and not *car*, and Grupp's communal home would barely provide for so many. It appears to me impossible to accept *car-tref* = *kin-home*, and that *car* 'frame,' 'vehicle,' etc., is preferable.

The word is very sparingly used in Med. Welsh, and when it is used as *cartrefu* (*R. Bk.* I, 268, 17, the only instance in the vol.) it is not inconsistent with *movable home*. The word is unknown in the Gwentian dialect, I think, and *home* is always *tref*. *Oti e nhre*, *Mynd o dre*, etc.

I assume that these houses were, as a rule, built of wattle attached to a framework. Howel Dda's hunting lodge and conference room is described as made of peeled rods (Pen.MS. 36A, f. 1a) and is regarded as the usual thing; and presumably *adeil* 'to build' preserves the original meaning 'to wattle.' The wattle of a primitive house are well described in Bulleid and Grey (*Lake Village of Glastonbury*, 1911-13, pp. 132 sqq.): 'Three hurdles of house wattle were discovered in Mound LVI of similar



make and height. . . . The measurements were as follows : Max. width 10 feet 6 inches. Upright pieces were made of split wood 6 feet 3 inches high, and placed at intervals of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The ends were squared for fitting into mortise holes and measured  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch. The interlacing wattles were covered with bark and measured  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter. . . . The wattle ends projected for 4 or 5 inches beyond the terminal uprights and were not secured by turning or finished off in any way. At the distance of 18 inches from the lower end of a terminal upright, a piece of plaited withe was found encircling the upright, having the appearance of having been used for binding the hurdle to a post or to another hurdle.' Two pieces of oak planks with small mortise holes were found with the three hurdles and formed, according to the writer's opinion, portions of a rectangular hut. This appears to correspond to the building of a M.W. barn where there were three *bangors* (hurdles of wattle) and the door, also of wattle, was fastened with three withes, two on one post and one on the other, to shut it (*B. Chirk*, p. 114). Archæologists are, apparently, not agreed whether the round hut and the rectangular belong to two different stages of development. We find round wattled huts on the Antonine column in the Louvre Museum, and about ninety such circular huts were found in Glastonbury. *Cryndy* might mean literally a 'circular' or 'beehive hut,' but as *cryn-* enters into so many compound words where the meaning 'round' is inadmissible this must not be pressed, *e.g.* we have *cryn bont*, *cryn afon*, *cryn llwdyn*, *cryn was* (= *crynffast*, *crymffast* ?) *lodes gron*, *plant crynion*, etc.

The frequent references to one *colofn* or *post* as the centre of the house and the place of honour seem to imply a round building with a central post as at Glastonbury, where it was well marked and where it was fixed into a socket in the hearthstone.

There is an expression in the Laws of Wales which seems to imply a very definite step in advance in the construction of the primitive house ; but a too literal rendering of it has possibly obscured the meaning. A price list of the various component parts of the primitive house is given several times, and there it is said that an 'Autumn house' is worth twelve pence, but if there is an 'auger hole' in it it is worth twenty-four pence (Wade Evans, *Welsh Med. Laws*, p. 102). *Domus autumpnalis* . . . *cum foramine terebri xxiiiiid.* (Owen, *A. Laws* II, 803). It is difficult to see what other interpretation to put on it than that

the house was built with fixtures held together by pegs fitting into 'auger holes.' A mortised beam of oak with two perforations and an oak plank having small mortise holes arranged at regular intervals and parallel to one edge were found in floor ii of Mound LVI at Glastonbury. The *Welsh Laws* refer often to the 'prennau bras' of the house, *i.e.* beams, door posts, rafters, etc., of the value of fourpence each. According to Fled Bricrend (Henderson's Edit., pp. 4-5) it took a wagon team to carry each beam for the hall he describes, and it needed the strength of seven Ulstermen to fix each pole (but see O'Curry, *Manners*, iii., p. 21), and in Mesca Ulad (Hennessy, *Todd Lecture*, pp. 46-7) we find, 'a secure oaken house, with a yew door, three feet thick,' and in Rees' *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, p. 39, we find them bringing a tree the full load of a four-ox team though this was meant for a monastery.

According to Professor Chambers, 'Heorot was clearly built of timber, held together with iron clamps' (*Beowulf*, p. 361). It seems not unreasonable, therefore, to regard the house with an auger hole as a house which could be taken apart and put together easily, just as they still do in some parts of Hungary with their churches, according to Henning (*Das deutsche Haus*, p. 164).

These houses varied greatly in size, but the essential economy appears to be much the same, for we find Bran and his host furnishing tents and pavilions 'after the manner of a hall' (*R. Bk.* I, 30).

The normal house had six *gavel* or *post* or *fforch* to support the roof or roof tree. The number of these is fixed as six whether it is the house of a king, free man or freed man, though the price varied greatly just as the price of a hound varied according to the status of its owner rather than the merits of the dog itself (*Black Bk. of Chirk*, 98-99; Pen.MS. 35f, 108a). We find references, however, to houses with a hundred columns (*Red Bk.* I, 38) and their capacity varies between one man and three thousand men of arms.

It is not clear to me how these six columns of the Welsh house were arranged, for they were all of the same value, while elsewhere we find the corner posts three times the value of the others. Sometimes the central pillar alone is referred to, and it was clearly regarded in Med. Wales as in Europe as the great pillar of the house. Here the nobleman sits and receives his visitors. There the shield is placed and no one is to do it dishonour (*S. Graal*, Williams, pp. 192, 366, 389, etc.). In the *Grail*

legend we find a chapel built on *four* columns (*S. Graal*, Williams, p. 311). We also find the seat between the two pillars regarded as the place of honour. Chambers says: 'The pillars in the centre were known as the high seat pillars . . . the central position facing the high seat pillars, and the fire was the most honourable' (*Beowulf*, p. 361). In the Owen and Lunet story we find Arthur sitting on green rushes in the centre of the floor at Caerlleon (*R.B. I*, 162.13).

According to the Irish Law Tract 'Crith Gabhlach' (*Brehon Laws*, iv., pp. 304 sqq.) the standard house of a 'king without property' was 30 feet with a kitchen of 23 feet, and the dimensions of the houses of the various social grades are given. The houses vary greatly in size as well as in the proportion of the kitchen or back room to the hall.

The size of the floors of the round huts of Glastonbury varied between 16 by 18 feet and 29 by 36 feet.

Some time or other the house came to be divided into two or three divisions—the kyntedd, ladies' chamber and kitchen. The inference from the 200 meal bags on the 100 columns in the house of Matholwch (*Red Bk. I*, 38) is that it was customary to use the house as store-room as well. The primitive house of Heilyn Goch (*R. Bk. I*, 145), though presumed to be the home of a twelfth century gentleman, suggests that that was yet undivided, as the hall and the kitchen appear to be one.

After the partition of the *neuadd* (*neuadd* is used for the whole house as well as the central hall) the important part was the *cyntedd*—this was the living-room of the family and retainers by day, and their bedroom by night. Gradually private bedrooms, etc., were formed from it so that it dwindled in size and importance, and ultimately it came to have *porch* as one of its meanings. The literary form is *cyntedd* and the usual meaning is *porch*, *entry*, etc., in Mod. Welsh, but the colloquial form in S. Wales is *cynted*, and the meaning is *open space*, *common*, etc. (for the alternation of final d: dd in polysyllables, compare *diffodd*, *diffod*; *gormodd*, *gormod*; *Maes Hyfeidd*, *Maesyfed*, etc.). Silvan Evans was perhaps misled by assuming that *cyntedd* was formed like *cynor*, and that *cynor* was from *cyn* + *dor*, i.e. '[a hut] in front of the door,' but neither assumption is valid, I think. On the strength of the modern literary meaning and form it is asserted that *cyntedd* is derived from *\*kintu-sed*. Mediæval Welsh poetry establishes the current form as *cyntedd* rhyming with *medd*, and



the meaning as the place of honour where bards drank mead with their host. Apart from mediæval texts, British climate suggests that a porch would not be such an ideal place in which to drink mead as to win the hearty praise of contemporary poets, as in the following: 'Atwyn med yg kynted y gerdawr,' *B. Tal.*, p. 9.<sup>11</sup>; 'Gwerth med eg kynted gan lliwedawr. hyueid hir,' *B. Aneirin*, p. 2.<sup>11</sup>; 'Bual oed arwynn eg kynted eidyn,' *ibid.*, p. 5.<sup>10</sup>; 'Ni didolit yng kynted o ved gwirawt,' *ibid.*, p. 7.<sup>2</sup>; 'Ceffid yng gyntet med a bragawt' (of G. ap Kynan), *Myv. Arch.* 140a<sup>30</sup>; and *Bk. Tal.*, p. 24.<sup>25</sup> has 'Ffenitwyd yg kynted.'

In *Red Bk. I*, 145 the men had entered the house and later advanced to that part called the *cyntedd*. *Cyntedd* is given as *buarth* by Cynddelw (Geiriadur Cym. Cymraeg, also Geiriadur y Bardd). It is clear to me that the word has contracted in its literary sense rather than expanded in its colloquial sense.

It appears to me that it might, then, be equated without violence with the *Candetum* of Isidore and Columella. According to Isidore's *Origines* Bk. XV, chap. XV., §6 we find: 'Galli candetum appellant in areis urbanis spatium centum pedum quasi centetum. In agrestibus autem pedes centum quinquaginta quadratum iustum candetum vocant.' Jubainville (*Rev. Celt.* xxiv., pp. 317-8) regards candetum as for cantetum, a derivative of the Celtic form for a hundred; and Rhys (*Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, pp. 18-19) regards *cynt-* as a weak form of *cant*, a hundred; *kintu-sed* appears then improbable.

The fireplace in the *cyntedd* or *neuadd* is also of much significance. In the Glastonbury huts the hearths were nearly in the centre and made of baked clay, marl, stone, etc. (Bulleid and Grey, I, 58 sqq.). The hearth in Med. Welsh was *pentan* or *pentanfaen* (Wade-Evans 136.18). Later we find *pentan hayarn* (Lewis, Llanstephan MS. 116, p. 23, l. 34). In the meanwhile it was perhaps undergoing a change in use and form. We find it called *talbren* (Llanst. MS. 69, p. 61), and also we find it glossed by *tripod*. It is even known as *pren* itself, and this would have been very unlikely if it was used as the old hearthstone. It looks as if it were developing to be the smoke screen at the back of the fire. In the *neuadd* of Heilyn Goch (*Rd. Bk. I*, 145) there was an open fire as usual, but another fire is kindled, for cooking and this was possibly the usual cooking pit on one side. It may be straining it too much, but one is reminded of the cooking pit of Cain Adamnan (Meyer, C. Adamnan, Oxford, 1905, p. 3). 'Cumalach (from



cumal *bondmaid*) was a name for women till Adamnan came to free them. And this was the *cumalach*, a woman for whom a hole was dug at the end of the door . . . the end of the great spit was placed upon her till the cooking of the portion was ended.'

In the ground plan of Tech Midchuarta three fires are marked, so also in Mr. Gudmundson's Icelandic Hall. The *Welsh Laws* assume one central fire and a fire for cooking, but there are references to the Edling's fire which was reserved for himself. After dividing the house into three divisions the *cyntedd* itself was subdivided into two—the *uch-cynted* or 'dais' and the *is-cynted*. At first the floor was even, as a rule, and knights could ride in on horseback and pay their respect to the master of the house without dismounting. Heilyn Goch's *cyntedd* was different, though one end of the house was clearly superior to the other, for the floor was pitted and slippery with the stale and droppings of cattle, and the men sank ankle deep in it. This appears to be in keeping with Jordanes' report above that they dwelt under the same roof as their cattle. The floor is similar to many found at Glastonbury—a thick layer of brushwood and then another layer of leaves, but these were apparently wanting in Heilyn's.

Space forbids noticing the names of the windows, the various doors, the introduction of tie-beams, the coming of the loft, and the references to the underground store-room, or the provision of separate bedrooms, but these and other features of the Mediæval Welsh home are of much interest in themselves and helpful to win from many a passage of literature a meaning which time and change of habits have made obscure.

TIMOTHY LEWIS.



### 13. A WASHER AT THE FORD

ONE of the manuscripts in the Hengwrt collection contains marginalia that may be of some interest to the student of folklore and romance. They occur in Peniarth Manuscript 147 as additions to a list of Welsh place-names and written in a contemporary though probably not identical hand with the manuscript itself (dated about 1556).

Possibly the most interesting item is on the margin of page 10, in connection with the parish of Llanferres in Denbighshire. It reads somewhat as follows:

In Denbighshire in a parish known as Llanferres is found Rhyd y Gyfarthfa [=the Ford of Barking]. And in the olden time all the dogs of the country came to that ford to bark. No one would venture to go there to discover the cause until Urien Rheged came. And when he came to the bank of the ford he could see nothing but a woman washing. Thereupon the dogs ceased to bark. Urien Rheged seized the maiden and had his will, upon which she said: 'May the blessing of God be upon the feet that brought thee here.' 'Why?' said he. 'Because it was fated for me to be washing here until a Christian man won me. And I am the daughter of the King of Annwfn. If thou wilt return in a year's time thou wilt be allowed to take possession of the child.' And so he came and received there a son and a daughter, namely Owein ab Urien and Morfydd verch Eirien.<sup>1</sup>

The most obvious relations of this tale are with that group of legends known as the 'Washer at the Ford.' The lady was doomed to washing and the dogs of the countryside forgathered in order to call attention to her plight. It has, therefore, wide connections in the folklore world, extending even as far as Korea. In Europe it is to be found in Spain and in France; it exists in all the Celtic countries and is extremely popular in Brittany. Its constant element is that of a woman—very rarely a man—

<sup>1</sup> The original has been transcribed by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans and printed in full in the account of MS. 147 in the *Report of the Commission on Historical Manuscripts*.

washing clothes or some other object. As a rule they choose the night for carrying on their occupations, and prefer pools or other still water to the banks of rivers. Generally they hold some element of danger for the passer-by who takes notice of them.<sup>1</sup>

Various explanations are given of the nature of these nocturnal visitors. In France one of the most popular types of story regards them as the dead revisiting their old haunts. As a rule they are expiating a sin committed in life. Commonly they have broken the sanctity of the Sabbath or other Holy Day by washing clothes, or they have torn poor men's clothes by washing them carelessly or beating too hard in order to save soap. Perhaps the most frequent explanation is that which describes them as infanticides and makes them wash, not linen, but the bodies of their slain children. Women dead from drowning or suicide, or those unbaptized or unconfirmed are also said to show their restlessness by washing clothes near the haunts of their former activities.

Elsewhere, and frequently indeed in France as well, the washer is a creature of the Other World. They may be described, as at Bayeux, merely as fairies who come out at night to wash their linen by the light of the stars. Or they may have some of the common attributes of fairies such as that of testing men by giving them choice of gifts. As a rule, however, their presence is a source or a sign of danger to men. Several stories come from Brittany in which the passers-by are punished for offering to help or for beating the clothes on the wrong side. Malice goes a step farther where the fairy offers to help a woman and take her clothes home, for she would have caused the woman's death had not the latter been warned in time and prevented the fairy's entrance in time-honoured fashion by sweeping the floor, putting besom and tripod in place, washing her feet and throwing out the water. When they do not meditate mischief they may be an involuntary sign of coming death to those who see them, and their linen the shrouds of those about to die. So Cormac, in the Irish story of *Da Choca's Hostel*, saw at Druim Airthir a red woman on the edge of the ford washing her chariot and its cushions and its harness, and chanting a prophecy of the destruction of Cormac: 'his are the chariot and cushions and harness, and the blood is the blood of his army. . . .' Among the

<sup>1</sup> The works consulted in preparing this article are noted at the end.



peasantry of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, in France, in Brittany and Alsace, a similar tradition obtains, that the washer is a sign of death, not unlike the *bean sidhe*. In some parts of Scotland their power is destroyed if they are seen first. In Brittany—as in far-away Korea—they are sometimes known to bring death actively to people by wrecking ships or dragging them into the water.

Such are the 'washerwomen of night' whether ghosts or fairies, apparitions bringing trouble and generally death to those who see them. They are essentially different, too, from the fairy washerwoman of Llanferres whose own salvation depends on the appearance of a human being. The spell under which she suffers may indeed be paralleled in the ordinary 'washer at the ford' story. If the spectral *lavandières* of France are Christianised forms of earlier fairies, the compulsion to do their penance may well have been some kind of spell. Examples, too, are found of the washer working under magic. Thus in Provence one hears of young girls singing and laughing to attract the passers-by. Anyone who comes is pushed into the water while the sorceresses are changed into horrible beasts. In Gascony a song describes the fairy doing her task until *La vierge mariée* comes to set her free. And in one locality in Brittany the washerwomen, *Kannerez Noz*, sing :

Jusqu'à ce qu'il ne vienne un chrétien sauveur :  
Il nous faut blanchir notre linceul  
Sous la neige et le vent.

The terms here, it will be noted, are very similar to those in the Denbighshire tradition, 'until a Christian man . . . it was fated . . .'

In outline, therefore, this Welsh legend seems to fit into the 'washer at the ford' tradition. Its details, however, are new and closely resemble one if not two other *motifs* of romance. For the fairy's method of destroying the spell is by contact with a mortal, and she has effective if peculiar means of wooing him.

By virtue of this latter power our fay seems to belong to the 'fairy mistress' type, exemplified in its purer form in the romance of *Owein a Luned* (and *Iwein*) and the 'Breton lays' of *Lanval* and *Graelent*. The fairy falls in love with a mortal and invites him to her realm. Sometimes he must overcome

obstacles in order to reach his destination ; at other times the task is quite simple. The two facts that Urien is led to his fairy through the barking of dogs and that he finds her near water are evidence that this story is connected in some way with the fairy mistress *genre*. Almost always there is a messenger, though generally a more direct guide than we find here ; very frequently the Other World is beyond or under water. But the most important point of all is that the woman herself tells Urien that she is the daughter of the King of the Other World.

She differs from the real fairy mistress, however, in that Urien finds her on earth, and in that she is not complete mistress over her world. The latter is the more important difference, and to a certain extent brings about the first. Disenchantment by contact with a mortal is an extremely common story, but as a rule the spell is upon a human being who resumes his own form when the condition is fulfilled. Loathly ladies—exemplified in *The Wife of Bath's Tale* and a large number of popular romances and ballads—Frog Princes and Enchanted Princesses are members of this class, and all agree in making the chief character a mortal. In the stories of which the Swan Maiden is the chief example, however, a fairy becomes human for the period of her human companionship, a fair approach to the situation in the Llanferres folk-tale.

Resemblances of this kind between *märchen* and romances are interesting to trace ; and it is possible that this Welsh story is a combination, from some remote period, of various *motifs*. On the other hand, it is also possible, and rather more satisfactory, to see in it an elaborate version of the story of the Washer at the Ford—of the kind in which the woman is bespelled or punished until the event occurs which will put an end to the enchantment.

Further details may be found in the following works :

THE WASHER AT THE FORD :

Anatole Le Braz, *La Légende de la Mort*, I, pp. xlv., 52, 54, 290 ; II, pp. 214-219.

P. Sébillot, *Traditions de la haute Bretagne*, I, 248.

P. Sébillot, *Le Folklore de France* (see Index under *lavandières de nuit*).

G. G. King, *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII, 354 ff.

G. Schoepperle, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XVIII, pp. 60 ff.

*Revue Celtique*, XXI, 157 (*Da Choca's Hostel*).

J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 43.

*Folklore*, IX, 12, 91-92 (Hebrides); X, 121, 123 (Ireland); XI, 332 (Korea).

FAIRY MISTRESS AND DISENCHANTMENT :

G. L. Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 200 ff., 231 ff.

A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain*, p. 98 ff.

Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, pp. 19 ff., 191.

GWENAN JONES.





## 14. AN OUTLINE STORY OF OUR NEIGH- BOURHOOD

THE far quiet valleys that run among the hills of Wales are strongholds of ancient heritages obliterated from the memories, though not from the bones, of the men of the English plain by the onset of many waves of thought and of custom across the Channel at intervals during at least 4,000 years. Yet is the way through England by no means the only continental connection of the Celtic fringe, and it has been a source of deadly wrongs that there has been too little recognition of the membership that fringe claims by right of age-long contribution in the comity of Europe. Hartwell Jones<sup>1</sup> tells of pilgrim bands voyaging to the shrine of the great St. James at Compostella, the lives of the ancient British Saints give clues to similar links centuries before, and these associations are but the continuations of intercourse revealed to us by archæological evidence along the shores of the western seas from Roman times back beyond the dawn of the Bronze Age.

On the plain new communications time after time have corrupted old manners, whereas in the hills of the west the home tradition has often assimilated the new importations to itself, though the open coastal plains of South Wales have felt as many changes as most parts of eastern Britain. The contrasts between the English plains and the Welsh valleys are paralleled by those between the English entries into Wales and the remoter glens that radiate out seaward from the moorland hills. The gateways of Englishry are the Dee entry at Ruabon, notoriously difficult at all times, the wider open Severn valley with its accessory links through Middletown, through Minsterley, and through Craven Arms, the Wye, and the coastal plains of north and south. The radiating glens make up the ancient Gwynedd in the north-west and Deheubarth in the south-west. Between the two our district forms a narrow connecting link, a strip nestling beneath the deso-

<sup>1</sup> G. Hartwell Jones, 'Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim World,' *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XXIII, 1912.

late moorlands of Plynlymon and forming as it were the neck of the hour-glass, whereof the bulbs are Gwynedd and Deheubarth.

In the old days of poor communications and a social order of clannish herdsmen it was difficult for the Wales of the hour-glass just mentioned to secure effective unity, and while this helped to keep old dialects alive in the separate valleys, it hindered the development of a capital, and so, for lack of a centre of continuous administration, Welsh law died out. With ancient speech have survived oral (and therefore bardic) tradition, insistence on kinship as a social basis, and many other old-fashioned ways. Scotland, with its little Midland Valley open to both seas, has had a very different fate ; old forms of speech and the old oral tradition have gone, though the pride of kinship survives in the Highlands, and on the other hand with her great metropolitan cities Scotland has kept and developed her law and much besides. The common heritage that may be said to define the Scottish people thus contrasts strongly with that which belongs to the Welsh people, and the differences show how difficult, perhaps how futile, it is to try to define nationality for political ends.

If a capital of Welsh Wales had developed in pre-industrial times it must almost inevitably have been situate in our district along the western flank of Plynlymon, which ever lifts its mighty shoulders to retard the westward advance of the ways of the eastern plain. But our district was too narrow and too poor to develop a capital city, so it has been called upon to function as a link, not wholly belonging to either, while unable to exert metropolitan influence, and to gather north and south around it. With these thoughts in mind we may try to follow out the evidences of men's work in adjusting themselves to our district and in adjusting that district to their needs.

The first European men with big brains and the erect posture had to cope with a region just recovering from the Ice Age, and even when the glaciers had vanished they must have found Wales a difficult place, for they still depended on stone tools, and Wales lacked flint save for small pebbles on her coasts. It may well be that much of the earliest evidence of man in our district is now beneath the sea, lost for ever in the sunken Cantref y Gwaelod.<sup>1</sup> This was a lowland formed of loose materials dumped by glaciers which once had crept southward down the Irish Sea. It settled down and ultimately disappeared beneath the waves almost

<sup>1</sup> See O. T. Jones, in *Welsh Outlook*, 1921, p. 309.

certainly within human times, for we have legends that seem to have a foundation in fact, but most probably before about 1500 B.C. Later dates have been suggested, but the weight of opinion seems in favour of a belief that not much coast-change has occurred since that remote date. The Sarns, which are now such features of the coast of Cardigan Bay, are said by Professor O. T. Jones to be the low watersheds between the broad open valleys of the old land; they may well have been natural roads, but hardly artificial constructions.

Borth beach often shows a large area of tree trunks, chiefly pines, telling of a now submerged forest, and careful study has shown both that the forest grew in a wet climate and that the prevalent winds were westerly as now.<sup>1</sup> The advance of pebble and sand ridges inward has finally dammed back the drainage of the country east of Borth and has converted it into the great bogs of Gors Fochno and the lower Dyfi.

Few relics of prehistoric antiquity have as yet been rescued from Gors Fochno save the famous bronze shield in the British Museum, but above the storm beach just south of the Ystwyth mouth, geological students of Aberystwyth some years ago came upon large numbers of implements chipped from small flint pebbles.<sup>2</sup> It has as yet been impossible to date this flint working, though some of the little implements look like those of what archaeologists call the Tardenoisian period,<sup>3</sup> near the transition between the older and newer Stone Ages. The question immediately arises as to whether the beach, *i.e.* the coastline, was situated more or less as now when the workshop was in full swing. As several other workshops are similarly placed near the present shore lines of Wales, it seems probable that this question must be answered affirmatively, and if this is the case the workshop is almost certainly of much later date, even though we have flints from submerged sites off Pembrokeshire.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, in Wales it is rarely safe to argue from fashion to age. The thorough scientific investigation of our flint workshop is a pressing need. Whatever the date of the workshop it has been proved that worked flints, in several cases undoubted beach flints, have been collected from the earthwork (probably Iron Age) of Pendinas just above as well as

<sup>1</sup> See J. Fairgrieve, *Q. J. R. Met. Soc.*, Vol. XLVI, 1920, p. 438.

<sup>2</sup> See Roger Thomas, *Arch. Camb.*, Ser. 6, Vol. XII, 1912, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> See M. C. Burkitt, *Prehistory*, 1921, ch. 12.

<sup>4</sup> 'Submerged Flint-working Sites off Pembrokeshire,' *Georg. Journ.*, LIII, 1919, pp. 120-1.



from various spots on the Plynlymon moorland. These are indications of movement or intercourse and increase the difficulties of dating. Indeed the more one studies Welsh problems the more one feels that a good deal of 'Stone Age' life and equipment persisted practically down to Roman times, and it is thus very dangerous to try to date finds of stone implements on negative evidence arising from absence of metal.

The last great phase of the (Neolithic) Stone Age, called by archæologists the Robenhausian period, was quite probably contemporary with early metal periods of the eastern Mediterranean. It seems to have witnessed the spread of the art of grinding stone implements through central Europe apparently from south-east to north-west and west. The penetration of this art into Wales may have been delayed, but at all events when it arrived it brought a marked enrichment of life, for several of the ancient crystalline rock masses of Wales furnished excellent raw material for the artists of the new fashion. The College Museum at Aberystwyth has examples of ground and polished stone axes of unusual interest. Some are of Merionethshire rock, but an important little group was found at Bwlch-y-ddwyallt, near Strata Florida, and were generously presented by Mr. D. Jones, Pontrhydfendigaid, through the good offices of Miss Williams, Lledrod. One is of superfine workmanship and has the edge slightly expanded after the manner of so many bronze axes. The stone of which it is made can be identified geologically as that found near St. David's Head, which was almost certainly a calling station on an early prehistoric sailing route to the gold workings of the Wicklow Hills. Anyone with a touch of romance might build up a story of a native going to the traders' station and coming away, not indeed with a costly bronze axe, but with a vision of one which, with infinite patience and skill, he expressed in stone. But this would be, of course, pure fancy, and we must note that other ground stone axes with expanded edges have been found in some parts of England; the utmost reserve should be exercised in any attempt to date them at present.

Evidence of some kind of occupation of West Wales by man in an early period is available in other ways, for the Plynlymon moorland is one of the places in which one of the earliest types of big-brained, erect-postured man survives in remarkable fashion.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See details in H. J. Fleure, *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, 1920, which gives bibliography.



Physical types known from skulls and skeletons of the Auignacean and Solutrean periods of the Old Stone Age (Grimaldi, Combe Capelle, Brunn, Brux), and of a probably somewhat later period (several river-bed skulls, etc., from Britain), are found living in the modern populations of the hills of Sardinia, Tras-os-Montes (N. Portugal), the Dordogne (France), the Carmarthen Van and Plynlymon, the Rinns of Galloway,<sup>1</sup> the moorlands at the back of Aberdeenshire and many parts of Ireland. They are dark-haired, dark-eyed, often rather dark-skinned, but at times also of florid complexion, their heads are very long and narrow, rising steeply on either side to a prominent median ridge, temporal hollows are well marked, the brow ridges are stronger than in most modern men, and the forehead recedes, the eyes are deepset and the orbits low, the cheek-bones project out at the side, the nose is broad and the nostrils wide, the upper jaw projects forward, the frame is bony and the stature average or just below, the arm is often relatively long. It is interesting to note in passing that this type throws up a good number of people of decided intellectual ability, and this has been noted among the women,<sup>2</sup> who are also often very good looking.

No one would try to argue that these types (there is really more than one) arrived, let us say, in the Plynlymon country in Aurignacean times, but they must surely have arrived fairly early as they have avoided being swamped by modified descendants who form the general substratum of British population as well as of that of many parts of Western Europe. These modified descendants have the head more continuously curved and less ridged, the brow ridges weaker, the cheek-bones and jaws less prominent, and throughout their physique they suggest changes due to development of civilisation. The pressure of strong jaw muscles ('temporal muscles') no longer in them so effectively resists the influences of the growing brain tending to mould the skull into a more continuous curve. Interpreting this we are led to think of better care in infancy and more milk among people acquiring the art of herding animals, both developments making it less necessary to have firm and strong jaw muscles in very early life, while increased cooking of food gives decreased need for jaw-power even in adult years. So we may picture men's physical frames conforming themselves gradually to the growth

<sup>1</sup> de Brus Trotter, *Galloway Gossip*, 1877, pp. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Miss R. Fleming in *Man*, April, 1922.

of men's thought, especially through the prolongation of the period of infantile plasticity and educability. If our district has no actual datable remains of these early stages of prehistory it at least keeps for us, better than most regions, in its present population evidences as to the steps whereby some European types of men attained their present features.

Towards the end of the Stone Age in Western Europe, when the use of metal had already developed in the eastern Mediterranean, Britain received new immigrants. One series can be traced across Europe north of the Alps to the British East Coast,<sup>1</sup> but of its penetration into Wales little is as yet known, and we have no examples of its 'Beaker' pottery from our district. The other stream, that of megalith builders,<sup>2</sup> spread around S.W. Europe to Brittany, Cornwall, the Welsh peninsulas, and Ireland. The great stone monuments or megaliths are of several different types, due probably to different peoples and different dates, and it is thought by many that their builders were metal prospectors lured by Irish gold and copper and later on by Cornish tin. Perry has shown that the megalith areas in S.W. Europe are in several cases areas of minerals. One may think of the interspersed distribution of several of these types of monuments as paralleled to some extent by the interspersed distribution of ports of call and the like belonging to various European peoples around the coast of Africa.

The Dolmen is the most typical megalith, with one, or sometimes two, large capstones resting on the ends of a few standing stones. In our district we have but one doubtful one, at Bwlch Corog and a remnant at Llanddeiniol. The solitary standing stone (Menhir) and the circle of standing stones are types of monument more widely distributed in Wales. Our district has a fine menhir at Bron Caradog, and stone circles at Ysppyty Cynfyn and Llanbryn-mair. Both here and in Flintshire these stone-circles are situated near lead mines. The Allée Couverte and the Long Barrow are varieties of the great stone monument which do not occur near us. The Cistvaen or Stone-Box is illustrated by the grave at Bedd Taliesin.

Our district has yielded a bronze axe (Ysppyty Cynfyn), a

<sup>1</sup> See references in H. J. Fleure and T. C. James, *Journal Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, 1916, p. 135 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See references in H. J. Fleure and L. Winstanley, *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, 1918, p. 155 ff.

bronze dagger of early Irish type (Cwmystwyth) and old stone ore-crushers of unknown age from the copper workings at Cwm Ystwyth.

The College Museum possesses a good series of barbed arrow-heads of flint and agate, finely chipped on both faces, and showing Irish relationships. It is likely that they belong to a time later than the Stone Age. The Irish style both in these arrowheads from Bugeilyn and in the dagger from Cwm Ystwyth suggest connections between Ireland and the West of Wales which are a feature of later periods and of Welsh tradition. The great stone monuments are the centres of the earliest definite traditions in Western Europe, and our district furnishes a notable piece of evidence for the churchyard at St. John's, Yspytty Cynfyn, is an old stone circle with some stones still standing and something like a fosse and vallum within. Examples of similar continuity of consecration are common in Brittany and Ireland.

On or near the areas of great stone monuments near the coasts of Western Europe occurs a type of man with broad head and dark colouring, tall stature in some cases, but stalwart build in almost all. This type is provisionally associated with some movement or other connected with the mining and megalithic activities of long ago, but we may repeat that these activities need not all be ascribed even to the 'Bronze Age.'

With increased skill in bronze the bronze sword<sup>1</sup> was evolved and the use of it spread, probably with invasions, from Central Europe across Britain to Ireland. From one or two finds it seems likely that the men of the Bronze Sword used one or two routes across Wales, but it would seem they moved rapidly to Ireland as a goal. Mr. Peake advances arguments of value to show that these swordsmen were the carriers of a language of the family of languages now generally used in Europe and that they probably reached Ireland via Brittany as well as across Britain, and this suggestion reduces the old conflict of opinion about the spread of the root language of Gaelic to Ireland. Zimmer and Kuno Meyer<sup>2</sup> believed in the route from western Gaul, while Rhys<sup>3</sup> favoured that across Britain. But Peake

<sup>1</sup> See H. J. E. Peake's forthcoming book, *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Zimmer and Kuno Meyer, 'Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen,' *Abh. k. Preuss. Acad. Wiss.*, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> See Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*.



would modify Rhys' view by suggesting a rapid passage across Britain with probably only slight and local influences on language. We know very little of language in Britain until we come to the Iron Age just before Roman times (La Tène period). As one of the most pressing needs of anthropology is an equation between archæological and linguistic movements, the advent of new evidence is valuable even if the suggestions made should prove to need modification. The importance of bronze-sword finds near the lower Thames and the Wash is an important point. The occurrence of Gwyddel place names (including Llwyn-y-Gwyddel, near Llandre, and Wig-y-Gwyddel, on the Aberystwyth shore) suggests Irish connections, but most probably these would be of later date.

Two valuable papers by Dr. Wheeler and Mr. R. U. Sayce have just appeared in *Transactions Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*.<sup>1</sup> They suggest, independently, that the earthworks of Wales indicate the spread of men of the Iron Sword (La Tène culture) into Wales after the beginning of Roman occupation of Britain. These earthworks are often on the lower hill-brows overlooking what was once valley woodland ere it was cleared by man. They are specially numerous and important in our lead-mining area and occur in patches in some other lead-mining areas too, and Mr. Sayce argues that they may also have been headquarters of military chieftains overlording areas of cultivation below them. They are nearly always situated amongst the gorse and thorn and bracken, which of old gave each May a crown of gold and white above the fresh green, and each November a red-brown line above the sea of falling leaves. The persistence of traces of the old calendar which pivoted on May and November is a very interesting feature of the life of our district.

Wales also has rough-stone fortresses which seem related in part to a coastwise trade or movement, though Mr. Edward Owen has pointed out in conversation that this can hardly account completely for Carn Goch, Carmarthenshire. They seem akin to the stone fortresses of the last pre-Roman centuries in Gaul, and such finds as have been made suggest they were in use during the period of Roman occupation in Britain.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately

<sup>1</sup> See *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion*, 1920-21; also articles by F. S. Wright in *Aberystwyth Studies*, Vol. II, 1914, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> See O. G. S. Crawford, in *Arch. Camb.*, 1920, p. 123; and also Wheeler and Sayce, *op. cit.*



finds are very rare, and it would seem that the Welsh, being a herding people, had many leather utensils rather than pots which elsewhere give the archæologist so much help.

The Romans had some arrangement which allowed them to hold Wales lightly after a certain time, and they appear to have done very little in West Wales. The Roman road approaching our district from the south stops at Lledrod and is not identifiable again with certainty till one gets north of the Mawddach estuary ; west of Caersws the evidence of the Romans becomes scrappy in spite of the existence of Pennal. The district thus left includes our area of lead mines and earthworks, but no rough-stone fortresses. The same area is rich in place-names, which soon become scarce beyond its borders. Such are Esgair,<sup>1</sup> Trum and Taren. There is a distinct dialect boundary, according to Rhys, both at the Wyre, near Lledrod, and at the Mawddach. This all points to some peculiarity in the life of our district during the period of linguistic crystallisation, and that period was probably near or during Roman times. The find of a hoard of Roman coins (A.D. 250–300) near Capel Bangor on an old line of communication does not imply any marked Roman activity locally.

Such evidence as we have from physical types of men as well as from archæology seems to point to the immigration of the Iron Age (probably of Romano-British times) as coming up the Severn and Wye valleys and probably at the other entries. So far as the Severn wedge is concerned, the moorlands of Plynlymon and the wild fastnesses of Dinas Mawddwy were doubtless formidable barriers, and we may well recall the long persistence of the Gwylltiaid Cochion in both. Behind these barriers Rhys identified our local dialect<sup>2</sup> as in his opinion an old-fashioned Welsh, and, however that may be, the same two barriers have effectively resisted the advance of Englishry so that throughout our era North Cardiganshire seems to have been the narrow neck connecting the north-west and south-west areas of Welsh Wales.

Within that area the Dyfi estuary and Gors Fochno offer obstacles to intercommunication between north and south which no traveller by the Cambrian Railways is likely to underestimate. It is a very general rule that stations develop on either side of

<sup>1</sup> 'Esgair' reaches down to the Towy and has a wider distribution than the other two, but the district between Mawddach and Wyre is the chief centre for all these names.

<sup>2</sup> See Rhys and Brynmyr Jones, *The Welsh People*, 1900, ch. 1.

great obstacles to communication and this is one factor of the rise of definitive settlements in the Rheidol valley south of the obstacle and at the west coast end of passes through the lead and moorland area. But there are doubtless other factors as well.

The earthwork on Pendinas is one of the finest of its kind, and the site must have greatly encouraged the earthwork builders, while it may not be too heretical to suggest that the flint supply on the storm beach (Pen-y-Ro) beneath Pendinas was an economic factor. There was cultivable alluvium near by and the Rheidol and Ystwyth were no doubt valuable salmon streams, while the bay was another source of food.

With the clearing of the lowlands and the valleyward movement of population, the latest stages of which we may trace so clearly by walking down hill through Llandre, for example, Pendinas would be superseded by Llanbadarnfawr, valued for its southward aspect, its dry bench above the flood plain, and its fresh water down the dingle. Its situation about a mile inland may have been some little protection against pirates. The association with the name of Padarn suggests that the place was of more than purely local consequence, and that the settlement was a fairly early one. Two old 'Crosses' <sup>1</sup> are now sheltered in the south transept of the finely-proportioned old church; the older of the two seems to be an ancient sacred stone, perhaps modified for Christian purposes, the other is sometimes ascribed to the tenth century and has an interesting figure of a man in which the traditional spiral plays a part. These stones thus give us indications of a certain continuity from pre-Christian times, which is characteristic of the Celtic Church generally.

Our district has three main Norman earthworks (Motte and Bailey type),<sup>2</sup> and some minor and doubtful ones. One guards the south bank of the Dyfi, north-west of the deep bend of that river near Glandyfi station. Castell Gwallter is on the hill-brow over Llandre and defends the coastal plateau against an advance from the north, and Castell Aberystwyth stands on a hill-brow just south-west of the bend of the Ystwyth and, again, defends the country behind it to the south from an attack coming from the north. Another large earthwork of this type lies just beyond our area at Ystrad Meurig, and between that and Castell Aberystwyth

<sup>1</sup> For details from this point onwards the reader should refer to G. Eyre Evans, *Aberystwyth and its Court Leet*.

<sup>2</sup> See F. S. Wright in *Aberystwyth Studies*, Vol. I, 1912, p. 115.

are two sites which may have been defended. One is a natural but possibly scarped mound on the other side of the Ystwyth just opposite Castell Aberystwyth, and is wrongly marked 'Tumulus' on O.S. maps; the other stands near the outlet of the stream from Tyn-y-Graig on to the flood plain of the Ystwyth. Putting together these sparse hints one is inclined to suggest a loose military tenure of a series of posts with a likelihood of attack from the north in early Plantagenet times (probably about A.D. 1150). A few other mounds might be discussed in this connection.

The next phase seems to be the rise of the fishing industry around the inlet at the mouths of Ystwyth and Rheidol, and the inauguration of the later Plantagenet administrative hold on the district by the establishment of the Edwardian stone castle, which, it has been suggested, inherited the name of the older earthwork (Aberystwyth) situated about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the south-east. The castle is another indication that the place was of a little more than purely local importance. Henceforward growth took place around the castle rather than around the old church of Llanbadarn, and we note the foundation of the Monday market we all know so well. The town-site was a hillock above the marshes of Plascrug and the modern Queen's Road (formerly Sandmarsh Lane), and the name of Buarth Mawr near by is suggestive of a cattle refuge above the salt pastures of the marshes. Around the edge of the hillock were built the walls of the mediæval market-town, starting from the castle and proceeding along South Road to the Bridge Gate, and thence along Mill Street (Tandre) and Chalybeate Street to the Great Darkgate at the foot of the modern street of that name, with the wide space for markets and fairs just outside the gate and now used as a cab-rank. The wall is preserved under the streets laid out when it was demolished and can be traced up Baker Street to the Little Darkgate at the junction of the street of that name with Portland Street beyond the wall. Fragments of the wall persist behind some houses on the terrace along the line of its continuance back to the castle. Pier Street has the name of Heol-y-Wig and the shore end is Wig-y-Gwyddel, and therefore evidently an old landing-place. Little is known of the date of Trefechan south of the Rheidol, but its old lanes, one of which still ends in the harbour, suggest it is of some age and in part at least a fisherman's town; these old alleys are very characteristic of fishing settlements.



Such fragments of the story of the mediæval town as are known are best told by the documentary historian and must be passed by in this article.

The town shared in the mining activities of the late seventeenth century, and the agricultural and sea trade movements of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries affected it greatly. We find the old corn-quay and lead-quay in Trefechan, and the old shipbuilding yards as well as the lime kiln, one of several along the coast, used for burning imported lime, one of the district's prime needs. With shipbuilding and sea trade came cabinet-making, and Aberystwyth was evidently of some importance for a while as a social centre for the country round. Its solid burgher houses in Bridge Street, now fallen from their high estate, are an interesting memento.

The draining of the marshes north of the Darkgates shifted the centre of gravity of the little town a good deal, and the 1834 map reveals a well-planned extension the remains of which are visible in the fine lines of North Parade. Unfortunately lanes like Portland Road and Cambrian Street, originally probably lanes giving access to doors at the backs of gardens, have become built up and garden space is now very deficient. This is the more regrettable as the Corporation is the ground-landlord of a good deal of the drained marsh. More recent extensions such as that on Buarth Mawr and that behind Trefechan are very poorly planned indeed.

Aberystwyth may have begun its career as a health resort through its chalybeate springs, but however this may be the many travellers of the beginning of the nineteenth century, after road improvement, must have made its mild yet bracing climate known. Since then its holiday fame has grown amazingly, and the inauguration of a pure water-supply from Plynlymon has helped greatly, but much more could be done by attempts to diminish the desolation of the once beautiful Constitution Hill, and the untidiness of the quarry behind the Victoria Terrace with its torn decrepit posters flapping in the wind. If the water-supply had been increased, a clean industry might have been attracted to the town (*e.g.* artificial silk), and there are possibilities of moderate hydro-electric development not far away. The lack of off-season industry is a serious social defect in a watering-place, and though Aberystwyth has the students to occupy its spare rooms, in winter this is not really enough, especially as the



inshore and small boat fishery shows even more than its general degeneracy. Something might be done were the shell-fish and other maritime food sources developed.

Of the old seafaring habit little remains save that families all along the coast still send sons to sea and many become ships' officers and return home on retirement. The coming of the railway was a death-blow to the coasting trade, and the advent of the large iron vessel put Aberystwyth shipbuilding and furniture-making, as well as its harbour, out of count. The lead mines are largely disused, and the associated foundries at Aberystwyth have almost gone out of use. But in spite of all this loss of old activities Aberystwyth has not become a mere watering-place. Another perennial factor, that of her site on the neck joining the two parts of Welsh Wales, has operated to give her new scope.

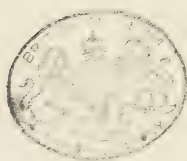
The nineteenth century in Europe has seen the fateful rise of nationalist movements everywhere, with an intensified militarist meaning in Central Europe, and, save in Ireland, a more pacific and cultural expression around the fringes of the north and west (Finland, Norway, Denmark, Wales). The rise of the College will possibly be told elsewhere in this book, but there is no doubt that the twin projects of College and Welsh Library were a prime expression of a pacific nationalist movement. Probably the promoters who bought a bankrupt hotel had not thought specially about the position of Aberystwyth, but that position has counted for much in the romantic story of the College and in the decision to place at Aberystwyth the National Library of Wales. The remarkable growth of the College, the organisation of the National Library, the transformation of disused foundry and slate works into the great Agricultural Department, the campaign for Music and many more efforts in the line of Welsh tradition are increasingly marking out Aberystwyth as a centre for Welsh tradition in the link between the two parts of Welsh Wales.

As one stands on the ramparts of the ancient earthwork on Pendinas one may follow the story by looking at the monuments it has left us. There are the church of Padarn, or rather its mediæval successor, the Edwardian castle overlooking the fishing harbour, the little old town on its hillock, the straighter lines of the town extension on the drained marsh, the towers of the College, and finally across the valley the classic lines of the National Library of Wales. Aberystwyth fu a fydd.

H. J. FLEURE.



ECONOMICS, PHILOSOPHY, LAW, EDUCATION





## 1. SOME NOTES ON THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN SOUTH WALES

*Gnawd ym Morganwg ddiwg ddynion  
A gwragedd mewn mawredd a  
muriau gwynion.*<sup>1</sup>

It is quite evident to the most casual reader of English economic history and industrial organisation that little place is given to the development of the industrial area of South Wales. There have been innumerable short studies, but it is difficult to see the contribution of South Wales as a whole to the industrial changes of the nineteenth century. One or two facts are outstanding : that the iron industry had reached a high stage of development in South Wales before the series of inventions in the textile industries, and later the use of steam as a motive power called attention to the valuable coal deposits of the area ; that consequently we have the persistence of small scale operations in industry and a gradual realisation of the great economic and geographical advantages of the area until about the middle of the nineteenth century, so that Cardiff, Swansea and Newport expanded more rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century than they did in the first half, and that this expansion and movement of population into the area, with its consequent phenomenal industrial changes, constitutes the real industrial revolution in South Wales, comparable with the profound migration of population into the North of England from the South fifty years earlier. These facts are sometimes forgotten when an explanation is sought for the perpetual industrial unrest in the coal areas, congested as they became in a very short space of time. Another factor that must not be overlooked is the geographical configuration of the coalfield, with its narrow valleys, its rapid rivers, and its admirable seaboard. The narrowness of the valleys and the mountainous character of the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Williams (I.M.), *Agric. in Wales*, 1794, Vol. I, p. 17.

region presented grave difficulties for housing the population and caused intense specialisation of industry: it separated the mining population from the manufacturing groups, as the latter were early forced to the seaboard owing to the costs of transport and the peculiar economic advantages in production possessed by businesses with easy access to foreign raw materials such as iron ore, copper ore, tin, nickel, etc. It was easier to move coal to the sea than to move men and materials to build great industries in the inland valleys. It is true that some districts have continued to hold their earlier economic specialisation, *e.g.* Merthyr, Ebbw Vale, and to a lesser degree Dowlais, but the inland forges and ironworks in Breconshire, and important centres like Hirwaun, lost their supremacy, and gradually the coast towns of Newport, Cardiff, Port Talbot, Neath, Swansea, and Llanelli developed into great industrial and manufacturing centres—in all cases in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The bulk of the population at the beginning of the century was engaged in agriculture. Arthur Young, in one of his tours (about 1776) through Wales, gives the following prices of agricultural labour in Glamorgan. Men in constant work received 1s. per day, driving oxen 3d. or 4d. per day; 1s. in winter and 1s. 6d. at harvest if taken on from time to time; reaping wheat, 4s. and 4s. 6d.; mowing corn, 1s. 3d. and 1s. 6d., together with drink; mowing grass, 1s. 8d. and drink. Provisions were not very expensive: bread was 2d. per lb., butter 5d., cheese (of skimmed milk) 2d. and 2½d. per lb.; mutton was 3¾d. per lb., beef was 4d., veal 3d., while candles were 7d.<sup>1</sup>

Iolo Morganwg has some interesting comments on one of Young's tours.<sup>2</sup> Thus in travelling through Pembrokeshire Young notes that 'The whole country is in gentle inequalities and if wooded would be beautiful.' Iolo's note runs: 'Pembrokeshire is too good a county to admit of planting on a large scale, a little for ornament on spots judiciously selected would be desirable. The town of Haverfordwest is on so steep a hill that necks must sometimes be broken in passing it.'<sup>3</sup>

Space forbids going into details about the state of agriculture at the opening of the nineteenth century, but it is worthy of note that Arthur Young, in his journeys, observes the existence of many iron furnaces to smelt the ore dug in these counties. Even

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. 8, p. 318 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Llanover MSS., No. 60, p. 385.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 60.

the poorest people 'spin their own wool and weave it into flannel for their own wear. No linen is worn by them, flannel supplying its place. They make cloth for their own wear. Weavers earn 1s. a day, sometimes more. The poor live on barley bread, cheese and butter, not one in ten have cows or pigs (this refers to Pembrokeshire), they fare very poorly and rarely touch meat. In their gardens they plant cabbages, carrots, leeks, and potatoes. The rent of cottage and garden varies from 10s. to 20s.'<sup>1</sup>

The condition of the agricultural labourer was unaltered, except for the worse, for many years. Enclosures of the commons became frequent after 1815, and this made his economic position more unstable than ever.

It was not until about 1840 that the first cargo of coal was shipped at Cardiff, and though outcroppings had been worked for centuries the first pit was sunk in Aberdare in 1850. Yet in 1775 the official customs report ran: 'No coals can be exported from Cardiff, nor ever can be, its distance from the water rendering it too expensive for any such sale.'<sup>2</sup> To-day Cardiff is the greatest coal-exporting port in the world, as is well known.

The iron industry first brought industrial life into the South Wales area. In the census of 1811 the population of Merthyr was 11,104, of Swansea 8,196, of Neath 2,740, and of Cardiff 2,457. If we start from home at Aberystwyth we find that at that date our town boasted of 477 houses and twenty-six buildings, with a population of 939 males and 1,325 females, a total of 2,264, only 200 people less than Cardiff! There was a mail coach twice a week in summer to Shrewsbury and thence to London, and once a week in winter. Two wagon loads of goods were sent weekly from Aberystwyth to Devil's Bridge. There were no manufactures in the town, but a good coasting trade between Liverpool, Bristol, and other parts of England, carrying lead, corn, butter, and oak bark. The herring fishery was important, and the harbour admitted 200-ton ships. The ships belonging to the port numbered 210, with a total tonnage of 8,120, and 762 seamen were employed.<sup>3</sup>

Merthyr Tydvil had four large ironworks in 1815: Penydarren with three blast furnaces, Dowlais with four, Plymouth with four, and Cyfarthfa with six. 'One furnace turned out fifty

<sup>1</sup> Llanover MSS., Young's Tours, with notes by E. W.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *Cambridge County Geography*, Glamorgan, p. 82 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Meynell, *Hist. of Cardigan*, p. 413.



tons of iron a week and sometimes 100 tons. The furnaces at Cyfarthfa were blown by a steam engine of fifty horse power, made by Bolton and Watt.' The number of men employed at Cyfarthfa was about 1,500 to 2,000, and the monthly wage bill was £6,000.<sup>1</sup> Six miles south-west of Merthyr there were two other iron manufactories with four blast furnaces. The pig iron produced was turned into bar iron or resmelted and cast into various articles for machinery and other purposes.<sup>2</sup>

The only important manufacturing activity in Cardiff in 1815 seems to have been that of iron hoops, in which trade was considerable. Twice a week there were passage boats to Bristol exporting agricultural produce and the products of the iron furnaces inland.

Neath had no manufactures. Copper works used to exist at Melin Crythan, one mile east of the town, and there was some small coasting trade in coal obtained from the Gnoll Estate, but in 1815 there was very little industrial activity except as regards the export of the products of the ironworks at Aberdare, brought down from the Vale of Neath to Briton Ferry by means of the canal.

Swansea, with a population of 8,196 in 1811, was the second largest town. In the district there were iron and copper works and collieries. The town itself boasted of two establishments on a large scale of pottery works, while a soap manufactory also existed. We read that 'shop goods were imported from Bristol,' while the Custom House books reveal a very considerable shipping and coasting trade in 1810, amounting to a tonnage of 171,672. The Harbour Trust was formed in 1791 'by Act of Parliament to improve the harbour, deepening the river . . . to erect two piers,' etc. The exports were stone coal, (anthracite), culm, earthenware utensils, copper, iron bars, some tinned plates and agricultural produce; the imports were copper ore from Cornwall, North Wales and Ireland, tin from Cornwall, and 'shop goods' from Bristol.

If a general survey were taken of Wales at the end of the period 1798-1815 we should find that it was a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country, with a number of manufactures, all in the infant stages (except perhaps that of iron bars).

<sup>1</sup> J. Lloyd, *Old South Wales Ironworks*, XHD. Nat. Library, 9515, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> T. Rees, *Hist. of the South Wales Counties*, Vol. I, p. 600 et seq.



Its commerce was small and its coal trade was just beginning, for we note that there was a small coastal trade. The total population of Glamorganshire was about 70,000, that is, the whole population of the county at the beginning of the nineteenth century was about a third of the number of coal miners engaged in 1921! Iron was smelted from the ore on almost the same methods as existed in prehistoric times.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the South Wales ironworks there was one at Aberdovey and one at Bersham in North Wales. The iron ore was reduced in a bloomery, charcoal being more important than coal for the purpose. Yet Darby smelted iron with coal (not charcoal) as early as 1713. The old iron masters, John Guest, Anthony Bacon and the Crawshays, were undoubtedly attracted to the area by the presence of iron ore and wood for charcoal. It was not until 1783-4, when Cort invented the puddling process, that the South Wales iron industry began to expand rapidly.<sup>2</sup> It gave rise to the tinplate industry, for at Pontypool, in 1785, certain furnaces were leased by the Hanbury family and these became the nucleus of important industrial activities.<sup>3</sup> Above Llandaff, at Melin Gruffydd, there were three tinplate manufactories in 1815, one at Aberavon (Cwmavon), one at Ynis-y-gerwn, a few miles above Neath, and one at Ynyspenllwch, eight miles from Swansea. In those days the iron plates were hammered out by hammermen before being coated with tin. In the rural parts of Breconshire, as well as Glamorgan, there were small forges, as far apart from Merthyr as Kidwelly and Llanelly. Here is an account of the effect of the Napoleonic War on these small undertakings: 'Hitherto iron ore has been principally raised near Llanelly, where there have been extensive ironworks established for many years. Of late, however, attempts have been made to raise some in the great mountain, and a railroad was constructed to convey it to the furnaces at Llanelly, but the reverses which the iron trade has experienced in the course of this war have occasioned these mines to be deserted for the present.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomas, 'Manufacture of Iron with Mineral Charcoal,' *Proceedings S. Wales Institute of Engineers*, Vol. I, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> 'Henry Cort's Inventions,' by Mr. Webster, *Proceedings S. Wales Institute of Engineers*, Vol. I, pp. 181, 184.

<sup>3</sup> Royal National Eisteddfod, Cardiff, 1883, *Hist. of Ancient Industries of Pontypool*, pp. 307 and 404.

<sup>4</sup> T. Rees, *History of the S. Wales Counties*, 1815, p. 606.

In the Vales of Neath and Swansea coking coal was used for smelting purposes, and several brass wire, copper, lead and zinc smelting works were established. All these were on a small scale, but they mark the beginnings of the industrial revolution. Thus we find in 1823 a pamphlet being issued describing the results of experiments to stop the smoke nuisance in the Morriston Valley, while in 1813 Cwmbwrla and Hafod are described as charming rural spots.<sup>1</sup> Forty years later, Borrow, when tramping out of Swansea in 1854, says, 'As I passed again through the suburbs I was struck with their length and the evidences of enterprise which they exhibited—enterprise, however, evidently chiefly connected with iron and coal, for almost every object looked awfully grimy.'<sup>2</sup> In the interval, therefore, there was a steady expansion of industry. Iron works, copper works, tinsplate works, forges and mills were laid down, while coal was substituted for water as motive power. Then began the movement of industry from the inland areas to the coast, and the rural exodus into the mining valleys became pronounced: the 'revolution' was in full swing.

Cardiganshire had important connections with South Wales because of its copper, silver and lead mines, the products of which were shipped at Aberystwyth to the South Wales works. 'Chauncey Townsend and John Smith had lead mines near Llechrhyd, in Cardiganshire, and an interest in the lead works at Upper Bank (Swansea).'<sup>3</sup>

The only important textile industry at the time, as far as we can make out, was a woollen factory at Bridgend, which was not on a large scale, where shawls were made. There was also a small factory at Caerphilly. 'Coarse cloth was manufactured by individuals and taken to the farms and markets for sale. The chief clothing of the peasantry was flannel, made throughout the country. Wool was carded and spun at the cottages and the smaller farm-houses and woven by the village weavers of the neighbourhood. Home labour of late has been greatly diminished by the introduction of machinery for carding, spinning and weaving.'<sup>4</sup>

Cardiff, Neath, and Swansea, were the ports for iron and coal,

<sup>1</sup> *Cambrian Visitor*, 1813.

<sup>2</sup> Borrow, *Wild Wales*, p. 581.

<sup>3</sup> Grant Francis, *Copper Smelting in Swansea District*.

<sup>4</sup> T. Rees, *Hist. of S. Wales Counties*, 1815, Vol. I, p. 617.

and a note on the transport arrangements will show that by 1815 the whole of Glamorganshire was connected with these two ports or with Cardiff by the canal system, because the Taff Vale trains did not run into Merthyr until 1841. The Cardiff to Merthyr Tydvil canal was commenced in 1791 and finished in 1798. It was 575 ft. above sea-level in some places and had forty locks and was 26 miles long. Barges of 25 tons could be safely towed as the canal was 5 ft. deep. Cardiff was joined to Penarth so as to enable ships of 200 tons to approach the town quays on the river Taff. At its upper end, near Merthyr, a railroad was constructed for 8 miles and was used when the dry seasons meant insufficient water for the canal. A branch of the canal was cut as far as Aberdare, while the Neath Canal, also begun in 1791, was 13 miles long, with sixteen locks, extended right up to the confines of the Vale of Neath and joined up Briton Ferry. A short railroad, on which were wagons drawn by horses, connected this canal with Hirwain and Aberdare. Richard Trevethick built the first steam engine that ran on rails at Penydarren, but for the first half of the nineteenth century the commercial prosperity of South Wales was dependent on the canal system. Shortly after the Vale of Neath Canal was constructed another was built from Swansea along the Vale of Tawe, up to Brecknock, above Ystradgynlais, 16 miles long and 5 ft. deep. Thus the produce of the mines, quarries and works along this very rich mineral region was brought down to the ports. There were two other canals near Swansea, one at the village of Foxhole to connect the collieries of Gwernllwynwhith, near Llansamlet, with the port; the other was cut through Crymlin Marsh, between Swansea and Briton Ferry, terminating at a shipping wharf nearly opposite the latter place on the western bank of the Neath river. It is worthy of note that the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's large works are built on the site of the land on both banks of this old canal, while the Foxhole canal has been studded with all types of works, the latest being the extensive developments carried on during the war in the spelter industry. The project of continuing the Swansea Canal to the Mumbles was abandoned in favour of the road railway, which exists to this day to the great disgust of all comfort-loving travellers.

The roads were good and provided easy communication between the important points. 'The mail coach to and from



the Metropolis passes this way daily—high road to Milford, Rumney Bridge and Pontardulais ; two other coaches, one from Gloucester and one from Bristol, proceed as far as Swansea on alternate days.’<sup>1</sup> Stage wagons were not necessary owing to the numerous ports.

It will be well to conclude by an indication of the number of small industries that had grown up by about 1850. In an old directory we find that straw-hat makers numbered five in Cardigan, six in Carmarthen, ten in Haverfordwest, one in Laugharne, eight in Llanelly, one in Narberth, one in Neath, one in Newcastle Emlyn, six in Pembroke, fifteen in Swansea, and three in Tenby. The total number of hatters was twenty-four, of whom fourteen belonged to Carmarthen. There were thirty-eight coopers and thirty-four tallow chandlers, Swansea and Carmarthen boasting of five each. Sailmakers numbered sixteen and glovers ten. Carmarthen had two fishing and tackle makers, also several maltsters. There were one or two tobacco-pipe makers, and Carmarthen also had one ink and blacking maker. All the nail makers (eight) belonged to Neath and Swansea. There was one corset maker in Swansea, in lower Oxford Street, while the other occupations included sieve-makers, cork cutters, block, mast and pump makers, dyers, coppersmiths, and clog makers. There were forty-seven shoemakers in Neath and sixty-three in Swansea, with a total of 302 shoemakers all told.<sup>2</sup> This is a good indication of the industrial expansion of the time, for iron and steel and coal workers wear out boots very rapidly.

J. MORGAN REES.

<sup>1</sup> T. Rees, *Counties of S. Wales*, Vol. I, p. 576.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambrian Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, parts ii. and iii.



## 2. INDUSTRIAL TRAINING IN SOUTH WALES

AMONG the most important of the problems of re-construction was that of replacing the trained men lost in the war. The interrupted apprenticeship scheme of the Ministry of Labour, which came into being on January 1, 1919, was designed to insure the continuance of industrial training on the part of lads who were already apprenticed before enlistment. A consideration of the main principles and features of this scheme and its operation in certain parts of industrial Wales throws valuable light on the whole problem of industrial training, and affords guidance for future effort in this direction.

Speaking generally, the scheme provided for State grants in aid of wages to apprentices training in workshops, and maintenance allowances for working apprentices taking courses at technical institutions. Its application was limited to boys who before enlistment were in training for a skilled trade, and it was governed by regulations approved by the Ministry of Labour, and drawn up by a body representative of employers and workmen. In the majority of cases this body was the National Joint Industrial Council for the trades concerned.<sup>1</sup> Forty schemes for the same number of different industries and trades were accepted and applied, similar in principle but differing in detail.

A statement often heard is that apprenticeship is dying out. Moribund it may be, but the provision of a State scheme for its support during the period of reconstruction is evidence that some form of apprenticeship exists. If merely indentured apprenticeship is meant, whereby a boy is bound by a definite agreement to serve his master for a period of years and his master to teach him, then this type could not be found to any very large extent in South Wales, or indeed in the United Kingdom generally. It is true to say that 'the old apprenticeship system is not exactly suited to modern conditions and has fallen into disuse.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Memorandum describing the scheme, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, p. 211.

A survey made in Pembrokeshire early in the year 1920 shows that 'many boys refuse to accept posts as apprentices, so that, generally speaking, there is a shortage of apprentices in all skilled trades except engineering and motor-engineering.'<sup>1</sup> The same is true of an industrial county like Glamorgan. The investigator said: 'So great is the rush of boys to the pits that there is considerable difficulty in obtaining apprentices to any skilled trade. . . . The fact must be faced that to-day boys are determined to be treated as wage-earners; they will not be considered as learners earning a few shillings a week pocket money.'<sup>2</sup> The number of apprentices for whom the Ministry of Labour had to make provision was therefore small when we consider the mass of boys employed in Wales. The official figure is 840 out of a total of 42,000 for the United Kingdom. The coal and great metal industries like smelting, iron and steel making, and tin-plate manufacture with their thousands of employees and numerous processes did not require persons to undergo 'a course of training . . . for a period definitely fixed in advance,' as the memorandum had it: in other words did not employ apprentices. This work was learnt by the method called 'following-up,'<sup>3</sup> that is, a boy started as a 'mate' or labourer, and took his chance of rising to more skilled work. To bear out this statement let us give the distribution of varying types of workers in a tinplate factory, namely, that of Mr. F. W. Gilbertson, Pontardawe. The figures are taken from an address given by him on 'Industrial Efficiency.'

TABLE I

*Classification of 2,000 persons employed in a tin works in South Wales.*

## SECTION 1:

i. Central control (wide financial and commercial experience, some general technical knowledge) . . . . .	8
ii. Departmental managers (in charge of manufacturing operations) . . . . .	9
iii. Trained technical men . . . . .	12
iv. Clerical staff . . . . .	80
v. Working engineers, fitters, millwrights, electricians, etc. (served apprenticeship) . . . . .	112

<sup>1</sup> *Ministry of Labour Survey.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See Dearle, *Industrial Training*, p. 142; and J. H. Jones, *Tinplate Industry*, p. 129.

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vi. Other foremen, not included above . . . . .	9
vii. Skilled workmen, <i>e.g.</i> furnacemen, whose efficiency may be directly increased by some knowledge of the science of the processes (recruited from Section 2, below) . . . .	165

## SECTION 2 :

i. Other skilled and semi-skilled men, whose skill is mainly manual. . . . .	1,050
ii. Unskilled labourers . . . . .	342
iii. Boys and female labour . . . . .	220

It is clear that the number of men who have served an apprenticeship is exceedingly low and that the semi-skilled and unskilled men greatly exceed the highly skilled trained men. This is true, as a general rule, of all large industries in South Wales. To what trades then were boys apprenticed in the years immediately preceding the war ? The following tables, showing the numbers of Ministry of Labour agreements signed between masters and boys or their guardians during the operation of the scheme, give us an indication of the information we seek.

### TABLE II (WALES)

1. Engineering industry . . . . .	250
2. Building . . . . .	220
3. Printing and bookbinding . . . . .	120
4. Electrical contracting . . . . .	
5. Shipbuilding . . . . .	Between 20 and 50 each.
6. Furniture making . . . . .	
7. Iron-founding . . . . .	
8. Vehicle building . . . . .	

### TABLE III (SWANSEA)

1. Cycle and motor trades . . . . .	17
2. Building . . . . .	33
3. Furniture trades . . . . .	10
4. Engineering (electrical) . . . . .	10
5. Jewellery trades (including watch-making). . . . .	6
6. Printing and allied trades . . . . .	4
7. Vehicle building . . . . .	2
8. Shipbuilding . . . . .	2
9. Clothing trades (including boot-making) . . . . .	3
10. Scale-making . . . . .	1
11. Dental mechanics . . . . .	1
12. Tool-making . . . . .	1
13. Blacksmiths' work . . . . .	1

All the trades mentioned in Tables II and III are those generally termed crafts. It was only in a craft that a period of training was considered necessary. The Industrial Revolution brought into being the large industry with its hosts of persons engaged in semi-skilled and routine jobs highly specialised, the necessary skill for which was easily 'picked up.'<sup>1</sup> The employment of an augmented number of semi-skilled repetition workers during the war showed, however, that the care and repair of machinery, as distinct from its mere operation, could only be done by the craftsman trained for the work.

There were, therefore, two main types of boys in industry: those who were employed for their immediate productive capacity or usefulness, the 'mate,' the 'follower up' and the labourer, and those who were receiving training offering some special industrial qualification.<sup>2</sup> In the crafts the youth was considered a learner and not a mere wage-earner, and was not employed primarily for his economic worth to the employer. Some of these youths in training were indentured, that is, they served according to the terms of a written agreement. Other instances show the existence of a mere verbal understanding between the employer and the parents or guardians of the lad. In the majority of cases, however, the youths just learnt as they worked without much agreement regarding teaching being entered into, except that they were to be considered as learners and not mere mates or labourers. When the interrupted apprenticeship scheme was launched agreements were drawn up for apprentices benefiting by its grants, and signed by the employer, parents, and the Minister of Labour himself. This agreement was intended to make training systematic and efficient. Provision was made for its cancellation where hardship or failure to keep the terms of the agreement was proved; for inability to terminate agreements had in the past been one of the chief causes of the decay of indentured apprenticeship. As regards the actual mode of training nothing could be done in the difficult times during which the scheme operated to introduce innovations. Training depends both upon the organisation of the workshop and the character of the employment and employer. An all-round training is best obtained in the small workshop where a variety of work is

<sup>1</sup> See Dearle, *Industrial Training*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> See *Juvenile Labour during the War and After*, p. 31. H.M. Stationery Office.



generally handled, rather than in the larger business with its specialised departments. It is known that, in the years preceding the war, apprentices were left to their own devices, and that such training as they had was determined by the foreman of the workshop, and in particular the craftsman with whom they were placed. Nothing could be done in the years immediately following the war to effect fundamental changes in workshop method. The appointment of welfare supervisors in large works, however, has brought into being a person who is directly interested in juvenile labour, and much may be expected in the future from activities of this kind.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note that the State saw the importance of technical instruction in the training of the ex-Service apprentice. The processes and operations of a trade can best be learnt in the workshop or on actual jobs under business and commercial conditions, but instruction in general principles and the cultivation of the broad view of a trade is only possible in an institution, either a technical school or instructional factory. The Report of the Industrial Council for the Building Trade<sup>2</sup> states that, 'The value of efficient technical instruction to workshop training cannot be overestimated and the aim should be towards a marriage instead of the divorce which has hitherto prevailed.' On investigation it was found that the practice of allowing time off to ex-Service apprentices for attendance at educational institutions was by no means general in South Wales. Most employers admitted the value of technical training, and stated that they urged their apprentices to attend classes in the evening. Statistics show that few took advantage of the grants given for technical training, and those who did were employed near Cardiff or Swansea. The reasons were the unwillingness of employers to allow time off for this purpose, and the fact that such attendance was purely voluntary. It must be remembered too that facilities for technical education exist only at large centres, and attendance at classes on the part of apprentices in remote districts must make great inroads on their working week.

Whatever be our view of the actual achievements of this training experiment, it at least becomes clear to what extent apprenticeship is still a feature of industrial life. The reception

<sup>1</sup> See *Reports of the Industrial Welfare Society*. Welsh Office, 14, Western Mail Chambers, Cardiff.

<sup>2</sup> Harrogate Meeting, 1920, p. 17, § 30.

of the idea by employers and men, and the drafting of forty schemes by their organisations in joint council, show also that it is possible for them and the State to co-operate in the interests of youth in industry. If space allowed it could be proved by reference to the actual facts and figures that the difficult problem of wages for boys in training was discussed and settled to the satisfaction of all concerned, in such a way that they bore a definite relationship to the standard rates for adults in each district. The method adopted for securing the advantages of a definite agreement and annulling its disadvantages, by setting up machinery for dealing with disputes between masters and apprentices, and providing for the breaking of the agreement where necessary was also an interesting feature. Finally, the scheme has afforded information and experience for the better systematisation of apprenticeship for normal times in trades where it is desirable, and has shown the need for considering the youth in industry as a youth in training for adult life. Whereas it applies, however, only to a section of the industrial field, a system which claims to be an adequate solution of this problem will provide, not only for crafts, but also for that great mass of industries and callings where no attempt is made to train the boy, and for work that is to-day termed unskilled. The example referred to above shows that in modern industry the semi-skilled and unskilled greatly exceed the number of highly skilled trained men. It must also be remembered that industrial methods are continually changing, so that highly specialised skill of a given sort may become valueless at any moment. A system of industrial training which does not take this fact into account will fail to achieve its end. It would seem that men possessed of adaptability, resource, initiative, general intelligence and such-like qualities, in addition to the special skill required for their trades, would be best able to adjust themselves to any new industrial method. Mr. R. A. Bray, after an investigation into juvenile labour problems in London, made before the war, states that <sup>1</sup> 'this all-round skill, though not required in the workshop, is necessary to the man if his position in the skilled labour market is to be secure.' Employers will say that their function is to produce goods and not to endeavour to train men's general intelligence, a statement which is true as industry goes. It is the work of our system of general education to supply this

<sup>1</sup> R. A. Bray, 'Boy Labour and Apprenticeship,' p. 212.

training, and this is the soundest argument against those who suggest that industrial efficiency can only be secured if education is vocational, and if boys whose lot is to be industrial are taught to specialise early.

An essential to any scheme which aims at success is the co-operation of employer and employed. It is suggested that a national body of representatives of these two classes should be set up for each trade, whose duty it will be to draw up a permanent scheme of training, bring it to the notice of the people concerned and act in an advisory and supervisory capacity to them. For the efficient application of the national scheme to the particular needs of the districts, local training committees representative of both sides of the trade in the locality should be formed. Both these committees might easily be the product of the system of National and District Joint Industrial Councils. They should exist for all trades, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled ; and should work in harmony with the juvenile employment officer for the district. The juvenile advisory or choice of employment Committees which exist to-day will still be the link between school and industry in general, and will continue to register applicants for employment. Under the system recommended, however, they will in all cases bring applications to the notice of the proper training committees and receive advice as to the suitability of employer or proposed trainee. The juvenile employment officer in towns like Swansea has complete information respecting the health, capabilities and bent of every boy who leaves school. His knowledge of industry must perforce be general ; he is not able to get the industrial particulars he requires. Indeed, in most cases such information has never been compiled or systematised, because there is no body sufficiently interested, or whose function it is to do this work.

The local training committee will make a list of employers who have, or can give, facilities for training lads. In unskilled trades where little specialised training is necessary, employers must be ready to give boys opportunities for general improvement, such as is provided nowadays in large works by welfare supervisors. The scheme drawn up should state clearly the ages at which boys are taken and the qualifications required of them. The period of training will be fixed, and where the trade is a skilled one, the wages given during each year of the period. Particulars of provisions made for technical education should be



clearly laid down, and whether or not fees or maintenance grants will be paid during attendance at technical institutions. The committee could advise local education authorities on the curricula and equipment of technical schools, for this type of co-operation between education and industry is also valuable. Where agreements are required, forms of agreement will be drawn up for signature by the employer, the trainee or his guardian, and the chairman of the committee. Disputes will be brought before this representative body, and the necessary ways and means of settling the dispute or breaking the agreement will be decided upon, where circumstances demand such action. In those trades where, to learn the whole of the operations, it is necessary to move to another shop, the committee will endeavour to make such migration orderly and not leave it to the whim of the boy. Supervision is necessary, for the boy's sake to encourage him in his work, and to see that the employer is carrying out the spirit of the agreement. Individual members of the committee will visit shops and works themselves. Undue interference, of course, must be avoided, but there does not seem to be much likelihood of such from a representative body.

A very sound suggestion is made by the framers of the building industry scheme of apprenticeship. They state that a full-time paid organiser should be appointed to secure adequate development of industrial education and training. Experience of other branches of activity seems to lead one to think that such a person could do excellent work. It has been found necessary to appoint agricultural, adult education, welfare and other organisers; why not one to put on a sound footing the all-important work of industrial training? South Wales manufacturers have formed an Education Board with a full-time secretary, whose function it is to act as a link between South Wales large scale industry and local education authorities. The Industrial Welfare Society has established a secretary for Wales, and some fourteen large firms in Swansea and district have their own welfare schemes and full-time supervisors. Great care will have to be exercised to prevent overlapping of these activities, and an attempt at co-ordination might be useful. They show the tendency of the time and are beginning to become a marked feature of industrial life in South Wales. The welfare supervisor, nevertheless, at present does not help youths outside the great coal and metal industries. There is still need for much to be done in the smaller



workshops and trades. Trades which drew up schemes for ex-Service apprentices are being pressed by the Ministry of Labour to organise training for the future. Reference has been made to the permanent scheme which has already appeared for the building trade. This is the first, and contains much that is of great value. As a type it leaves little to be desired. The painters of Swansea also are trying to put the training of their boys on a surer foundation. Other trades that are considering the matter are engineering, shipbuilding, furniture-making, electrical trades and vehicle-building.

With sound schemes, and juvenile employment committees, training committees and welfare supervisors working in co-operation, much could be done to prevent the wastage of young industrial life and the wholesale manufacture of inefficiency, economic and social, that now takes place.

WILLIAM KING.



### 3. CONDUCT AND THE EXPERIENCE OF VALUE

#### PART I

It is my purpose to point out in the following papers that moral goodness, if it is to be a living thing, and not an affair of mere custom, must be based on what I shall call 'the experience of Value.' I shall be concerned mainly with a very general (as opposed to an exact psychological) account of this experience and its realisation through the channels of individual values, usually called goodness, beauty and truth. In my first paper I shall attempt (a) to show that it is essential, if we are to explain morality, to discover something other than instinct (to-day much exploited) as a psychic force determining human conduct, and (b) I shall then try to show that this force is generated in what I call 'the experience of Value,' which comes to us through the particular ways of goodness, beauty and truth, and that this experience must be the dynamic of all real virtue. In my second paper I hope to show in more precise fashion the relation of values to Value and of Value to moral conduct.

We are finite beings. It is a no less fundamental fact that we are set in, and are organically related to, a universe which is for all practical purposes infinite, and within which we can discern values (I assume that dogmatically here); and out of these two facts we must make morality. Just as there is no true art unless the artist has made beauty personally his, just as art is the expression of what has become assimilated into character, so in morals, I shall maintain, a life is only in any real and vital sense *good* when the agent has assimilated Value as an experience, has made it the 'ruling interest,' has made conduct an expression of a character dominated by such interest.

M. Bergson has likened personality (which for the moment we may assume to be the same as character) to a cone whose base is infinite and whose pointed apex is continually pressing

the ideal plane which separates past from future. The image represents fairly well the kind of general argument I shall present. We can find no bottom to the depths of the self; the more deeply we dig into it, the more deeply do we penetrate into the secret of the universe. And *vice versa*. What we call, for want of a better name, the unconscious, may, for all we know (then again it may not) be the universe itself. On the other hand, personality or character certainly seems 'pointed,' that it may plough its way through circumstances of time and place.

It is both these aspects of personality or character that we must discuss, for neither can stand alone. There is movement, energy, force, in personality, which pushes it on, a living thing, into the future. Perhaps the force at the apex comes from the infinite, but that statement means little or nothing at all. Perhaps it is the cosmos that gives life and vital energy to her children as she gave them birth, but that, while it is possibly true, is little more than an identical proposition. We must examine more closely where exactly the force of the moral life does reside.

The all-but-unanimous voice <sup>1</sup> of modern psychology answers that the force of the whole of human character is derived from the instincts. Thus McDougall<sup>2</sup>: 'The human mind has certain innate or inherited tendencies which are the essential springs or motive powers of all thought and action, whether individual or collective, and are the bases from which the character and will of individuals and nations are gradually developed under the guidance of the intellectual faculties.' Or if in others the term 'instinct' is not used so specifically, such names as 'psychic energy' have reference to substantially the same thing. The term 'libido' (an unfortunate one, I think) may have a particularly narrow connotation, as when it refers to a single instinct, the sex-instinct; or it may have a wider meaning identical with that of the more innocent term 'psychic' energy. But the very name 'libido,' whether it means a particular instinct or not, certainly has an instinctive flavour, not only in itself, but in the way in which it is used. While it is freely admitted by some that 'psychic energy' is simply an hypothesis, a necessary hypothesis, in order to explain the workings of mind, it is, I

<sup>1</sup> Although even at the time of writing there seem some signs of a reaction.

<sup>2</sup> *Social Psychology*, p. 19.



think, too easily assumed that all psychic energy is derived from the basic instincts. Because those instincts, which can be described and classified (though as yet with no unanimity), do undoubtedly play a remarkably prominent part in the determination of human life, it is therefore supposed that in them we have all the factors that are required. Reason, it is always supposed, has no power to initiate action, it can only control the forces which exist already.

This is not to say that modern psychologists regard man as simply an instinctive animal. Instincts provide the dynamic force of the practical life, but they are modified in ways which vary with the individual, although following certain general laws. The instincts vary in strength from individual to individual, but round them are formed certain broad or universal complexes, as sex, the ego and the herd; their working upon the different presented experiences, which to no two minds are the same, their complicated interaction with one another, is the means of forming further dominant complexes which are the bases of character. Character again is further developed by cultivation of the sentiments, such as the self-regarding sentiment and the abstract sentiments, by the imitation of other good characters. And so on.

We are thus given an account of character which is satisfactory enough up to a point, and is certainly not to be rejected on any quasi-moral grounds because it stresses instinct, and we may not happen to enjoy thinking of our moral lives as being grounded therein. Any such prejudice is, in an attempt to find truth, unforgivable. But just as there is always some sound reason when we 'instinctively' dislike a theory, so here there is a reason why there is a dislike in the minds of some ethical thinkers of an explanation of the moral life in terms of instinct.

The reason is that it is essentially deterministic, not in the very reasonable sense in which it is held that all actions must be motivated or 'caused,' but in the 'bad' sense which means that not *I*, but things entirely outside me, are the originators, the causes, of 'choice,' which thus becomes no choice at all. Any moral choice which we make, however free it may 'feel,' is, according to the instinct theory, the resultant of the interaction of character and circumstances, and even if circumstances in this particular case seem to have little to do with it, yet character itself is grounded in environment and heredity. We are given our

instincts, we are placed in our circumstances, and the abstract sentiments and ideals which we may acquire are strictly dependent upon the one or upon the other, or upon both, upon the innate strength of our instincts, upon their determination and interaction through external circumstances, upon the example of others in whom the ideal tendencies are strong. And when we talk of reason, we are told that reason can only guide, but never initiate, that it can control psychic forces, but cannot produce them.

It is not my business here to discuss or to attempt to refute determinism. But we may agree with Professor Sorley that, however true it may be that the self grows within and is dependent upon environment, including hereditary influences, it is also true that selfhood is not simply reducible to the contents and manner of consciousness. As in the realm of knowledge the unique function of the self is to stand off from, to unify, to apprehend as a whole, its objects, so in the realm of choice we are, as choosers, standing off from, valuing, selecting, what is presented. It is not heredity plus environment which knows and chooses; it is a unique, detached, judging activity, coloured by past circumstance, no doubt, but not itself, as such, an activity explainable in terms of that circumstance.

But now to return to reason and the problem of the 'force' which can initiate conduct. As against the instinct view there is the traditional one, spurned by the instinct psychologists, that it is reason that stirs the good man to act rightly. Without discussing this, let us use the term 'reason' in a very wide sense, the sense in which we say that man has reason but animals have not. Reason in this sense will be just the differentia between man and animal; it will be through reason that we enter into the experiences of beauty and truth, that we are able, as gods, to discern good and evil, having fallen blessedly, through our eating of the tree of knowledge.

I proceed at once, then, to treat of the experiences of value. The intrinsic values are usually accepted as being three in number, goodness, beauty, and truth. They are called intrinsic values, as opposed to instrumental or extrinsic, because they are worth in themselves; they are not a means to anything else, like the values of Economics. Our task is to show (I can do little more here than suggest) that the first value, goodness, though not exactly reducible to terms of the other two, is to be regarded as

enriched and supplemented by the experience of Value through beauty and truth, in a way which is not usually admitted or justly recognised.

Notice the phrase 'experience of Value *through* . . .' and the use of a capital for 'Value' here. There are three intrinsic *values*: goodness, beauty, and truth; these are to be regarded, however, not as entities, but as aspects of ultimate reality, as modes of something which can only be called *Value*. The significance of this will appear shortly. In the meantime let us accept that goodness is one of the values. If this be so, how is goodness in life, our contact with which goodness stirs us with a sense of its intrinsic value or worth, itself to be attained? Or—to repeat—how is the force, the dynamic, of the good life to be derived, not from instinct, but from the experience of Value?

Every particular value experience has its particular conative aspect. The intense contemplation of beauty stirs, as its results at least, the creative longings of the artist, although, on the other hand, the æsthetic experience is more self-contained than any other, owing to the balance of impulses evoked in the perception of the beautiful object. Truth, again, in addition to the conations involved in attention, stimulates desire for more truth; while the effect of a real appreciation of genuine goodness is the production of a desire (not necessarily carried into effect) to 'go and do likewise.'

This last has, perhaps, because it is most obviously connected with the good life, the most frequent effect upon conduct. The instinct of imitation is a powerful one, and has been sufficiently exploited in ethical theories. Aristotle practically bases his ethics on the imitation of the morally wise man. But while imitation is an obvious way of acquiring 'good habits,' and so laying a certain foundation for the moral life, yet it is not simply imitation (as Aristotle knew) which must stir us to 'go and do likewise.' It must be a genuine apperception of Value seen through this particular piece of conduct. It may be easier to imitate simply, to 'go and do likewise' just because it *is* likewise; it may be easier to be good just because it *is* an example of goodness which we have seen; but it is easier because it is not apperceived or assimilated by us in its essence, and there is no transference in principle from one value to another, or from the universal Value to the particular value goodness. When we merely imitate we do not perceive the universal through the



given particular. It is nevertheless essential that, if the contemplation of a good act is to have its full practical effect upon us, it should lead us beyond its goodness (a value of human conduct) to the universal something which we can only name Value.

If the practical result of the contemplation of a good action is thus admitted, if we agree that an elevated felt admiration of something we know to be good results in the desire to do likewise, it then remains for us to ask how other value experiences affect conduct. For the conative result of knowing truth cannot be said to be good conduct, at least directly ; nor can the beauty experience *in se* be said to lead to perfection of moral character. If the effect of goodness is more goodness, then the direct results of beauty and truth are more beauty and more truth respectively. If they are in any way to affect conduct, then it seems there must be a transference in principle from one value to another, from truth to goodness, from beauty to goodness, as the case may be.

This transference or transformation is made through the medium of character. Just as all values, on the objective side, meet in the point which we can only call Value, so, on the subjective side, do all the fully ripened experiences of values affect the whole of character so that character as a whole becomes permeated with the experience of Value, and expresses that Value in whatever line of action it takes. When we, experiencing any value, are carried beyond it to a glimpse of Universal Value itself, that single experience can affect the whole of our character in whatsoever direction that character is expressed. An intense perception of *beauty* must make our ways in the world more gracious, must in the realm of thought keep us from laying undue stress on a too formal reasoning, a too unyielding logic ; as well, perhaps, as keeping before us that symmetry and balance without which thought can never reach truth. Again, a felt understanding of what integrity of purpose in the *moral* life really means cannot but have an effect upon our strenuousness in attaining truth, upon our honesty in striving to express through the medium of art what we have ourselves really perceived. And the intrinsic value of *truth*, which we feel sometimes, after intellectual endeavour, has in some measure been satisfied, must, as Socrates knew so well, have its clarifying, enlightening effect upon the too often blinded eyes of the moral traveller, must show to the artist what is truly great and what is spurious, by means of that 'seeing all things in one' which is its reward.



This transfusion and interpenetration of values in character is what makes the moral life a unity. And it is a significant fact that in systems of ethics it has so seldom been stressed. We hear of 'reason' or 'the desire for pleasure' *ad nauseam*. Too seldom is the wholeness, the unity of all the ways of life, made the basis of moral theory. But it is just this transfusion which makes it the chief desideratum of the moral life; and the lack of it, the dividing of life and character into 'compartments,' is morality's worst enemy. Think of our crude, nay, despicable, ideas of what constitutes what is usually known as a 'good' or 'moral' man. He is one who conforms to custom, who does not 'do wrong,' who controls his passions, by reason, as we say. He is the expression of our anæmic moral idealism: for we are not wont to make full red-blooded passion an essential qualification for goodness. Yet passion is but the symbol and sign of life, dangerous though it be, and it is through passion only that a man may 'see things together' in the way in which it is good to see them. A man has missed the point of his existence unless, through a passionate seeking of the value which it is his vocation to seek, he has found more than that value, unless he has touched the springs of Value itself. He is no son of God unless he does so, because he lacks that moral vitality and earnestness without which the life of goodness, if it is to be a life at all, is impossible. The 'good' man who knows not beauty at all is either a degenerate or a whited sepulchre. 'Compartment morality' is 'contrary to nature' (how often are we told so, and how seldom is its meaning realised), for neither can the life of thought in its nature be separated from the life of feeling and action, feeling be separated from thought and action, action be separated from thought and feeling, nor can any single value be realised in its fulness unless it is understood as the expression of the Universal Value itself. The import of this for the practical life is that, if we experience a value with the full discernment of its universal import, with the full emotional intensity which that experience can give us, our whole nature will be so affected that our future action, in any direction, will be thereby influenced. The direction in which we are primarily interested here is the direction of conduct, meaning by that, not the life of thought nor the life of art (though these are in a sense conduct too), but the life we live, which affects and is affected by our environment regarded as social.

Of the more precise ways in which the values supplement one another, and of the ways in which conduct is affected by our deep discernment of Universal Value, I shall treat in my next article.

LOUIS ARNAUD REID.

*(To be continued.)*

#### 4. SOME SOURCES OF THE ENGLISH TRIAL

CHIEF JUSTICE VAUGHAN, in the well-known Bushell's case, made elaborate reference to that 'Decantatum in our Books,' the famous maxim 'ad quaestionem facti non respondent iudices, ad quaestionem juris non respondent juratores.' Some writers, such as Biener, attribute its adoption to the courts of the sixteenth century; others, and they are the majority, regard it as wholly inseparable from the methods of Plantagenet judicial reforms. In either case this maxim has been one of the mainstays of our judicial system. Not only has it been helpful to judges individually, as for example to Coke, by whom it was often quoted in his decisions, but it must have greatly assisted the advance of the jury system during the trying period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was one of the chief factors in the evolution of that characteristic national institution, an English Trial in a Court of Law.

The formula itself is first stated, according to most writers, by Chief Justice Coke in the first part of his *Institutes or Commentaries upon Littleton*. There it is laid down that :

'The most usual triall of matters of fact is by twelve such men ; for ad quaestionem facti non respondent iudices ; and matters in law, the judges ought to decide and discusse, for ad quaestionem juris non respondent juratores.'

In the course of a decision in the case of *Isaack v. Clarke*, of the twelfth year of James I, the same Chief Justice makes use of the following words :

'Quod pignoravit : Herein I agree in opinion that this finding of theirs (the jury) is not material, ad quaestionem facti, the Judges not to answer, ad quaestionem juris, non juratores, as Bracton, Comm. in Amy Townsend's Case, Fol. iii.'

Further on in the same case he says :

'Juries are to meddle with matters of fact, but not with the matter

here of a conversion ; being matter in law this is only to be determined by a judge.'

In reporting this case, Rolle makes the following statement in the form of a comment :

'Coke a mesme l'entent, ad quaestionem facti non respondent jurisperiti, ad quaestionem juris non respondent juratores, come Bracton est jeo ne bien intend quid fuit dit al ceo per Dod.'

In two of these quotations it is plain that Coke is made to refer the formula to Bracton. But the most careful searches for it in the writings of that author fail to discover it, and some conclude, therefore, that it was the theory or doctrine, and not the literal statement of the formula, that Coke meant to refer to his illustrious predecessor. But may not this passage from Bulstrode's Reports contain an error of print ? The reference is to Bracton, Commentaries in Amy Townsend's Case, Folio iii. There is no such case in Bracton. But if the name Plowden be substituted for Bracton, the difficulty is at once solved. For at Folio iii. in Plowden's Reports occurs this very case of Amy Townsend ; and in his report, which he seems to have called a commentary, there is the following suggestive passage :

'For the office of the twelve men is no other than to enquire of matters of fact, and not to adjudge what the law is, for that is the office of the Court and not of the Jury, and if they find the matter of Fact at large and further say that thereupon the Law is so, where in Truth the Law is not so, the Judges shall adjudge according to the matter of fact, and not according to the conclusion of the Jury.'

Now Bulstrode wrote his Reports from the year 7 Jac. I to 15 Car. I, Coke produced his Reports from 14 Eliz. to 14 Jac. I, while Plowden reported from 3 Edward VI to 22 Elizabeth. What could be more probable than that Coke observed this maxim in the original French Reports of Plowden, which contained commentaries on the case of Amy Townsend, a case argued during the reign of Philip and Mary ? Rolle, who has the words 'come Bracton est,' may have copied it from Bulstrode, as he wrote from the twelfth year of James I, the very year in which was argued the case of Isaack v. Clarke. This would exactly agree with what Biener says of the formula taking practical shape in England in the sixteenth century, and suggest a later period than is usually accepted for the full development of the jury trial.



Trial by Jury no doubt arose from the system of inquest by sworn recognitors, the system being worked in close combination with the existing procedure of the shire moot. It is also generally recognised that from the assessment of taxation it was extended by the Grand Assize to the decision of suits relating to land and by the Assize of Clarendon to criminal cases. And under both the Grand Assize and the Assize of Novel Disseisin the recognitors were sworn to found their verdict upon their own knowledge ; as Glanvill says, ‘*per proprium visum suum et auditum illius rei habuerint notitiam, vel per verba patrum suorum et per talia quibus fidem teneantur habere ut propriis.*’ But we may soon detect in the verdict of the jurors an element which is at least quasi-judicial. Jurors begin to change from witnesses into judges of facts, the proof of which rests exclusively upon others. Questions are beginning to be submitted to the twelve representatives which they cannot possibly answer if they may speak only of what they have seen with their own eyes. Verdicts are beginning to be founded upon hearsay and tradition. It becomes their duty to inquire about facts before coming to court and to place the result of their testimony in a verdict. Britton remarks :

‘*Issint que chescun jurour distingtement soit garni en touz pointz, sur quel point il se deit aviser avaunt soen vener en nostre court.*’

If we examine the language of Bracton on this point we discover considerable evidence of this transformation in the functions of the jury. The system of ‘*afforcement*’ assists the change. The respective functions tend to be defined according to the maxim. We find even that the jury sometimes approaches the declaration of a judgment ; but there is no inconsistency in that, since the judgment is not of law but of *veritas*. For instance, Bracton says :

‘*De veritate discutiant (juratores) et judicent. Eodem modo potest jurator falsum facere judicium et fatuum eum judicare teneatur per verba in sacramento contenta. Et si justitiarius secundum eorum judicium pronunciaverit, falsum faciet pronunciationem.*’

The phrase ‘*veritatem dicere*’ as applied to the jury leads at once to the conception of their function as ‘*quaesitores facti.*’ If we have come thus far, that the facts are to go to the jury, it cannot be a much farther step to attribute the matter of law to the only other arbiter in question, namely, the judge. This language of gradual adoption is, however, not strictly permissible, for the

principle has been recognised in some form from early times, when suitors 'found the dooms' and recognitors '*veritatem dixerunt*.'

But although the functions of judge and jury were thus divided, it took a much longer time to evolve the separation of matter of fact from matter of law. The difficulty which afterwards became exceedingly complex was present even in the Assize of Novel Disseisin. It was possible for the jury to know that A had ejected B, and to know what service B had performed; yet it became exceedingly difficult for them to say that A had disseised B from his tenement without deciding a question of law. This occurred in the case of Jocelin de Brakelonde, where the jurors paid no heed to an affirmation of the rights of a certain convent contained or set forth in a deed, but took their own view of the facts. In John's reign we have a special verdict to the effect that '*juratores dicunt quod rei veritatem inde dicent et audita rei veritate, judicent justitiarum*.' In the year 1222 a special verdict ran as follows: 'that the jurors after finding and stating the facts *dicunt quod nesciunt quis eorum fuit in seisina*.' Since the jury were subject in case of perjury and mistake in general verdicts to an Attaint, it became the practice to add after the statement of facts, whether they thought there was or was not a disseisin. This threat of attainr shows it was never intended that juries should determine legal questions for themselves. The Statute of Westminster II forbade the judges to force the jury into giving explicit answers to the words of the writ and thereby requiring an oath about a matter of law. About the end of the fourteenth century we find that questions of law occupy an important place apart from the 'facts.'

From the Year Books of the twenty-first year of Edward I we discover that demurrers are coming into use. The relevant facts are admitted and there remains only a question of law. We find judgments demanded

'*par counte counté et ple plédé*.'

For instance, there is a pure question of law in a case where two kinsmen who have admitted each other's pedigrees are disputing about an inheritance. This case occurred as early as 1201, when it was said that the litigants '*petunt considerationem curiae utrum debeat respondere*.' From such questions arose, later on, the peculiar procedure known as Joinder in Demurrer.

It is impossible in a brief space like this to trace the subsequent developments of this notable maxim; or to note the difficulties caused by mixed questions of law and fact; or the great controversy between Mansfield, Chatham and Camden as to the functions of judge and jury; or, finally, the famous reply of the judges to the House of Lords, that the criminality of any act done is the result of the judgment which the law pronounces upon that act, so that, consequently, the question raised in the case of Woodfall in 1770, whether a published letter was libellous or innocent, was a pure question of law—a reply which led to the passing of the remarkable Libel Act of 1792. It is still true, however, as Hargrave wrote in his comment upon Coke's dictum, and, happily, in accord with modern opinion, that the immediate and direct right of deciding upon questions of law was never really intended to be the function of the jury, but is entrusted to, and should always remain with, the judges.

T. A. LEVI.





## 5. A RENASCENCE PIONEER OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

ON the margin of the text of Erasmus's *Catechism* we are informed (1533) that 'The paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer is translated into English by one of M. More's daughters.'

Hence we are led to examine a rare translated book of Erasmus with the following title: *A devout treatise upon the Paternoster made fyrst in Latyn by the most famous doctour mayster Erasmus Roterdamus and tourned in to Englishe by a young vertuous and well lerned gentelwoman of XIX yere of age.* The Colophon reads: 'At Chelcheth (Chelsea), the year of our Lord God, a thousand and five hundred xxiiij. The first day of October.'

Now Margaret, the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas More, was born towards the end of 1505, and would thus be about 19 years of age in 1524, so it is clear that she was the daughter of More who is referred to as the translator of Erasmus's *Treatise upon the Paternoster*. The treatise is short, and in its actual contents is not nearly so significant a work as the *Catechism* which I have mentioned above. Yet the translation of it must rank as one of the earliest printed translations from the Latin into English, written by a woman.

Margaret's English is very direct and unaffected, as may be judged by a short quotation: 'Therefore thy sonne gave us this in commandement, that we shoulde leave our offering evyn at the auter, and hye us a pace to our brother, and labour to be at peace with him, and then return again and offer up our rewarde.'

Women's higher education was undoubtedly neglected in England before the time of the Renaissance. Interest in women's education probably came into Tudor England from Spain, not from Italy. The queenly influence of Catharine of Aragon, the first wife of King Henry VIII, brought the spirit of the Spanish Court of her parents, Ferdinand and Isabella, into her adopted

country. Queen Isabella ruled in Spain from 1474 to 1504, and in those thirty years she raised Spain into the leading Court in Europe in connection with women's education. She utilised the Arab traditions of scholarship of South-East Spain and attracted to Spain the best scholars she could get from Italy, Germany, and France. After she became Queen she set herself to repair the deficiencies in her own education, and engaged as tutress for herself Beatrice of Galindo, termed for her knowledge *La Latina*. In her Court were the brilliant learned sisters, the Marchioness of Monteagudo and the Donna Maria Pacheco de Mendoza, as well as Isabel of Cordova, 'far richer in Latin and Greek and Hebrew than in worldly possessions.' And there were also Catherine Ribera, the poetess, and Isabella Rosera, who (we are told) preached in Toledo Cathedral, and went to Rome to convert the Jews, and to comment on Scotus Erigena before an array of dumbfounded Cardinals.<sup>1</sup> Further, there were two lady Professors; one in the reading of the Classics, in the University of Salamanca; and the other in History, in the University of Alcalá.

In 1501, the Princess Catharine of Aragon came over to England and married Prince Arthur (the eldest son of King Henry VII), who died a few months afterwards. In 1509 she married King Henry VIII, was divorced in 1531, and died in 1536. The brilliancy of the English Court of Henry and Catharine was renowned throughout Europe. Erasmus speaks in the highest praise not only of Catharine's personal learning, but also of her intellectual influence in her Court.

The very years of Catharine's glory as Henry's Queen correspond with the years of the upbringing of the daughters in More's family. It must be remembered that More was held in the highest esteem by the Queen and that she took keen pleasure in his friendship. Throughout he remained staunch in her cause. Margaret More was born near the end of 1505; Elizabeth More was born in 1506; Cecilia in 1507. It will be seen, therefore, that if the view of Catharine's influence on women's education

<sup>1</sup> La Clavière adds the name of Loysa Sygea, as 'the most illustrious of them all,' and describes her as an 'infant prodigy, a father of the Church, who could speak the most outlandish tongues.' Instances such as those of Isabella Rosera and Loysa Sygea throw light on Sir Thomas More's suggestion that in *Utopia* women are not entirely excluded from the priesthood.

be accepted, it would exactly be exercised at the time when More was most likely to profit by it in the training of his daughters.

Sir Thomas More, I suggest, was directly or indirectly stimulated in his views on education by what had been done in Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, an influence transmitted to England by Catharine of Aragon and her friends. After the Spanish Armada English writers ceased to ascribe to Spain anything good, and the Spanish influence in England has thus been obscured. In 1521, Erasmus in a letter to Guillaume Budé informs us that 'once I myself should not have utterly recoiled from the view of the uselessness of learning to women, but *More entirely shook out of my mind* the negative idea as to the study of letters by women.' In this same letter<sup>1</sup> we are told that Margaret More was already married. Thus Sir Sidney Lee's suggested date of 1525 for Margaret's marriage must be amended to 1521, when Margaret was in her sixteenth year.

Up to 1521, Erasmus had held the common view that if a woman could sew, spin, cook and manage a house, all was well; but in 1526, when he was 59 years of age, he wrote a book in which he gives at length his views on women's education, though the title of his volume does not promise beforehand the treatment of educational problems. This little read but interesting work was called *de Matrimonio Christiano*.

There can be no doubt that the *de Matrimonio Christiano* of Erasmus was largely founded upon, and its views were apparently often borrowed<sup>2</sup> from, the *de Institutione Feminae Christianae*, of Juan Luis Vives, which was published in 1523. It will be sufficient for the present purpose to recognise that these treatises are primarily connected with England; both were dedicated to, and probably inspired by, the same lady, viz., Queen Catharine of Aragon; that they substantially contain similar views, though Vives's treatise was written three years earlier than that of Erasmus. The fact seems to be that the Spanish Queen together with the Spanish scholar Vives were the centre of the English group interested in women's education, and those at least included More, Erasmus, Linacre, and a young scholar named Richard Hyrde. Linacre was appointed by Queen Catharine, jointly with Vives, to direct the Princess Mary's education. Sir

<sup>1</sup> 1642 Edition, column 759.

<sup>2</sup> See, on this point, Francis Thibaut: *Quid de Puellis Instituendis senserit Vives*. Paris, 1888.



Thomas More, as is stated in the preface to the English translation of Vives's book, was so convinced of the soundness and importance of Vives's book that he had intended to translate it himself, and, though he was so deeply engaged in affairs of state, nothing would have withheld him from the actual work of translation, but that he recognised the high ability of Richard Hyrde, who had secretly translated the work into English, apparently in More's house at Chelsea. Sir Thomas More, however, actually undertook the revision of Hyrde's translation: a fact which has been overlooked. It is not too much to say that Vives's book was the most outstanding work of the early Renaissance in the subject of women's education.

Hyrde was a tutor in More's family. From Stapleton's account it seems as if he succeeded William Gonnell. In that case 1517 would be the date of Hyrde's entry into the More household. But since Richard Hirde, Herde, or Hyrde, appears to have supplicated for his degree at Oxford, July 8, 1519, it is possible that he was appointed tutor in More's house after that date. The only further facts I am able to gather about Hyrde are those contained in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, for 1528 [Vol. VI, Part 2, p. 1808 (4090)], where Stephen Gardiner and Edward Foxe write from Orvieto, in Italy, on March 23 to Brian Tuke, to state that one of the equipage is in great danger from 'wetting' of foul weather, 'a young man learned in physic, Greek and Latin, whose death would be a great loss. We suppose you know him well. His name is Richard Herde. . . . He sometime dwelled with the Master Chancellor of the Duchy' (*i.e.* Thomas More). On March 28, the same two write, 'Richard Herde died on Lady Day, to our great discomfort, as we had great confidence in his learning and experience in physic.'

Hyrde, therefore, had written his translation of the *de Institutione Feminae Christianae* before March 25, 1528. Vives's preface in the Latin text is dated Bruges, April 5, 1523. Hyrde's English translation was first published, however, in 1540.

The point to which I wish specially to draw attention is that the works on women's education by Erasmus and Vives, though connected with England, and written under the Spanish influence of Queen Catharine, were composed in Latin, not in English. But I must now notice an original tractate in English, written by this same Richard Hyrde, the translator of Vives's book. This



small tractate, I suggest, is the *first writing on the subject of women's education published in English*, in the time of the Renaissance.

We have seen that Margaret More, or rather Margaret Roper, translated Erasmus's *Treatise upon the Paternoster* in 1524. It was to this translation that Margaret's tutor, Richard Hyrde, furnished a dedicatory preface, beginning: 'Richard Hyrde unto the most studyous and vertuous younge mayde Fraunces S. sendeth gretynge and well to fare.'

Richard Hyrde in this extremely rare tractate rebuts the arguments of opponents to women's education, who say that the frail kind of women, 'inclined of their own courage' unto vice, will be in danger of being 'inflamed to it' the more, if they read eloquent Latin and Greek authors, 'where the matter is haply sometime more sweet unto the ear than wholesome to the mind.' But *if* learning is a cause of evil, then it will have bad results also for men. Nay, it will do more harm to men than to women. For man has less self-control. 'There is as little hurt,' he maintains, 'in the Latin and Greek tongues as in English and French books, which are not forbidden to women. In Latin and Greek, too, are found the holy doctors' writings, and whosoever regardeth them must needs be either much better or at least less evil, both man and woman.' Some people say, if their wives knew Latin or Greek, then might they talk more boldly with priests and friars. In reply, Hyrde says: 'I suppose nowadays a man could not devise a better way to keep his wife safe from them, than if he were to teach her the Latin and Greek tongues, and such good sciences as are written in them; the which now most part of priests abhor and fly from; yea, as fast, in a manner, as they fly from beggars, that ask them alms on the street.'

Hyrde goes on: 'Reading and studying of books so occupieth the mind that it can have no leisure to muse or delight in other fantasies, whereas in all handiworks that men say be more meet for woman, the body may be busy in one place and the mind walking in another: and while they sit sewing and spinning with their fingers, they may cast and compass many peevish fancies in their minds, which must needs be occupied either with good or bad, so long as they be waking. And those that be evil disposed will find the means to be nought (naughty) though they can (know) never a letter in the book: and she that will be good, learning will cause her to be so much the better.' Hyrde says he

never heard of a really learned woman who was vicious. But there are many cases in which goodness has 'taken on an increase' through learning. 'I will be content,' he continues, 'as for now with one example of our own country, and time that is: this gentlewoman which translated this little book<sup>1</sup> here-after following.' Hyrde, her tutor, then breaks forth into praise of Margaret Roper, as did every one who knew her.

Hyrde at this point recalls the lady to whom he is addressing the Preface. 'Therefore, good Frances, seeing that such profit and pleasure cometh of learning, take no heed unto the lewd words of those that dispraise it. . . . For the best part of men (as I reckon) whom I accompt wisest of every age, all affirm learning to be very good and profitable. Wherefore, good Frances, take you the best part (of men) and leave the most (part of men); follow the wise men, and regard not the foolish sort.'

The rest of the Preface pursues the same theme indirectly. But the direct appeal to women becomes the serious exhortation to the Frances of the dedication to give herself up to learning. The question arises: Can we identify the mother as well as the child to whom Hyrde is dedicating the Preface?

Hyrde continues: 'And as a token of my good mind and an instrument toward your success and furtherance, I send you this book, little in quantity but big in value, turned out of Latin into English by your own forenamed kinswoman, whose goodness and virtue, two things there be, that let me (prevent me) much to speak of.' He says the first reason is because Frances knows Margaret's good qualities, without being told them. The other reason is: 'She had leaver her praise to rest in men's hearts than in their tongues,' or rather 'in God's estimation and pleasure than any man's words or thought.' 'As for Margaret's translation,' he says, 'I dare be bold to say it, that whoso list, and well can, confer the translation with the original, he shall not fail to find that she hath showed herself not only erudite and elegant in either tongue, but hath also used much wisdom, such discreet and substantial judgment in expressing lively the Latin as a man may peradventure miss in many things translated and turned by them that bear the name of right wise and very well learned men. The labour that I have had with it about the printing, I yield wholly and freely give unto you, in whose manners and virtues as

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Margaret Roper's translation of Erasmus's *Treatise on the Paternoster*.

in a child I have great affection ; and unto your good mother, unto whom I am so much beholden, of whose company I take so great joy and pleasure, in whose godly communication I find such a spiritual fruit and sweetness that as oft as I talk with her, so oft methink and feel myself the better.' He goes on to say : ' It should be a great shame, dishonesty, and rebuke unto you, born of such a mother and nourished up with her own teat,<sup>1</sup> for to degenerate and go out of kind. Behold her in this age of hers, in this almost continual disease and sickness, how busy she is to learn, and, in the small time that she hath had, how much she hath yet profited in the Latin tongue, how great comfort she taketh of that learning that she hath gotten, and consider thereby what pleasure and profit you may have here-after of the learning that you may have or (ere) you come to her age, if you spend your time well : and so fare you well, mine own good, gentle and fair Fraunces.'

Who was Frances ? I suggest that this was the daughter of Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, the Mary—whom Erasmus and More saw at Eltham as a four-year-old child—who married first Louis XII, King of France ; and secondly Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, whom she married in 1515. In 1517 her first child, a girl, was born. The child was born on St. Francis Day, July 16, 1517, and in honour of the day the child was christened Frances as a girl's name. If this conjecture be correct, then Frances S. (supposing S. may stand for Suffolk) in 1524 would have only completed her seventh year.

Hyrde says that Frances had mixed with her 'honourable uncle's children.' The child Mary, daughter of King Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon, was born in 1516, the year before Frances's birth. The Queen Catharine herself held the infant Frances at the font, so that it is easily conceivable that the child Frances was received with welcome in the royal nursery (which would probably include other children sent there as royal wards), especially since the Queen-Duchess and Queen Catharine were on good terms. Catharine's daughter Mary, although only eighteen months old, was the other godmother to Frances, and in the household accounts the mention of three presents from Mary attests friendly relations to Frances. The general reputation

<sup>1</sup> Mothers were enjoined by Erasmus in the *de Matrimonio Christiano* to nurse their own children and not to hand over the charge to others. In fact, there is much in Vives and Erasmus that anticipates Rousseau.

of the Queen-Duchess was very high, and would justify Hyrde in his praise of Frances's mother. Hyrde, however, speaks of the translator of Erasmus's Treatise as Frances's 'own kinswoman.' In the literal sense of the term, of course, Margaret Roper was no 'kinswoman' of Frances, but is it not possible that the term may be figuratively used as of a woman of kindred tastes in being studious? It will be remembered that Frances married Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and that one of her children was Lady Jane Grey. If this identification of the Frances addressed by Hyrde be correct, it would be interesting to find this link of connection between Margaret Roper and the mother of the ill-fated Lady Jane, whose learning and virtue were so like those of the girls of the More family.

But the most important fact for the history of education, in connection with this book, is the plea for the education of women, written by Richard Hyrde, for whom these great people are illustrative examples.

It, perhaps, sufficiently proves the backwardness of our studies of the history of education in this country that the name of Richard Hyrde is so little familiar, and his services to education quite overlooked.

FOSTER WATSON.



## 6. INSTRUCTION IN RELIGION

THERE are certain matters usually included in the curriculum under the name of religious instruction—the geography and history of Palestine, appreciation of the Bible as literature, demonstration of ethical progress as shown in the Scriptures. All these are valuable elements in education, but are not instruction in religion.

In the suggestions following I may perhaps be somewhat dogmatic in expression, but that is for convenience of exposition, and not because of any claim to a right to dogmatise. My position is one of enquiry—even in definition. I dare not venture on a definition nor choose any one of the many offered by theological experts; nor is it necessary for my purpose. From the total connotation I will take two attributes generally agreed upon—one intellectual, one emotional.

Firstly, I take it as an assumption of religion that the universe is essentially good. As to that, from the standpoint of instruction—where what is taught must be known by the teacher and can be demonstrated to the pupil—the answer is always the same:

Myself when young did eagerly frequent  
Doctor and Saint and heard great argument  
About it and about, but ever more  
Came out by the same door wherein I went.<sup>1</sup>

We are where Plato was when he said:

‘In my youth . . . I heard some one reading, as he said, from a book of Anaxagoras that Reason was the disposer and cause of all, and I was delighted at this notion which seemed quite admirable, and I said to myself: “If Reason is the disposer Reason will dispose all for the best, and put each particular in the best place”; and I argued that if any desired to find out the cause of the generation or destruction or existence of anything, he must find out what . . . was best for that thing. . . . And I rejoiced to think that I had found in Anaxagoras a teacher of the causes of existence such as I desired, and I imagined that he would tell me first whether the earth is flat or

<sup>1</sup> Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*.

round ; and whichever was true he would proceed . . . to show the nature of the best, and if he said that the earth was the centre [of the universe] he would further explain that this position was the best, and I should be satisfied with the explanation given, and not want any other sort of cause. . . . For I could not imagine when he spoke of Reason as the disposer of things, he would give any other account of their being, except that this was best. . . . These hopes I would not have sold for a large sum of money, and I seized the books and read them as fast as I could, in my eagerness to know the better and the worse.

‘What expectations I had formed and how grievously was I disappointed!’<sup>1</sup>

The answer is the same as of old : ‘Canst thou by searching find out God ? . . . What canst thou do ? . . . What canst thou know ?’<sup>2</sup>

‘As teaching the Almighty we cannot find Him out.’<sup>3</sup>

The world as we know it is not demonstrably good. We may *say* and in one mood *feel*

‘O world as God has made it :  
All is beauty,’

But the mood is not permanent. At present we hope that the outcome of the war will be the triumph of good over evil, but the triumph is long delayed. We endeavour to bring ourselves to the belief that the physical hell through which our youth has passed is to be compensated by a moral and spiritual uplift without parallel, but the belief is hard to sustain. And for ourselves—born in pain, dying in pain, the highest joys which life has to offer are the occasions of our bitterest sorrows—a possession for a little time, and for the rest an aching loss and

‘What can console me for the loss supreme ?

Speak not to me of comfort where no comfort is.’<sup>4</sup>

The trailing clouds of glory of infancy disappear, the hopes of youth are baffled, the shadow of futility pursues the labours of maturity.

‘I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven : this sore travail hath God given to the sons of men to be exercised therewith.

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Phædo*, 97a–99c, quoted by Santayana, *Three Philosophical Poets*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Job xi.

<sup>3</sup> Job xxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> James Thomson, *City of Dreadful Night*.

‘I have seen all the works that are done under the sun; and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit.’<sup>1</sup>

The essential goodness of the universe is not open to intellectual demonstration. Nevertheless, we must believe in it or die, and I will return presently to this belief.

Secondly, with regard to the emotional aspect of religion—deep and sincere emotion is solitary. The nearest approach to communication in speech is to your most familiar friend at some scarce and favourable moment. And religious emotion touching the deepest and inmost must partake of this characteristic. The most characteristic religious moments in the Bible are illustrative.

Paul journeying to Damascus was struck to earth with his companions. When they recovered he was still prostrate, and what took place within him they knew not, nor could he tell them. He alone had the vision ‘wherein he heard unspeakable things which it is not possible for a man to utter.’

Daniel says: ‘I Daniel alone saw the vision, for they that were with me saw not the vision.’

Jesus went up the Mount of Transfiguration with three chosen disciples, but even the chosen saw not, for ‘Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep.’ ‘When they were awake they saw indeed His glory and the two men that were with Him,’ but Peter’s naïve proposal showed how little he had really seen, how little he had understood. The same want of sympathy and understanding is obvious at Gethsemane.

Thus far the difficulty about direct instruction *in* religion so far as the subject itself is concerned. Perhaps a more serious aspect of the problem is the danger of attempts at instruction *about* religious matters in the hands of the merely zealous.

Normally adolescence is the time when comes capability of definite religious feeling, faith, motivation. This period, although in many respects the most interesting period of life, is one of extreme difficulty for the observer, as any period of transition must be. It is a new birth—a birth from the matrix of the past, but<sup>2</sup> ‘of new bodily powers and functions, new lines of activity for increased muscular force, new social spheres and increasing demands upon social capabilities, new emotional

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiastes ii.

<sup>2</sup> Haslett, *Pedagogical Bible Seminary*, ch. v.

experiences that widen life and add to its import : new thoughts, ideals and ambitions, and—of religious awakening. Before this age religion is largely a form. Now it becomes full of meaning. *It is a new interest, spontaneous as the interest in art or the love of nature. Where no set forms have been urged religious emotion comes naturally. There are many doubts—but they seem to travel from doubts of dogma to doubts of essentials.*

It is a period of great oscillation, of rushing to extremes in one direction or another, of greatest impulse to evil as well as to good. The highest numbers of religious conversion are in the sixteenth and seventeenth years—the greatest *numbers* (apart from seriousness) of crimes appear to be committed between sixteen and eighteen. Alternation from one mood to its opposite, from egoism to altruism, from bigotry to atheism, from love to hatred, is more marked than at any other time of life—a feature which is at once the opportunity and the difficulty of the educator. Psychical life appears to grow by sections, and he will succeed best who recognises best the section most active and makes best provision for that section—or *leaves it most wisely alone*. As says Rabindranath Tagore : ‘All the hypocrisy and self-delusion in our religious convictions and practices are the outcome of the goadings of over-zealous activities of mentorship.’

I have already suggested that the final reality of religion is not demonstrable—but we refuse to accept the demonstrable as all. We seek refuge in that which lies beyond demonstrable knowledge, and I would suggest that the essence of religious knowledge is of the nature of a vision—a vision in response to an imperative emotional demand—and that the worst thing that can happen is the attempt at early forcing of religious emotion. In the words of Principal Garvie, in his lectures to the British Chautauqua at Aberystwyth :

‘The teacher . . . must not try to force the religious life of the young into the moulds of the experience of the old.’

The vision is none the less a fact in that it is a mystery. This mystery was the greatest fact in Paul’s life : unexplainable, but the most unalterable conviction of his soul, the most critical and most intense moment of his life. The rest of his life was based on it—he ‘was not disobedient to the heavenly vision,’ as he claimed before Agrippa.



To each young man and woman must come a vision, and to each it must come as a personal revelation. The teacher must beware of clumsy—nay, sacrilegious—intrusion, an intrusion fiercely, if silently, resented by the adolescent.

If, then, his internal eyes be opened he can say with Browning :

‘ Praise be Thine !

I see the whole design,

I, who saw power, see now love perfect too ;

Perfect I call Thy plan,

Thanks that I was a man :

Maker, remake, complete—I trust what Thou shalt do.’

His progress will be akin to that of Plato in the Symposium, where he describes the ascent of the soul towards the perfect beauty ; suddenly, he says, she will behold something marvellously beautiful, not beautiful by parts or by seasons as is the case with material beauty, but itself abiding true to itself for ever.

And what is the part of the teacher ? The teacher must realise that such exposition as may be helpful must be recognised as external, as aiding in the formation of the best conditions for the growth of the real—the internal. Further, the chief condition under which any such exposition may be fruitful is found in the personality of the teacher. The early adolescent period is especially the period when personality counts for most. In earlier years there is a greater interest in things for their own sake, in later years life’s work and purpose make themselves felt—in early adolescence subjects have value very largely through the attractiveness of the personality with whom they are associated. Investigation shows that every good teacher at this stage is associated with a life ideal—an ideal which shines through his conduct and teaching. He does not necessarily talk about it—in proportion as it is deeply felt he is not likely to—but one who has seen the world and its affairs from the mountain top, is thereafter a different person though he may have to live and work in the valley—and his pupils recognise that difference. And in the same way that pupils resent intrusion into their inmost life, he will also resent it : therein lies the most real difficulty of religious tests.

An extension of personal influence is found in the influence of literature, especially of suitable biographies, presented in the same way as the influence of the teacher’s personality, that is

by suggestion. To the young the noble, generous, self-sacrificing life has an appeal which is irresistible, and that appeal is not strengthened by direct insistence.

Honest straightforwardness in dealing with difficulties is essential.

Finally—the Master in His teaching showed Himself profoundly indifferent to dogma.

FOSTER WATSON, 'The Freedom of the Teacher to Teach—Religion,' *Mind*, July, 1906.

CAMPAGNAC, *Religion and Religious Teaching*.

JAMES, *The Will to Believe. Is Life Worth Living?*

SANTAYANA, *Three Philosophical Poets*. Dante.

STANLEY HALL, *Adolescence*.

HASLETT, *Pedagogical Bible Seminary*.

C. R. CHAPPLE.

## 7. A NEW DOCUMENT BEARING ON THE WELSH EDUCATION COMMISSION OF 1846-7

SOME apology is necessary in writing once more on a question which has received far more attention than it deserved, and about which many people have long considered that too much has been written. My apology is that, in examining the private papers of the late Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the first Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education (1839-49), I have discovered a memorandum which shows that he, at any rate, clearly foresaw the pitfalls connected with the inquiry and strove to avoid them.

The story of the Commission and its startling Report has been told many times, and with varying degrees of passion, and we can accept here the cautiously-worded summary of Principal Salmon<sup>1</sup> when he says: 'The Commissioners were justified in expressing an opinion of the "general intelligence" of the Welsh, but the instruction to form an estimate "of the influence which an improved education might be expected to produce on the general condition of society and its moral and religious progress" hardly justified them in reviewing the habits, manners, and character of the nation, especially as the review caused them (in contravention of Burke's dictum) to draw up an indictment against a whole people.'

There is no need to repeat here the wild charges made against the Welsh people: we know now, and it has been oft-times repeated, that the Commissioners were ignorant of the language, customs and habits of the nation, that they employed incompetent assistants, that they suppressed some of the evidence which contradicted their findings, that they were very young and very confident—in short, that they were barristers who thought it was their whole duty to get up a case for the prosecution. There is nothing to be said in their defence, and it is

<sup>1</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, XXIV, 1913.

interesting to discover that one of them, Mr. Lingen, was afterwards troubled by his youthful indiscretions : in a private letter to Sir James, some years later, he confessed that he was likely to be troubled by the Welsh Reports all his life.

Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth has been much suspected of evil intentions in the aims and methods of the Commission, and one severe critic, Miss Jane Williams, in a pamphlet published in 1848, lays upon him all the blame by describing the Report as a case of 'Shuttleworth *versus* Wales.' This suspicion was widespread, for Sir James was the moving spirit in the effort to establish a national system of education under Government assistance, and the Welsh Nonconformists at that time were opposed to a State system.

The following memorandum, however, shows clearly that Sir James desired above all things an impartial and fair inquiry, and that if his safeguards had been adopted, and his advice followed, the evil associations that now centre round the Report would not have arisen. The memorandum is a rough draft and probably served as the copy for a more formal document. As it is too long to quote *in extenso* I have omitted some parts of the argument, and in order to preserve its continuity I have interpolated a brief summary of such omissions within square brackets :

'A. General Desiderata :

'Inquiry can be of little or no value if the results can be shown to be inaccurate or incomplete. The persons selected to conduct it should be familiar with the political and technical questions connected with elementary education. They should be accustomed to statistical inquiries. They should have some administrative experience of the mode of communicating with men of adverse political and religious opinions so as, if possible, to conciliate their co-operation.'

[It is important to secure the assistance of the Clergy and Dissenting Ministers, but the former will object to confessing that Church efforts are inadequate, and the latter will not welcome a Government inquiry.]

The Commissioners must be men whose character and opinions are such as will win the confidence of all, and not alienate the extremists on either side. They must be able to examine the whole question with impartiality, to view the religious scruples of all classes with respect, and to treat all prejudice with patience. They must be able to assess the various sources of



obstruction, and also to diffuse correct views of the dangers of popular ignorance and of the national importance of popular intelligence and virtue.]

‘For these purposes it is expedient to select laymen of the Church of England of liberal opinions and comprehensive views, known to have a thorough acquaintance with elementary schools, capable of analysing the opinions on social, political and religious questions which may be presented to them, and of diffusing juster views among all classes.

‘The objects of the inquiry will consist of two principal divisions :

‘First, Inquiries into the state of opinion among all classes, inviting personal communications with the gentry, clergy, farmers, manufacturers and labourers.’

[Also inquiries into the management of educational charities, and into the quality of school instruction.]

‘Secondly, Inquiries chiefly statistical.’

[The provision of schools, number of scholars, subjects of instruction, available income, character and qualifications of teachers, and the state of the school buildings.]

‘These two divisions of the inquiry may be properly entrusted to two separate classes of agency.’

[The first part of the inquiry should be carried out by four Commissioners, one for each diocese. The second part should be in the hands of selected schoolmasters, three of whom should accompany each Commissioner.

The Commissioners should report separately, and the Committee of Council would then determine whether to call for a collective report, or to collate the separate reports into a general one.]

‘B. Draft of Instructions to the Commissioners :

[A preamble describing the origin and aims of the inquiry, and announcing to the Commissioner his appointment for the work described.]

‘The schools for the instruction of the poorer classes now existing in Wales have chiefly been erected and endowed by private beneficence, and such of them as are not endowed are supported partly by the small payments of the poor by collections in religious congregations, and by the private subscriptions of the more wealthy inhabitants.

‘You will be furnished with a list of those which have in late years

been erected with aid from the Committee of Council on Education or the Lords of the Treasury, but with the exception of these schools their Lordships cannot confer upon you any authority to enter any of these classes of schools, nor to require, from any persons whatsoever, information which they may possess respecting the objects of your visit.

‘The success of your inquiries will therefore depend on that sense of the importance of your commission which My Lords trust may pervade all classes, and on their disposition to co-operate with H.M. Government in devising means for the removal of the evils of popular ignorance. Your duty will be to prove to all that you desire to ascertain in what way each class conceives that the intellectual and moral condition of the poor may be most effectually and safely improved.

‘Having regard to the present state of public opinion on this subject, My Lords conceive that you may be brought in contact with persons who consider your inquiries as purely intrusive and unnecessary—with others who may conceive that they indicate a pre-determination on the part of H.M. Government to supersede voluntary exertions by the power and resources of the State—with others who regard even an inquiry emanating from the Civil Government with jealousy and alarm.

‘All these persons are entitled to courteous attention in order that the facts and representations which they desire to make may, through you, reach the Committee of Council on Education.

‘Poor but religious men may be ready to represent the difficulty they have in providing for the instruction of their children and their fear of the degrading effects of ignorance. Humble Nonconformists may seek to lay before you the history of the sacrifices and exertion which have been voluntarily made by individuals or by congregations among the Dissenters. The Clergy and gentry may wish to represent the difficulties which they have encountered in attempting to found parochial schools, or to give you proofs of the zeal and success of the members of the Church of England. All are entitled to an impartial attention, for without a knowledge of the wants and wishes of every class of H.M. subjects My Lords would be unable to foresee in what way the energies of the country could be most usefully called forth to provide for the education of the poor.

‘Wherever you find an elementary school it is desirable that you should explain to the Trustees or Managers personally the objects of your commission, and propose to visit their school. In seeking such

permission you will represent the respect with which My Lords regard the evidences of the power of that private Christian charity to which alone is attributable the existence of the greater part of these schools, and their anxiety to enable the same energy to be more successful in the management of schools for the poor.

‘Wherever you are invited by the Trustees and Managers to visit an elementary school My Lords desire you to avail yourself of this opportunity to examine the quality and extent of the instruction given to each child—to observe the nature of the school arrangements—to ascertain the sources and amount of annual income available for the necessary expenses—to form an estimate of the qualifications of the schoolmaster, and what are practically the wants of the school to render it an efficient means of educating the children of the poor.

‘Numerous Sunday Schools have been established in Wales, and their character and tendencies should not be overlooked in an attempt to estimate the provision for the instruction of the poor. The Sunday School must be regarded as the most remarkable because the most general spontaneous effort of the zeal of Christian congregations for education. Its origin and tendencies are purely religious. The amount of secular instruction communicated is generally limited to the art of reading. While, therefore, you avail yourself of any opportunities afforded you to enter such schools you will bear in mind that they are schools of religion, and that the respect, which is due from you as an officer of the Civil Government for the liberty which religious communities enjoy, should render you exceedingly careful, while you observe the instruction afforded the children in the Holy Scriptures and in the formularies of their faith, that you in no degree infringe the privileges of religious congregations either while in the school or by the use you may make of the information you may be permitted to acquire. The object and use of these visits will be strictly limited to a just, general estimate of the means of education available for the poor in Wales.

‘The results of your inquiries will be important in proportion as they are complete and accurate. In order that the statistical information collected may have this character, without absorbing the whole of your time or injuriously protracting the inquiry, My Lords have given you the assistance of three school statisticians who will be employed under your direction.’

[Details of the statistical inquiries to be made by the assistants.]

There is no need to emphasise anything in this blameless memorandum. It establishes Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's innocence of the charges that have been made against him, it proves that he gave competent advice and desired to make the Commission efficient and impartial.

The interesting question remains : Who turned an inquiry, which was begun in order to collect the ascertainable facts concerning schools, teachers and the efficiency of instruction, into a flippant and partisan indictment of the morals of a nation ? This memorandum throws no direct light on the question, but it enables us to lay down more definitely the limits within which the answer is to be found. The only possibilities that remain are the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, the Home Secretary and the individual Commissioners. After a careful examination of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's papers, especially those bearing on his relationship to the Committee of Council, I incline to the view that the guilt lies between the Home Secretary and the Commissioners. I rule out the Committee of Council because there was complete harmony between that body and their Secretary in 1846 (after the advent of the new Ministry), and they adopted, with little or no alteration, more important documents from him than the one printed above.

Perhaps it is legitimate to go one step farther and regard it as probable that the chief fault lay with the Home Secretary. The argument in favour of this hypothesis is that the three Commissioners, working separately, made the same kind of charges : a unity of result which seems to imply clear and emphatic instruction from a superior officer. But further documentary evidence is required to solve the problem.

F. SMITH.



**MATHEMATICS AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES**



## 1. ON STOKES'S FORMULA AND THE MAXWELL-LORENTZ EQUATIONS

1. IN a paper to be published elsewhere I have explained what is the inherently unsymmetrical character of the conditions required in the series of theorems usually connected with the name of Stokes. This lack of symmetry arises from the close connection of the theorems with the theory of differentials, and cannot, it would appear, be avoided. In the applications to physical problems, as well as in the various branches of Pure Mathematics, Stokes's Formulæ play such an important part that it seems desirable to show how the inconvenience occasioned by this lack of symmetry may frequently be reduced to a minimum.

For simplicity of exposition I confine myself to a curved manifold  $\Omega$  of three dimensions situated in space of four dimensions, and bounded by a manifold of two dimensions, or surface,  $S$ . This has the further interest that the results obtained are immediately applicable to the equations of the Electro-Magnetic theory.

2. With this understanding we may say that Stokes's theorem asserts under certain conditions, not specified by him, and usually slurred over even by modern writers, that a surface integral over the bounding surface  $S$  is equivalent to a volume integral throughout the manifold  $\Omega$ . The formula, in what I shall for convenience refer to as the 'partial Stokes form,' is the following :

$$\iint_S P \frac{\delta(x, y)}{\delta(u, v)} du dv = \iiint_\Omega \left\{ \frac{\delta P}{\delta z} \frac{\delta(z, x, y)}{\delta(p, q, r)} + \frac{\delta P}{\delta t} \frac{\delta(t, x, y)}{\delta(p, q, r)} \right\} dp dq dr. \quad (1)$$

$P$  being a function of  $(x, y, z, t)$ , a point in four dimensional space. The co-ordinates of a point on  $S$  are here supposed given in terms of two independent parameters  $u, v$ , and those of a point in  $\Omega$  in terms of three independent parameters  $p, q, r$ . Also we suppose 'the formula for an area' to hold for  $S$ , and 'the formula

for a volume ' to hold for  $\Omega$ , so that the area of  $S$  and the volume of  $\Omega$  are given by the integrals  $\iint V \, du \, dv$  and  $\iiint W \, dp \, dq \, dr$ ,  $V^2$  and  $W^2$  being the sums of the squares of the Jacobians of the co-ordinates with respect to the parameters  $(u, v)$  and  $(p, q, r)$  respectively.

For brevity we shall write the above equation in the form

$$\iint_S P d(x, y) = \iiint_\Omega \left\{ \frac{\partial P}{\partial z} d(z, x, y) + \frac{\partial P}{\partial t} d(t, x, y) \right\} \quad (1a)$$

To get the complete form of Stokes's formula, we merely have to write down, and add, six partial formulæ of this type, involving six functions  $P_{12}, P_{23}, P_{31}, P_{14}, P_{24}, P_{34}$ , the variables of differentiation in the volume integral being in each case those whose indices are the same as those of the function. We adopt the usual notation in virtue of which change of order in the pair of indices of any  $P_{ij}$  gives a change of sign, *i.e.*,

$$P_{ij} = -P_{ji}.$$

The equation involving  $P_{34}$ , for instance, may then be written as follows :

$$\iint_S P_{34} d(x_1, x_2) = \iiint_\Omega \left\{ \frac{\partial P_{34}}{\partial x_3} d(x_3, x_1, x_2) + \frac{\partial P_{34}}{\partial x_4} d(x_4, x_1, x_2) \right\} \quad (1b)$$

If we write for brevity

$$\frac{\partial P_{43}}{\partial x_3} + \frac{\partial P_{41}}{\partial x_1} + \frac{\partial P_{42}}{\partial x_2} = Q_4,$$

—in which the three terms are got from one another by cyclical interchange of the indices (1, 2, 3)—and similar expression for  $Q_1, Q_2, Q_3$ , got in succession from  $Q_4$  by cyclical permutation of all four indices, the complete Stokes's formula becomes

$$\begin{aligned} & \iint_S \left\{ P_{12} d(x_3, x_4) + P_{23} d(x_1, x_4) + P_{31} d(x_2, x_4) + P_{14} d(x_2, x_3) \right. \\ & \quad \left. + P_{24} d(x_3, x_1) + P_{34} d(x_1, x_2) \right\} \\ &= \iiint_\Omega \left\{ Q_1 d(x_2, x_3, x_4) - Q_2 d(x_3, x_4, x_1) + Q_3 d(x_4, x_1, x_2) \right. \\ & \quad \left. - Q_4 d(x_1, x_2, x_3) \right\} \quad (3) \end{aligned}$$

3. I propose in the present Note to show that *Stokes's complete formula holds, when, for each of the indices  $i = 1, 2, 3$  or 4, each function  $Q_i$  of the four variables  $(x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4)$  is such that, regarded as a function of the single variable  $x_i$ , it is a differential coefficient. We also assume that the partial differential coefficients of the functions  $P_{ij}$  that actually appear—namely*

*—namely  $\frac{\partial P_{ij}}{\partial x}$  and  $\frac{\partial P_{ij}}{\partial x_j}$ , are bounded*



functions of the ensemble of all the co-ordinates, though it may be remarked that the method employed may be shown to lead to somewhat more general results. No assumption is made as to the existence of partial differential coefficients which do not appear; but we assume finally that  $P_{ij}$  is a bounded function, and, regarded as depending on the remaining pair of co-ordinates, when  $x_i$  and  $x_j$  are supposed constant, is a mixed differential coefficient of the second order.

As regards the condition last hypothecated, this enables us to assert that  $P_{ij}$  is the repeated differential coefficient with respect to  $(x_i, x_j)$ , in the right order, of its repeated integral with respect to  $(x_i, x_j)$ .

4. It will be remarked that though in the complete statement of Stokes's theorem thus obtained there is perfect symmetry, the partial forms involve a lack of symmetry.

With regard to the two- and three-dimensional manifolds  $S$  and  $\Omega$  over which we integrate, we make no new assumptions. It is to be remembered that in all the proofs given by earlier writers these manifolds are regarded as possessing a continuously varying tangent (plane or  $S_3$ ), among other restrictive properties. It would appear, however, from the considerations exposed in the paper referred to at the beginning of the present Note, and from results contained in my published papers, that little more need be required from  $S$  and  $\Omega$  than that the former should possess an area and the latter a volume expressible by the usual formulæ.

In the present Note we shall assume that the theorem of Stokes has already been proved when the conditions satisfied by the functions  $P_{ij}$  are that  $P_{ij}$  and its partial differential coefficients  $\frac{\delta P_{ij}}{\delta x_i}$  and  $\frac{\delta P_{ij}}{\delta x_j}$  should be continuous functions of the ensemble  $(x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4)$ , and under the most general assumptions regarded as valid with respect to the manifolds of  $S$  and  $\Omega$ .

5. We must here remark that the conditions under which we have assumed the theorem already proved are *prima facie* more general than those often given, in that no condition as regards existence or continuity is imposed on more than two of the four partial differential coefficients of  $P_{ij}$ , whereas it has been habitual to demand both the existence and the continuity of all four. The enunciation of Stokes's theorem with sufficient conditions for the validity of the formula has in fact been such that all the

partial differential coefficients of the functions  $P_{ij}$  were required to exist and to be continuous functions of  $(x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4)$ , no distinction being made between those which occur explicitly in the formula and those which do not. It would require careful consideration of certain of the proofs supplied to see whether these hypotheses were actually utilised; in Maxwell's method of proof the missing differential coefficients are expressly introduced into the reasoning. It is, however, unnecessary to give such a discussion here; if we assume that the theorem has been proved under such more stringent conditions, we can, without devising *ab initio* a new method of proof, show how to dispense with the continuity of the differential coefficients other than  $\frac{\delta P_{ij}}{\delta x_i}$  and  $\frac{\delta P_{ij}}{\delta x_j}$ . We proceed as follows:

Write in place of  $P_{34}$ , for instance, the expression:

$$\int_{x_1}^{x_1+h_1} \int_{x_2}^{x_2+h_2} P_{34} dx_1 dx_2 / h_1 h_2.$$

This expression will have all the properties required hitherto for the validity of Stokes's theorem, provided  $P_{34}$  is a continuous function of  $(x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4)$  with bounded partial differential coefficients with respect to  $x_3$  and  $x_4$ . In fact, we obtain continuous functions when we differentiate our expression with respect to any one of the four co-ordinates.

If now in the partial Stokes equation involving our expression in place of  $P_{ij}$ , we make the increments  $h_i$  and  $h_j$  tend to zero in any convenient manner, *e.g.* first  $h_i$  tend to zero and then  $h_j$ , we shall find that we have removed the objectionable conditions. We content ourselves with this indication, as the reader will be able to carry out the process for himself after reading what follows. We assume, however, that the statement is correct, whether proved in this way, or regarded as ostensibly proved by other writers, that Stokes's partial formula may be applied, when all reference to partial differential coefficients not explicitly appearing in the formula is omitted.

6. After what has been said, we may pass to the proof of our theorem of § 3, assuming as our basis that the partial Stokes equation

$$\iint_S Pd(x, y) = \iiint_\Omega \left\{ \frac{\delta P}{\delta z} d(z, x, y) + \frac{\delta P}{\delta t} d(t, x, y) \right\} . \quad (1A)$$

has been shown to hold under the hypothesis that the two partial

differential coefficients which appear in it exist and are continuous functions of  $(x, y, z, t)$ , while  $P$  is a continuous function of  $(x, y, z, t)$ . The equation which we shall deduce from the above, supposing  $P$  to be such that these conditions are not satisfied, but only the more extended conditions of § 3, will not be exactly of the same form as the above, but will closely resemble it; and from the equation so obtained we shall be able to deduce the complete theorem of Stokes.

Let us write

$$P = \int_x^{x+h} \int_y^{y+k} \int_z^{z+q} \int_t^{t+r} \pi \, dx \, dy \, dz \, dt / h k q r,$$

and suppose the function  $\pi$  to be a bounded function with bounded partial derivatives with respect to  $z$  and  $t$ ; then the function  $P$  satisfies the above conditions. In fact,  $P$  is evidently a continuous function of  $(x, y, z, t)$ , and the same is true of  $\frac{dP}{dz}$  and  $\frac{dP}{dt}$ , since

$$\frac{\delta P}{\delta z} = \int_x^{x+h} \int_y^{y+k} \int_t^{t+r} \left\{ \frac{\pi(x, y, z+q, t) - \pi(x, y, z, t)}{q} \right\} dx \, dy \, dt / h k r$$

and a similar expression for  $\frac{dP}{dt}$ .

We shall now make the assumption that  $\pi$  is a mixed differential coefficient  $\frac{d^2\varphi}{dy \, dx}$  in some four-dimensional neighbourhood of the point. With this assumption, as pointed out in § 3 we may take the function  $\varphi(x, y, z, t)$  to be the double integral

$\iint \pi \, dx \, dy$ . Hence, since  $\pi$  is bounded,

$$\begin{aligned} \lim_{k=0} \lim_{h=0} P &= \frac{1}{qr} \int_z^{z+q} \int_t^{t+r} \left\{ \lim_{k=0} \lim_{h=0} \int_x^{x+h} \int_y^{y+k} \pi \, dx \, dy / h k \right\} dz \, dt \\ &= \int_z^{z+q} \int_t^{t+r} \pi \, dz \, dt / q r. \end{aligned}$$

Therefore, since  $\pi$  is continuous with respect to  $z$  and  $t$ , in consequence of the hypotheses made,

$$\lim_{r=0} \lim_{q=0} \lim_{k=0} \lim_{h=0} P = \pi.$$

Similarly, since the partial differential coefficients of  $P$  with respect to  $z$  and  $t$  are bounded,

$$\lim_{q=0} \lim_{k=0} \lim_{h=0} \frac{\delta P}{\delta z} = \frac{1}{r} \int_t^{t+r} \frac{\delta \pi}{\delta z} dt$$

while

$$\lim_{q=0} \lim_{k=0} \lim_{h=0} \frac{\delta P}{\delta t} = \frac{1}{r} \int_t^{t+r} \frac{\delta \pi}{\delta t} dt$$

so that

$$\lim_{r=0} \lim_{q=0} \lim_{k=0} \lim_{h=0} \frac{\delta P}{\delta t} = \frac{\delta \pi}{\delta t}.$$

Hence, using term-by-term integration, which is allowable since all the integrands are bounded, Stokes's partial equation for  $P$  leads by the quadruple limiting process to the following:—

$$\iint \pi dx dy = \iiint_{\Omega} \left[ \lim_{r=0} \frac{1}{r} \int_t^{t+r} \frac{\delta \pi}{\delta z} dt \right] d(z, x, y) + \frac{\delta \pi}{\delta t} d(t, x, y) \Big]$$

This is the equation which now replaces Stokes's partial equation with which we started.

7. Referring now to the conditions for Stokes's complete theorem given in § 3, we see that we may replace  $\pi$  in the preceding equation by  $P_{34}$ .

The equation may then be written

$$\iint_S P_{34} d(x_1, x_2) = \iiint_{\Omega} \left[ \left\{ \lim_{r=0} \frac{1}{r} \int_{x_4}^{x_4+r} \frac{\delta P_{34}}{\delta z_3} dx_4 \right\} d(x_3, x_1, x_2) + \frac{\delta P_{34}}{\delta x_4} d(x_4, x_1, x_2) \right]$$

The integrand of the integral under the limit-sign is the first term of  $-Q_4/r$ , the meaning of  $Q_4$  being given by (2). Hence, permuting cyclically the indices 1, 2, 3 and adding the three equations so obtained, we get under the limit-sign the expression

$$\frac{1}{r} \iiint_{x_4}^{x_4+r} \left\{ \frac{\delta P_{34}}{\delta x_3} + \frac{\delta P_{14}}{\delta x_1} + \frac{\delta P_{24}}{\delta x_2} \right\} dx_4 = -\frac{1}{r} \int_{x_4}^{x_4+r} Q_4 dx_4.$$

Since, by hypothesis,  $Q_4$  is a differential coefficient with respect to  $x_4$ , that is  $t$ , and is bounded, this limit is equal to  $-Q_4$ . Hence the result of adding the three equations is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} & \iint_S \left\{ P_{34} d(x_1, x_2) + P_{14} d(x_2, x_3) + P_{24} d(x_3, x_1) \right\} \\ &= \iiint_{\Omega} \left\{ -Q_4 d(x_3, x_1, x_2) + \frac{\delta P_{34}}{\delta x_4} d(x_4, x_1, x_2) + \frac{\delta P_{14}}{\delta x_4} d(x_4, x_2, x_3) \right. \\ & \quad \left. + \frac{\delta P_{24}}{\delta x_4} d(x_4, x_3, x_1) \right\} \end{aligned}$$



We may write the right-hand side

$$= \iiint_{\Omega} \left\{ -Q_4 d(x_1, x_2, x_3) + \frac{\partial P_{14}}{\partial x_4} d(x_2, x_3, x_4) - \frac{\partial P_{24}}{\partial x_4} d(x_3, x_4, x_1) \right. \\ \left. + \frac{\partial P_{34}}{\partial x_4} d(x_4, x_1, x_2) \right\},$$

so that the successive Jacobians, involved in the symbols  $d(x_4, x_3, x_1)$ ,  $d(x_2, x_3, x_4)$ ,  $d(x_4, x_1, x_2)$ , can be deduced each from the preceding by the cyclical permutation of the indices 1, 2, 3, 4. In this way also  $Q_4$ ,  $Q_1$ ,  $Q_2$ ,  $Q_3$ , are similarly permuted. Moreover, we notice that the differential coefficients that occur in the equation last written down, namely those with respect to  $x_4$  of  $P_{14}$ ,  $P_{24}$  and  $P_{34}$ , are respectively the first term of  $Q_1$ , the third term of  $Q_2$ , and the second term of  $Q_3$ . Thus, if we repeat this cyclical permutation of the four indices, combining this operation each time with a change of sign, then add the four equations so obtained, and finally divide through by 2, the result will be the following equation :

$$\iiint_S \left\{ P_{34} d(x_1, x_2) + P_{14} d(x_2, x_3) + P_{24} d(x_3, x_1) + P_{12} d(x_3, x_4) \right. \\ \left. + P_{23} d(x_1, x_4) + P_{31} d(x_2, x_4) \right\} \\ = \iiint_{\Omega} \left\{ Q_1 d(x_2, x_3, x_4) - Q_2 d(x_3, x_4, x_1) + Q_3 d(x_4, x_1, x_2) \right. \\ \left. - Q_4 d(x_1, x_2, x_3) \right\}$$

But this is precisely Stokes's formula in its complete form, and it has been proved under the conditions given in § 3. This therefore proves the theorem.

8. If we now compare our equations (2) with the Maxwell-Lorentz equations of Electro-Dynamics

$$\left. \begin{aligned} \frac{\partial N}{\partial y} - \frac{\partial M}{\partial z} &= \frac{\partial X}{\partial t} + A, \\ \frac{\partial L}{\partial z} - \frac{\partial N}{\partial x} &= \frac{\partial Y}{\partial t} + B, \\ \frac{\partial M}{\partial x} - \frac{\partial L}{\partial y} &= \frac{\partial Z}{\partial t} + C, \\ \frac{\partial X}{\partial x} + \frac{\partial Y}{\partial y} + \frac{\partial Z}{\partial z} &= \rho \end{aligned} \right\} (a)$$

$$\left. \begin{aligned} \frac{\partial Z}{\partial y} - \frac{\partial Y}{\partial z} &= -\frac{\partial L}{\partial t} \\ \frac{\partial X}{\partial z} - \frac{\partial Z}{\partial x} &= -\frac{\partial M}{\partial t} \\ \frac{\partial Y}{\partial x} - \frac{\partial X}{\partial y} &= -\frac{\partial N}{\partial t} \\ \frac{\partial L}{\partial x} + \frac{\partial M}{\partial y} + \frac{\partial N}{\partial z} &= 0 \end{aligned} \right\} (\beta)$$

we see that these eight equations fall into two sets of four equations of the type of our relations (2). In the set ( $\beta$ ) the quantities  $Q_1$ ,  $Q_2$ ,  $Q_3$  and  $Q_4$  are all zero, and therefore satisfy all that we have required of them. In the set ( $\alpha$ ), however, we have in place of these quantities the functions  $A$ ,  $B$ ,  $C$  and  $\rho$ ; so that, to bring this into line with what precedes, we should have to require that  $A$  should be a differential coefficient with respect to  $x$ ,  $B$  with respect to  $y$ ,  $C$  with respect to  $z$ , and  $\rho$  with respect to  $t$ . In each of the sets ( $\alpha$ ) and ( $\beta$ ) the same six functions  $L$ ,  $M$ ,  $N$ ,  $X$ ,  $Y$ ,  $Z$ , appear implicitly by means of their partial differential coefficients; and in the case of each function these differential coefficients are taken with respect to two only of the co-ordinates in one set, and with respect to the other two co-ordinates in the other set. We have then, treating each set of equations separately, to require each function to be a mixed differential coefficient with respect to the pair of variables for which the differential coefficients do not appear. When we take the two sets simultaneously, these last conditions disappear, since they are fulfilled of themselves.

Take, for instance,  $X$  in the first set, where  $\frac{dX}{dt}$  and  $\frac{dX}{dx}$  occur.

If we did not assume the truth of the second set of equations, we should have the condition that  $X$  must be a mixed differential coefficient with respect to  $y$  and  $z$  in one or the other order, that is by § 3,

$$X = \frac{\delta^2}{dzdy} \iint X dz dy \text{ or } X = \frac{\delta^2}{dydz} \iint X dy dz.$$

The second set of equations, however, contains  $\frac{dX}{dy}$  and  $\frac{dX}{dz}$ , which are accordingly not only existent, but bounded. Therefore  $X$  is continuous with respect to  $y$  and with respect to  $z$ , and is therefore a differential coefficient with respect to each of these co-ordinates. Hence, as is easily proved, it is the mixed differential coefficient of its double integral.

This proves the statement made above, that this condition is fulfilled of itself, when we take all the eight Electro-Dynamic equations simultaneously.

9. The quantity  $\rho$ , which appears in the Maxwell-Lorentz equations, is the volume-density of electricity, and  $A$ ,  $B$ ,  $C$  are the components of the convection current. It at once follows, from what has been pointed out, that these equations may be replaced by the corresponding integral equations

$$\iint_s (Xdydz + Ydzdx + Zdxdy - Ldxdt - Mdydt - Ndzdt) \\ = \iiint_\Omega (Adydzdt + Bdzdxdt + Cdxdydt + \rho dxdydz),$$

and

$$\iint_s (Ldydz + Mdx dz + Ndx dy + Xdxdt + Ydydt + Zdzt) = 0,$$

provided the volume-density of electricity is a function of  $(x, y, z, t)$  which is continuous with respect to  $t$ , or at least is a bounded differential coefficient with respect to  $t$ ; and the convection current is such that each of its components parallel to the axes of  $x, y, z$  is continuous, or more generally is a bounded differential coefficient, with respect to the corresponding co-ordinate. These conditions are sufficient, provided the partial differential coefficients that appear in the equations exist and are bounded.

W. H. YOUNG.





## 2. RECENT INVESTIGATIONS OF THE SCATTERING OF X- AND $\gamma$ -RAYS

DURING the last two years measurements have been published of the scattering of moderately hard X-rays by Aurén<sup>1</sup> at the Nobel Institution, Stockholm, and of very hard  $\gamma$ -rays by A. H. Compton,<sup>2</sup> of Washington University. These measurements, scanty as they are, are so important for theories of the structure of the atom, as well as of the electron, as to deserve discussion in the light of recent investigations of the scattering of X- and  $\gamma$ -rays by atoms and electrons. It may be stated at the outset that the results of this discussion are decidedly unfavourable to theories which postulate arrangements in the atom of exceedingly small discrete electrons, of linear dimensions comparable with  $10^{-13}$  cm., whether in circular rings or spherical shells, either at rest or revolving about a common axis—such theories in fact as those of Nagaoka, J. J. Thomson, Rutherford and Bohr. On the other hand, they support the view, first put forward by A. H. Compton, that the electron is a continuous, more or less flexible structure, whose linear dimensions are of the order  $10^{-10}$  cm., comparable with the wave lengths of very hard  $\gamma$ -rays—such electrons in fact as the perfectly flexible spherical electron, favoured by Compton himself, and the ring-electron, which must, however, be regarded as possessing a high degree of rigidity towards high frequency disturbances. It is difficult to see how a spherical electron of radius  $10^{-10}$  cm. could be reconciled, either with Bohr's theory of atomic structure, or with Rutherford and Chadwick's experiments on the atomic nucleus; moreover, it is incompatible with an electromagnetic explanation of the mass of the electron. The ring-electron is not open to these objections to anything like the same degree as the spherical electron of large

<sup>1</sup> T. E. Aurén, *Meddelanden från K. Vetenskapsakademiens Nobelinstitut*, Bd. 4, No. 5, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> A. H. Compton, *Washington University Studies*, Vol. VIII, Sc. Ser., No. 2, pp. 93–130, 1921.

dimensions, but its theory is only in process of development, and judgment must necessarily be suspended until a satisfactory theory has been constructed. In any case the measurements made hitherto are too few in number and hardly accurate enough to be absolutely decisive, but they are sufficient to show the need for further measurements, more particularly on liquid hydrogen. It will be convenient to begin by summarising briefly the results of the measurements of Aurén and Compton, and then to compare them with the conclusions drawn from recent theoretical investigations.

Aurén's measurements were made on certain hydrocarbons and their derivatives for six different nearly homogeneous groups of X-rays, and the results were used to calculate the mass scattering coefficients of hydrogen, carbon, nitrogen and oxygen for each of these groups from a comparison with the mass absorption coefficients of copper, which could be determined directly. The results for hydrogen are given in the following table, where  $\lambda$  denotes the mean wavelength of a group of rays in Ångström units ( $10^{-8}$  cm.),  $\sigma$  the mass scattering coefficient, reckoned per gram, for hydrogen and for each wavelength,  $\sigma_0$  the theoretical value of  $\sigma$  for infinite wavelength according to J. J. Thomson's simple theory, viz. 0.400 very nearly, and p.e. the probable error of each result—kindly supplied to the writer by Dr. Aurén himself in a separate communication. It should be stated that the values of  $\sigma$  were recalculated by the writer by means of Aurén's equation (5), without the use of a certain empirical relation employed by Aurén himself to simplify the calculation; this relation does not agree with the first measurement, and it seems desirable to work with the measurements themselves:

$\lambda$	·359	·302	·264	·237	·215	·194
$\sigma$	·414	·380	·363	·354	·341	·341
$\sigma/\sigma_0$	1.035	·950	·908	·885	·853	·853
p.e.	·027	·037	·053	·037	·058	·027

The first value of  $\sigma/\sigma_0$  exceeds J. J. Thomson's value by an amount somewhat greater than the p.e. of this series of observations, but not by an impossible amount, and the second value falls short by a not impossible amount. But the remaining values are much too small, and above all show a continued diminution, which is inexplicable on J. J. Thomson's theory, since it requires the scattering coefficient to be independent of the wavelength.

Aurén obtains a similar diminution of the mass absorption coefficients of carbon, nitrogen and oxygen with a decrease of wavelength, and finds that these coefficients are very nearly six, seven and eight times the mass scattering coefficient of hydrogen respectively, especially at the smaller wavelengths, results which indicate that for these elements true absorption is almost negligible. These results, however, are not so important as those given above for hydrogen, at any rate for our purpose, and need not be considered further.

Turning now to Compton's measurements we notice that they are very few in number, but extremely definite as regards the magnitude of the scattering. On p. 113 of his latest paper, already referred to, he states that for hard  $\gamma$ -rays from radium C of approximate wavelength  $3 \cdot 10^{-10}$  cm. the intensity of the energy scattered in a direction making an angle of  $120^\circ$  with the direction of the incident beam of  $\gamma$ -rays is less than one-thousandth of that given by J. J. Thomson's theory, whilst for wavelength  $1 \cdot 3 \cdot 10^{-10}$  cm. and in the direction  $45^\circ$  it is only about 3 per cent. of that given by that theory. He finds also that the perfectly flexible spherical electron of radius  $5 \cdot 10^{-10}$  cm. accounts for all his results, as well as for those of Hull and Rice on the total scattering coefficient of hard X-rays of wavelength  $1 \cdot 5 \cdot 10^{-9}$  cm. but that the perfectly flexible ring-electron, whose circular axis has a radius  $2 \cdot 6 \cdot 10^{-10}$  cm., although it accounts for the scattering of moderately hard X-rays, gives the intensity of scattering from five to ten times too large for the hard  $\gamma$ -rays.

We must now turn to recent theoretical investigations of the scattering of X- and  $\gamma$ -rays; there are four of these, all obviously made independently and confirming one another. Debye<sup>1</sup> determined what fraction of the energy of the incident beam of X-rays is scattered in a direction making an angle  $\theta$  with the incident beam by an irregularly orientated assemblage of atoms, all containing similar and similarly placed groups of electron, and Houston<sup>2</sup> solved the same problem independently. Both writers treat the electrons as being at rest initially, though Debye states explicitly that this assumption can only be made without error if the speeds of the electrons be so small that their displacements during one vibration are small in comparison with the

<sup>1</sup> Debye, *Ann. d. Phys.*, F. 4, B. 46, p. 809, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Houston, *Proc. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, Vol. XL, Pt. 1, p. 43, 1920.



wavelength. The writer<sup>1</sup> solved the same problem for circular rings of equidistant electrons in uniform motion about their common axis, taking into account the effect of the velocity on the *phase* of the scattered radiation,<sup>2</sup> but neglecting its effect on the *intensity*. In addition he obtained expressions for the asymmetry between the forward and backward radiation, and for the total scattering coefficient, the last in a form applicable to results such as Aurén's, and extended the investigation to the case of the perfectly flexible ring-electron, treated as the limit of a ring with an infinite number of infinitely small discrete electrons. Compton<sup>3</sup> investigated the scattering due to an electron at rest, whose linear dimensions are of the same order of magnitude as the wavelength of the incident radiation.

The first three of these investigations agree perfectly as regards the distribution of the scattered radiation in various directions, but only the third gives the total scattering needed for comparison with Aurén's and similar measurements, so that we need not consider Debye's and Houston's results any further. The writer's investigation shows that the total scattering of a ring of  $n$  electrons is given correctly by J. J. Thomson's value for very small wavelengths, but is much greater for large wavelengths, tending to a limit  $n$  times as great, if resonance be neglected. For Bohr's H atom  $n = 1$ , and the total scattering is independent of the wavelength and equal to J. J. Thomson's value 0.400 per gram. This constitutes a minimum for each electron of a ring of discrete electrons. Clearly it is incompatible with Aurén's results for hydrogen.

The theory worked out in all these investigations is based on

<sup>1</sup> Schott, *Proc. Roy. Soc., A*, Vol. XCVI, p. 395, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> It may be mentioned parenthetically that Compton's criticism of the writer's formula (32), *l.c.*, p. 409, for the scattering due to atoms containing coaxial rings of electrons, revolving with different angular velocities, is irrelevant because he overlooks this fundamental point. Waves of the same frequency after being scattered by these rings no longer have a constant phase relation between them and consequently only interfere so far as the fundamental emitted wave is concerned. But for X-rays, such as those used in practice, the intensity of the fundamental is no greater than that of a number of the nearest harmonics, so that the total interference is slight. For longer rays resonance becomes appreciable, and the formulæ for pure scattering must not be applied. The formula given by Compton for infinitely long waves thus involves an extrapolation of very doubtful validity.

<sup>3</sup> Compton, *l.c.*; also *Phys. Rev.*, Vol. XIV, p. 20, 1919.



three assumptions, which might conceivably be modified: (1) The intra-atomic forces controlling the electrons are assumed to be negligible in comparison with the effective forces due to the disturbance; (2) the velocities of the electrons are supposed small compared with that of light; (3) the incident X-rays are assumed to be undamped waves. We may consider these assumptions briefly as applied to Bohr's H atom.

(1) The controlling force of the nucleus is  $e^2/a^3$  times the disturbance, or of that order, the effective force of the electron is  $4\pi^2c^2m/\lambda^2$  times the disturbance, and their ratio is of the order  $e^2\lambda^2/4\pi^2c^2ma^3$ . The value of the universal constant  $e^2/4\pi^2c^2m$  is  $2\cdot2\cdot10^{-14}$  cm., for Bohr's H atom  $a = \cdot5\cdot10^{-8}$  cm., and for Aurén's rays  $\lambda = \cdot36\cdot10^{-8}$ . Thus the ratio is less than  $2\cdot3\cdot10^{-6}$ .

(2) Further investigation shows that the total scattering is altered by a fraction of the order  $\beta^2$ , probably increased. For Bohr's H atom  $\beta = \cdot0073$ , so that the possible change is only a fraction of the order  $5\cdot10^{-5}$ .

(3) Damped radiation is scattered *more* than undamped radiation by Bohr's H atom for all wavelengths below  $4\cdot3\cdot10^{-8}$  cm.

Thus, none of these causes can possibly explain the smallness of Aurén's results for hydrogen.

Both Compton's and the writer's investigations on the scattering of the ring-electron show that the total scattering per gram is below J. J. Thomson's value 0.400 for hydrogen, and can account for Aurén's results when the radius of the circular axis is taken to be about  $1\cdot5\cdot10^{-10}$  cm., the radius of the circular section being very small in comparison, if the electromagnetic mass is to agree with the observed mass. If the former radius be  $a$ , the latter  $b$ , and the charge  $e$ , then the electric force at the surface of the electron is known to be of the order  $e/\pi ab$ . For oscillatory disturbances of the core Pocklington<sup>1</sup> finds that the controlling electric force is of the order  $e/\pi ab^2$  times the displacement. Hence for an element of charge  $\delta e$  and mass  $\delta m$  at the surface the ratio controlling force: effective force is of the order  $e\delta e\lambda^2/4\pi^3c^2ab^2\delta m$ . If with Compton we assume that  $\delta e/\delta m$  is of the order  $e/m$ , we obtain  $e^2\lambda^2/4\pi^3c^2mab^2$ , which is greater than the value found for Bohr's H atom in the ratio  $a^2:\pi b^2$ . For a fine ring-electron this ratio may be very great, but even if  $a$  be only one-thousand times  $b$ , the controlling force will be com-

<sup>1</sup> Pocklington, *Phil. Trans.*, A, Vol. CLXXXVI, p. 603, 1895.

parable with the effective force, and the ring-electron cannot be treated as perfectly flexible. A very fine ring-electron will behave like a rigid ring towards some types of vibration at least, so that Compton's rejection of the ring-electron cannot be justified in the absence of a satisfactory theory.

G. A. SCHOTT.

### 3. THE ADDITION OF HYDROGEN TO ACETYLENIC ACIDS<sup>1</sup>

REDUCTION of phenylpropionic acid and tetrolic acid with the usual reducing agents employed in organic chemistry yields ordinary cinnamic acid and crotonic acid respectively. That is to say, trans addition of hydrogen seems to take place, yielding the more stable of the two possible isomeric ethylenic acids. This is to be expected for the comparatively violent reactions involved in ordinary reductions would tend to produce the more stable isomer. Direct addition of molecular hydrogen under conditions which do not tend to convert any of the less stable isomer formed into the more stable form might possibly give a different result and Paal and Hartmann (*Ber.* 1909, **42**, 3930) showed this to be the case with phenylpropionic acid. By direct addition of molecular hydrogen, using colloidal palladium as catalyst, they obtained a full yield of allocinnamic acid, showing that the addition of molecular hydrogen to phenylpropionic acid is a cis addition.

It was of interest, therefore, to investigate the addition of molecular hydrogen to other acetylenic acids. In this paper the addition to tetrolic acid and to acetylenedicarboxylic acid has been investigated. It was hoped that the results obtained would throw further light on the problem of the mechanism of addition to unsaturated compounds.

#### EXPERIMENTAL WORK

The colloidal palladium used in these experiments was prepared by the method described by Paal and Amberger (*Ber.* 1904, **37**, 134). A solution of palladium chloride is added slowly to a solution of sodium protalbate which contains a slight excess of sodium hydroxide. The reddish-brown solution is then reduced by

<sup>1</sup> This paper was one of a group, entitled 'Studies in the Stereo-Chemistry of the Unsaturated Organic Acids,' presented by the late Mr. D. E. Williams for the M.Sc. degree of the University of Wales in 1921.

adding hydrazine hydrate solution drop by drop. Excess of hydrazine hydrate, sodium hydroxide and salt are removed by dialysis. In this way the colloidal palladium is obtained in the 'protected' state. Paal and Amberger obtained the solid protected palladium colloid by evaporation *in vacuo*, but this was not done for these experiments, the solution obtained after dialysis being used directly. 0.85 grams of palladium chloride were used in the preparation, and the solution after dialysis was made up to 100 c.cs. Known volumes of this solution were used in the different experiments, so that the quantity of palladium used was known. This solution did not deteriorate during the period over which the experiments extended, and gave very satisfactory results.

The apparatus used in the hydrogenation consisted of a 500 c.c. gas burette joined by pressure tubing to a bottle which contained the solution. The bottle was placed in a mechanical shaker driven by a hot-air engine. The hydrogen used was that supplied in cylinders by the British Oxygen Co., which is pure and gave far more satisfactory results than hydrogen prepared in the laboratory in the ordinary way. The burette was filled with hydrogen from the cylinder and by adjusting the levels of the water in the burette and its side tube the pressure could be kept constant throughout the experiment. The whole apparatus was thoroughly tested before beginning the experiment and was found to be perfectly airtight. By means of a side tube the bottle and the pressure tubing could be evacuated with a hand pump. The bottle was then filled with hydrogen and evacuated twice in order to remove all air. It was finally filled with hydrogen, the levels adjusted, the initial volume of hydrogen in the burette noted and the shaker put into motion. The diminution in volume of the hydrogen in the burette corresponded to the volume of hydrogen absorbed. When the necessary volume had been absorbed the experiment was stopped. The apparatus worked very satisfactorily, and by keeping the levels of the water in the burette and side tube constant and noting the volume of hydrogen absorbed from time to time an idea of the rate of hydrogenation could be obtained.

#### ADDITION OF HYDROGEN TO TETROLIC ACID

The tetrollic acid used was prepared by the action of phosphorus pentachloride on aceto-acetic ester, and subsequent treatment of



the product (a mixture of the  $\beta$  chlorocrotonic acids) with potassium hydroxide solution (Fittig and Clutterbuck, A, 1892, 268, 96). On re-crystallisation from high boiling petroleum ether it was obtained as colourless crystals melting at 75–76° C.

2.64 grams of tetrolic acid were dissolved in an equivalent quantity of sodium carbonate solution, the volume of the solution being 25 c.cs.; 15 c.cs. of the colloidal palladium solution were added (this contained 0.08 grams palladium). The quantity of tetrolic acid used needed 705 c.cs. of hydrogen at N.T.P., or 756 c.cs. at 18° C. and 770 mm. pressure, the conditions of the experiment.

Time in Minutes.	Volume of hydrogen absorbed					
	in c.cs.					
10	.	.	.	.	.	38
25	.	.	.	.	.	77
40	.	.	.	.	.	115
60	.	.	.	.	.	185
75	.	.	.	.	.	252
90	.	.	.	.	.	325
105	.	.	.	.	.	380

At this point the burette had to be refilled with hydrogen, and it was found that the hydrogen cylinder was exhausted. A hydrogen generating apparatus had to be fitted up and the burette recharged from this. The effect of using impure hydrogen was startling, the rate of absorption of hydrogen falling to about one-third of the previous rate due to poisoning of the catalyst. The remaining 376 c.cs. of hydrogen which were necessary for complete hydrogenation took 350 minutes for absorption.

After the addition of the hydrogen was complete the solution was acidified and the precipitated palladium filtered off. The solution was then extracted several times with ether and the ethereal solution carefully dried over calcium chloride. The ether was evaporated off by drawing a current of dry air through the solution. In this way the ether was got rid of quickly and the risk of moisture getting at the solution minimised. The residue, after complete evaporation of the ether, was an oil which did not solidify on immersing in a freezing mixture at –5° C. It was possibly a mixture of crotonic and allocrotonic acids. The total yield was 1.80 grams.

## SEPARATION OF THE CROTONIC AND ALLOCROTONIC ACIDS

Michael and Schulthess (*J. Pr. Chem.* 1892, **46**, 236) describe a method for the separation of the two crotonic acids which depends on the difference of solubility of their sodium salts in absolute alcohol. On addition of the theoretical amount of alcoholic sodium hydroxide solution to the solution of the crotonic acids in absolute alcohol, sodium crotonate is precipitated and sodium allocrotonate remains in solution. Wislicenus (*C.*, 1897, II, 259) adopted a similar method with slight modifications as Michael's original method did not give a complete separation. Morrell and Bellars (*Trans.* 1904, **85**, 345) describe a method of separation based on the difference of solubility of the quinine salts in water, the quinine salt of allocrotonic acid being less soluble than that of ordinary crotonic acid. The quinine salt of ordinary crotonic acid melts at 134–136° C., whilst that of pure allocrotonic acid melts at 156° C. (Morrell and Bellars, *ibid.*).

The 1.8 grams of oil were dissolved in 30 c.cs. absolute alcohol and then neutralised with a 10 per cent. solution of sodium hydroxide in absolute alcohol. A precipitate of sodium crotonate was formed which was filtered off. The weight of this when dry was 0.52 grams. The alcoholic solution was then evaporated down to half the original bulk. More solid separated out which was filtered off and washed with small quantities of absolute alcohol. The weight of this when dry was 0.2 grams. The total weight of precipitated sodium salt was therefore 0.72 grams. According to Michael this should consist of the sodium salt of ordinary crotonic acid. This was now treated as follows:

It was dissolved in water, treated with dilute hydrochloric acid and extracted a considerable number of times with ether. After the ethereal solution had been dried over calcium chloride the ether was evaporated off by the method previously described. An oil was obtained which did not solidify at a temperature of –5° C. It could not therefore be pure crotonic acid (M.P. 72° C.), but was probably a mixture of the two isomers. An attempt was made to separate the two acids by freezing out the ordinary crotonic acid. The oil was immersed in carbon dioxide 'snow' and at this temperature it readily solidified. On allowing the

temperature to rise gradually partial melting took place, and oil being again found together with a very small quantity of crystals. The oil was carefully separated from the crystals. This was repeated a second time, and in this way a small quantity of crystals were obtained which remained solid at the temperature of the room. The weight of the crystals was 0.10 gram, and the melting point was found to be 70–72° C. Hence these crystals were ordinary crotonic acid. After the ordinary crotonic acid had been separated off as completely as possible in this way the quinine salt of the oil was prepared. This melted at 156° C. sharp. No more soluble fraction with a lower melting point was obtained. This oil therefore was pure allocrotonic acid. Thus the 0.72 grams of the precipitated sodium salt gave 0.10 gram of ordinary crotonic acid, the remainder being allocrotonic acid.

The alcoholic solution after filtering off the precipitated sodium salts was evaporated down to dryness, and the acid liberated from the solid residue in the manner described for the precipitated sodium salts. An oil was obtained which solidified on immersion in a freezing mixture. The solid thus obtained melted about 5–9° C. The quinine salt of this was prepared as before and was found to melt at 154–156° C. No fraction with a lower melting point was obtained. Thus the oil obtained from the sodium salt soluble in alcohol was fairly pure allocrotonic acid. The 1.8 grams of oil originally obtained from the experiment, therefore, consisted of 0.10 gram of ordinary crotonic acid, the remainder being allocrotonic acid.

Addition of molecular hydrogen to 2.64 grams of tetrolic acid gave 0.10 gram ordinary crotonic acid, or about 4 per cent. of theory, and 1.70 grams of allocrotonic acid, or 63 per cent. theoretical yield.

#### ADDITION OF HYDROGEN TO ACETYLENEDICARBOXYLIC ACID

For the preparation of the acetylenedicarboxylic acid the method described by Lossen (A., 1892, 272, 127) was first adopted, dibromosuccinic acid being boiled with four equivalents of N potassium hydroxide solution for twenty minutes. The acetylenedicarboxylic acid obtained in this way was, however, very impure and considerable difficulty was experienced in purifying it. Another method was adopted, namely, boiling

bromofumaric acid with three equivalents of N potassium hydroxide solution for about twelve minutes. The product obtained was fairly pure and on re-crystallisation from a mixture of chloroform and petroleum ether melted at 177–178° C.

A preliminary hydrogenation experiment was carried out with 1 gram of acetylenedicarboxylic acid. Owing to the breakdown of the engine driving the shaker when about three-fifths of the theoretical quantity of hydrogen had been added the experiment could not be completed. An examination of the product, however, indicated the presence of succinic acid. Although no definite conclusions could be drawn from this experiment, the presence of succinic acid after only three-fifths of the hydrogen necessary for converting the acetylenedicarboxylic into either maleic or fumaric acid showed that the addition of hydrogen in this case is a more complicated reaction than the addition to tetrolic and phenylpropionic acids. The formation of succinic acid might be due either to the partial decomposition of the sodium acetylenedicarboxylate during the experiment or to the fact that the addition of hydrogen to either maleic or fumaric acid took place more readily than to acetylenedicarboxylic acid.

SECOND EXPERIMENT.—With a view of investigating the cause of the formation of succinic acid in the first experiment considerably less than the theoretical quantity of hydrogen was added in this case. In this way it was hoped to avoid the addition of excess of hydrogen in view of the possibility of partial decomposition of the acetylenedicarboxylic acid taking place.

One gram of acetylenedicarboxylic acid was taken, dissolved in 10 c.cs. of water and 2 N potassium hydroxide solution was run in until the solution just turned alkaline to phenolphthalein. This occurred when a little more than one equivalent of alkali had been added and is probably due to the fact that the potassium salt of acetylenedicarboxylic acid is hydrolysed and gives an alkaline reaction. Ten c.cs. of the colloidal palladium solution were added (equivalent to 0.053 grams of palladium). One gram of acetylenedicarboxylic acid needed theoretically 207 c.cs. of hydrogen at 773 mm. pressure and 13° C. (the conditions of the experiment) to convert it to the ethylenic derivative. In the experiment, however, only 140 c.cs. of hydrogen were added.



Time in Minutes.	Volume of hydrogen absorbed in c.cs.
15 . . . . .	39
30 . . . . .	75
40 . . . . .	94
55 . . . . .	114
65 . . . . .	125
75 . . . . .	132
87 . . . . .	140

It will be noticed that after about 94 c.cs. of hydrogen have been added the rate of addition falls considerably.

After the 140 c.cs. of hydrogen had been added the solution was acidified to precipitate the colloidal palladium. After filtering off the palladium the solution was again neutralised with potassium hydroxide solution so as to avoid the possibility of transforming any maleic acid which might be formed into fumaric acid in the process of evaporating down. The solution was then reduced to a comparatively small bulk and re-acidified with dilute hydrochloric acid. It was extracted several times with ether, the ethereal solution dried over calcium chloride and the ether allowed to evaporate off. After a time a quantity of crystals separated out. These were collected and melted at 165–182° and were probably impure succinic acid. They were treated twice with a small quantity of ether to remove any acetylenedicarboxylic acid. The residue after this treatment melted at 182–183° C. It was checked by taking a 'mixed melt' with some pure succinic acid. Equal portions of the residue and succinic acid mixed together gave a melting point of 181.5–183° C. The crystals which separated out of the ether solution were therefore succinic acid.

The ethereal solution after the succinic acid had been removed was allowed to evaporate to dryness. The solid residue obtained melted at 175–178° C., and was probably unchanged acetylenedicarboxylic acid. This was confirmed by taking a 'mixed melt' as before, with some of the original acetylenedicarboxylic acid. The melting point of the mixture was 175–178° C. Hence the residue obtained from the ethereal solution was unchanged acetylenedicarboxylic acid. There was no indication of any fumaric or maleic acid.

The product of hydrogenation was thus succinic acid—although less than the quantity of hydrogen necessary to convert

the acetylenic acid to the ethylenic acid had been added—and some of the original acetylenedicarboxylic acid was left unchanged. This result can only be explained by the addition of hydrogen taking place more readily to either fumaric or maleic acid than to acetylenedicarboxylic acid, any ethylenic acid formed being further reduced to the saturated acid.

THIRD EXPERIMENT.—This experiment was carried out in the same manner as the previous one, but the addition of hydrogen was stopped as soon as there was any indication of a change in the rate of addition of hydrogen. One gram of acetylenedicarboxylic acid was dissolved in 10 c.cs. of water and 2 N potassium hydroxide solution added until the solution was just faintly alkaline. Ten c.cs. of the colloidal palladium solution were added.

Time in Minutes.	C.cs. of hydrogen absorbed.
15 . . . . .	27
25 . . . . .	50
35 . . . . .	80
45 . . . . .	96
55 . . . . .	108

The addition was stopped at this point as the figures showed that the rate of absorption of hydrogen was rapidly decreasing.

The solution was treated as described in the previous experiment for the first part. The concentrated solution, after it had been re-acidified, was extracted twice with ether. The residue from the ethereal solution after evaporation gave no definite melting point; a portion seemed to melt between 165–175° C., but the remainder remained solid at a temperature over 220° C. It was then treated three times with small quantities of ether. The residue had no definite melting point, but partial decomposition seemed to set in between about 235–260° C. This agrees with the behaviour of fumaric acid. The other acids which might possibly be present all have definite melting points—maleic acid, 130° C., acetylenedicarboxylic acid, 178° C., and succinic acid, 185° C.—so that the residue obtained above was undoubtedly fumaric acid. The residue from the ethereal extract obtained above was further fractionally treated with small quantities of ether. In this way a more soluble portion was obtained which melted at 175–178° C., agreeing with acetylenedicarboxylic acid. A very small quantity of a less soluble fraction was obtained which showed signs of decomposition above 230° C. This was probably a little fumaric acid which had been dis-

solved by the ether together with the acetylenedicarboxylic acid.

The original solution after having been extracted twice with ether was then further extracted eight times with ether. On allowing the dried ethereal solution to evaporate to dryness a very small quantity of residue was obtained which melted at  $182-184^{\circ}\text{C}$ . and was probably succinic acid. This was confirmed by a 'mixed melt.'

The experiment thus resulted in a mixture of fumaric acid, succinic acid and some unchanged acetylenedicarboxylic acid. Owing to the difficulty of separating these acids quantitatively, especially when dealing with small quantities, the actual amounts of fumaric and succinic acids formed could not be obtained with any degree of accuracy. It seems, therefore, that during hydrogenation fumaric acid is first formed. But it seems probable that when the concentration of acetylenedicarboxylic acid has decreased and that of fumaric acid increased to a certain point the rate of addition of hydrogen to fumaric acid becomes comparable with that of hydrogen to acetylenedicarboxylic acid, thus accounting for the formation of succinic acid.

This experiment, however, shows that the addition of one molecule of hydrogen to acetylenedicarboxylic acid results in the formation of fumaric and not maleic acid.

FOURTH EXPERIMENT.—In this experiment the acetylenedicarboxylic acid was dissolved in exactly two equivalents of alkali and the full theoretical quantity of hydrogen added.

1.56 grams of the acid were taken and dissolved in 10 c.cs. of water. Two equivalents of 2 N potassium hydroxide solution were added, the resulting solution being strongly alkaline ; 15 c.cs. of the colloidal palladium solution were added. The quantity of hydrogen necessary for 1.56 grams of acetylenedicarboxylic acid is 329 c.cs. at 764 mm. pressure and  $14^{\circ}\text{C}$ . (the conditions of the experiment).

Time in Minutes.	C.cs. of hydrogen absorbed.
15 . . . . .	53
25 . . . . .	136
30 . . . . .	186
35 . . . . .	229
40 . . . . .	261
45 . . . . .	288
50 . . . . .	297
55 . . . . .	319
58 . . . . .	329

The above figures show that addition takes place much more readily when the full two equivalents of alkali have been added than to a solution of the potassium hydrogen salt.

The solution was treated as before as far as evaporating it down to a small bulk. On acidifying a small quantity of precipitate was thrown down. This precipitate gave no definite melting point, but showed signs of decomposition above  $240^{\circ}\text{C}$ . and was probably fumaric acid. (The solubility of fumaric acid in water is very low.) The solution was then extracted twice with ether, the ethereal solution dried and the ether allowed to evaporate off. The residue gave no melting point, but showed signs of decomposition between  $250\text{--}270^{\circ}\text{C}$ ., and was, therefore, fumaric acid. It was treated with a small quantity of ether. A very small quantity of residue was obtained from this ethereal extraction which on testing was found to be fumaric acid. Hence the product on extracting the original solution twice with ether was fumaric acid, no acetylene dicarboxylic acid being found. The total quantity of fumaric acid obtained was about 0.24 grams.

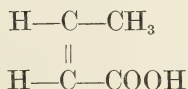
The original solution was further extracted ten times with ether. The residue obtained after allowing the ether to evaporate off was treated with a small quantity of ether. From this ethereal extract a minute quantity of residue was obtained which was found to be fumaric acid on testing. The residue, after treatment with ether and removing the trace of fumaric acid, melted at  $184\text{--}185^{\circ}\text{C}$ ., and was, therefore, succinic acid. This was confirmed by a 'mixed melt.' The weight of succinic acid was about 0.4 gram.

The addition of one molecule of hydrogen to a solution of acetylenedicarboxylic acid to which two equivalents of alkali had been added thus resulted in a mixture of fumaric and succinic acids, no unchanged acetylenedicarboxylic acid being found. The total weight of the products, 0.64 grams, from 1.56 grams of acetylenedicarboxylic acid shows that some of the acetylenedicarboxylic acid must have been decomposed. This would explain why a mixture of only fumaric and succinic acids was obtained although only one molecule of hydrogen had been added. Addition of hydrogen to acetylenedicarboxylic acid seems to take place more readily in this case than to a solution of the potassium hydrogen salt.



## CONCLUSION

Addition of molecular hydrogen to tetrolic acid gives chiefly allocrotonic acid with only a small proportion of ordinary crotonic acid. It has been definitely established that allocrotonic acid is the *cis* isomer, *i.e.* :



Therefore the addition of hydrogen to tetrolic acid is mainly a *cis* addition process.

With acetylenedicarboxylic acid, however, the product is fumaric acid, no trace of maleic acid having been obtained in any of the experiments. Addition of hydrogen to acetylenedicarboxylic acid is thus a *trans* addition process. It is interesting to note that this result agrees with a suggestion put forward by Michael (*J.A.C.S.*, 1918, **40**, 713). He considers the production of allocinnamic acid from phenylpropionic acid to be due to the low energy content in the system so that the reaction proceeds by *cis* addition. He suggests, however, that the addition of molecular hydrogen to acetylenedicarboxylic acid would probably result in the formation of fumaric acid owing to its greater free energy content.

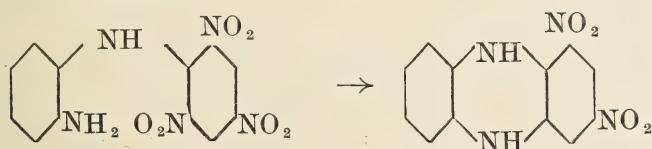
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#### 4. THE ACTION OF REDUCING AGENTS ON SOME POLYNITRODIPHENYLAMINES

Mono- and di-nitrodiphenylamines yield corresponding amino-derivatives on treatment with reducing agents, but in the case of the higher nitro-derivatives, condensation products of complex constitution are frequently produced. In the present work an attempt has been made to carry out the reduction of picryl-aniline (2.4.6-trinitro-diphenylamine) and several of its derivatives, in gradual stages.

The prolonged action of alcoholic ammonium sulphide on picryl-aniline has been found to yield 1.3-dinitro-9.10-dihydro-phenazine, a substance which has previously been obtained by Kehrmann and Havas (*Ber.*, 1913, **46**, 347) by the nitration of phenazine and subsequent reduction of the dinitrophenazine with alcoholic ammonium sulphide. This product has also been obtained synthetically (Leeman and Grandmougin, *Ber.*, 1908, **41**, 1309; Kehrmann and Messinger, *ibid.*, 1893, **26**, 2373) from 2.4.6-trinitro-2<sup>1</sup>-amino-diphenylamine, by the elimination of nitrous acid, thus :



By treatment of picrylaniline with alcoholic ammonium sulphide for a limited period an intermediate product, 2.4-dinitro-6-amino-diphenylamine, has been obtained.

In a similar manner the reduction of picryl-p-toluidine with alcoholic ammonium sulphide has been shown to yield the corresponding phenazine derivative, the constitution of which has been confirmed by synthesis from picryl-tolylene-diamine. Picryl-m-toluidine also yields a phenazine derivative of similar type.

Experiments have also been conducted with other picrylamines and with dipicrylamines, but the products obtained are in general dark insoluble powders, the composition of which have not yet been elucidated. The action of other reducing agents such as sodium sulphide, stannous chloride and sodium sulphite has also been investigated, but the experiments have not yielded any recognisable derivatives.

## EXPERIMENTAL.

### 1. THE REDUCTION OF PICRYLANILINE

#### (a) *With alcoholic ammonium sulphide*

Five grams of picrylaniline were dissolved in a mixture of 20 c.c. of ammonium hydroxide (·880) and 40 c.c. of alcohol and the deep red solution warmed while a current of sulphuretted hydrogen was passed through. The supply of ammonia and of alcohol was replenished when necessary during the reaction. After several hours a dark yellow precipitate was formed and this, after continuing the current of gas for a further half-hour, was filtered off and dried. On recrystallising from nitrobenzene it was obtained as yellow needles and from ethyl benzoate as yellow plates. The crystals did not melt below 340° but decomposed at a higher temperature. The yield was 3 grams.

0·1018 gave 18·0 c.c. moist nitrogen at 20° and 761 mm. ;  $N = 20·49$

$C_{12}H_8O_4N_4$  requires  $N = 20·59$  per cent.

1.3-Dinitro-9.10-dihydrophenazine dissolves readily in hot nitrobenzene and is sparingly soluble in bromobenzene and ethyl benzoate, but is very sparingly soluble in alcohol, acetone, chloroform and most other organic solvents, and also in alkali.

On warming with acetic anhydride and sodium acetate for some time it yielded a di-acetyl derivative which crystallised from acetic acid or acetone as light yellow prisms with melting point above 320°.

0·1120 gave 14·80 c.c. moist nitrogen at 18° and 766 mm. ;  $N = 15·58$

$C_{16}H_{12}O_6N_4$  requires  $N = 15·70$  per cent.

The di-benzoyl derivative was obtained similarly and crystallised from acetone as pale yellow plates, melting with decomposition at 230°.

0·1011 gave 10·00 c.c. moist nitrogen at 20° and 765 mm. ;  $N = 11·55$

$C_{26}H_{16}O_6N_4$  requires  $N = 11·67$  per cent.



The above experiment was repeated using the same quantities of material, but in this case the reduction was stopped before the appearance of a precipitate. On the addition of water a yellow substance separated which on crystallisation from alcohol was obtained as yellow leaflets, melting at  $176^{\circ}$ . By analysis it was shown to be 2,4-dinitro-6-aminodiphenylamine.

0.1020 gave 17.85 c.c. moist nitrogen at  $19^{\circ}$  and 766 mm. ;  $N = 20.53$   
 $C_{12}H_9O_4N_4$  requires  $N = 20.44$  per cent.

The substance is only slightly soluble in petroleum ether, but dissolves readily in most other organic solvents.

(b) *With stannous chloride*

By means of this reagent Kehrman and Punti (*Ber.*, 1911, 44, 2618) have been able to reduce picryl- $\alpha$ -naphthylamine and picryl- $\beta$ -naphthylamine to the corresponding diamino-naphthophenazines. Picrylaniline under similar treatment yields a black powder which is insoluble in organic solvents, but dissolves in concentrated sulphuric acid to a violet coloured solution.

Reduction with sodium sulphide yields a product of complex nature, while the action of sodium sulphite effects reduction and sulphonation and probably condensation as well.

## 2. THE REDUCTION OF PICRYL-p-TOLUIDINE

The reduction of this substance with alcoholic ammonium sulphide was carried out in the manner previously described. A bulky yellow precipitate was obtained which was crystallised from ethyl benzoate and obtained as bright yellow needles, which did not melt below  $340^{\circ}$ .

0.1013 gave 17.0 c.c. moist nitrogen at  $18^{\circ}$  and 766 mm. ;  $N = 19.76$   
 $C_{13}H_{10}O_4N_4$  requires  $N = 19.58$  per cent.

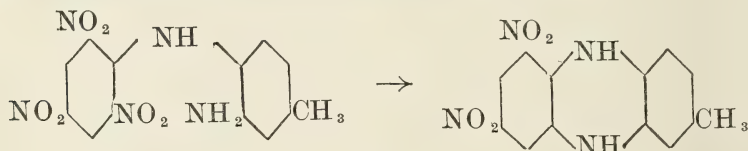
This indicated that the substance was probably 1,3-dinitro-6-methyl-9,10-dihydrophenazine and this expectation was confirmed by the following synthesis.

Picryl-tolylene diamine was prepared by the general method previously described by one of us (*Trans.* 1920, 117, 1273), by condensing trinitrophenylmethylnitramine (tetryl) with 3,4-diaminotoluene in alcoholic solution. The product on crystallising from acetone consisted of bright yellow plates, which possessed no definite melting point, but exploded on heating to about  $330^{\circ}$ .

0.1065 gave 19.00 c.c. moist nitrogen at  $17^{\circ}$  and 769 mm. ;  $N = 21.14$   
 $C_{13}H_{11}O_6N_5$  requires  $N = 21.02$  per cent.

Picryl-tolylene diamine,  $C_6H_2(NO_2)_3.NH.C_6H_3(NH_2)(CH_3)$ , obtained as above, is slightly soluble in alcohol and ether and readily soluble in acetic acid and acetone. By careful heating it gives off nitrous fumes and undergoes condensation to a phenazine derivative.

One gram of the substance was heated gradually until decomposition commenced and the temperature thereafter kept constant until no further evolution of nitrous fumes was observed. The product was washed with hot acetone and the residue crystallised from nitrobenzene. The product consisted of bright yellow needles, identical with the reduction product described above. The condensation may be represented as follows :



### 3. THE REDUCTION OF PICRYL-m-TOLUIDINE

This substance, treated with alcoholic ammonium sulphide in the manner previously described, produced a yellow powder which is very sparingly soluble in alcohol, acetic acid and acetone, but which separates from nitrobenzene or tetrachlorethane as a fine powder. It possesses no definite melting point, but decomposes on heating to high temperatures. Analysis indicates that it is a phenazine derivative of the same type as those previously described, but whether it is 1.3-dinitro-9.10-dihydro-5-methylphenazine or 1.3-dinitro-9.10-dihydro-7-methylphenazine has not yet been determined.

The action of the same reducing agent on picryl-p-phenylene diamine and on dipicrylamine has been found to yield dark coloured products which have not yet been characterised.

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## 5. SOME REACTIONS OF TETRANITROANILINE

THE work of Sudborough and his collaborators, carried out in these laboratories, as well as that of other chemists, has shown that polynitro-compounds in general form a very varied series of additive compounds with many types of organic substances, and particularly with hydrocarbons, phenols and amines. Trinitrobenzene, for example, forms highly coloured additive compounds (Sudborough and Picton, *Trans.* 1906, **89**, 583; Sudborough and Beard, *ibid.*, 1910, **97**, 773; 1911, **99**, 209), which, as a rule, undergo decomposition into their components on recrystallisation from dilute solutions. In a previous paper (James, Jones and Lewis, *Trans.*, 1920, **117**, 1273) it has been shown that trinitrophenylmethylnitramine (tetryl) forms compounds of similar type, particularly with primary amines, which products undergo condensation on warming in solution to form diphenylamine derivatives. In the present paper a brief preliminary account is given of similar work carried out with tetranitroaniline.

Tetranitroaniline was prepared by Flurschein and Simon (*Proc. Chem. Soc.*, 1910, 81), who describe it as yellow crystals, melting at 212°. These authors state that the meta-nitro-group is instantaneously removed by aqueous sodium acetate and other reagents in aqueous acetone solution, at ordinary temperatures, the product being trinitroaminophenol. Aqueous ammonia acts on the substance producing trinitrometaphenylenediamine.

Further work on the substance has been carried out by Van Duin and Van Lennep (*Rec. d. Trav. Chim. d. Pays-Bas*, 1920, **39**, 146), who have confirmed the above-mentioned results and also show that the meta-nitro-group is replaced by alkoxyl on treatment with methyl and ethyl alcohols.

In the present paper the capacity of tetranitroaniline to form additive compounds has been investigated. The method employed was to mix equivalent quantities of the nitro-compound and the second substance in benzene or dry acetone solution, and allow to crystallise by slow evaporation.

With benzene, naphthalene, and other hydrocarbons, there was no change of colour on mixing the solutions and no additive compound was obtained in any case. On evaporation the tetranitroaniline was recovered unchanged.

With phenols a slight change of colour was generally observed. Thus, with p-cresol a red solution was obtained, but on evaporation the nitro-compound was recovered unchanged. With  $\beta$ -naphthol only was a definite additive product formed. In this case a deep ruby red solution was obtained which in time deposited deep red crystals of an additive compound, which was again decomposed on recrystallisation.

With primary amines there is an initial deepening of colour of the solution, but condensation occurs very rapidly to form a diphenylamine derivative. In no case has a crystalline additive product been isolated.

#### EXPERIMENTAL.



Tetranitroaniline- $\beta$ -naphthol. Equivalent amounts of tetranitroaniline and  $\beta$ -naphthol were dissolved in the minimum quantities of benzene and mixed. The solution developed a ruby red colour, and on standing deposited deep red needles. On heating, these began to decompose at  $110^\circ$  and finally melted at  $140^\circ$ . On washing with cold alcohol the red crystals immediately decomposed, regenerating tetranitroaniline.

Analysis ; Found N = 17.10 ;  $\text{C}_{16}\text{H}_{11}\text{O}_9\text{N}_5$  requires N = 16.80 per cent.

The substance does not undergo condensation on careful heating, but decomposes into its components.

2.4.6-Trinitroaminoanisole. The formation of this compound by treatment of tetranitroaniline with methyl alcohol (Van Duin and Van Lennep, *loc. cit.*) has been confirmed. It consists of pale yellow crystals which on exposure to light become orange coloured, without change of weight. The possibility of the existence of the substance in two isomeric forms, as is the case with the trinitrodiphenylamines, is being investigated.

2.4.6-Trinitroamino-3-amyl ether. This substance has been obtained by warming tetranitroaniline with N amyl alcohol and consists of yellow crystals, melting at  $168^\circ$ .

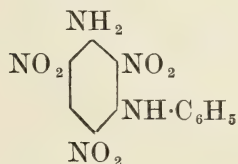
Analysis ; Found N = 17.90 ;  $\text{C}_{11}\text{H}_{14}\text{O}_7\text{N}_4$  requires N = 17.83 per cent.



The ethers described above dissolve readily in dilute caustic soda, yielding a solution which possesses a temporary red colour. On acidifying this solution triaminophenol is precipitated.

2.4.6-Trinitrophenylenediamine is produced when tetranitroaniline is warmed with aqueous ammonia. If the reaction is carried out in acetone solution a deep red solution results, probably owing to ammonium salt formation.

5-Amino-2.4.6-trinitrophenylaniline.

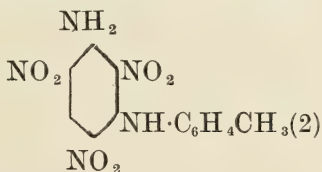


On mixing equivalent quantities of tetranitroaniline and aniline, in acetone solution, orange yellow crystals of this compound are rapidly deposited. After recrystallisation from acetone they have a melting point of  $188^\circ$ .

Analysis ; Found  $\text{N} = 21.80$  ;  $\text{C}_{12}\text{H}_9\text{O}_6\text{N}_5$  requires  $\text{N} = 21.90$  per cent.

In a similar manner the following amino derivatives have been prepared :

5-Amino-2.4.6-trinitrophenyl-o-toluidine.

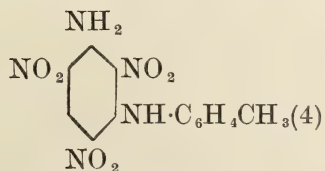


This consists of lustrous dark red crystals, melting at  $200^\circ$ .

5-Amino-2.4.6-trinitrophenyl-m-toluidine.

Recrystallised from glacial acetic acid, this substance is obtained as brick-red crystals, melting at  $181^\circ$ .

5-Amino-2.4.6-trinitrophenyl-p-toluidine.



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This is obtained as orange-coloured crystals, melting at  $220^{\circ}$ .  
5-Amino-2.4.6-trinitrophenyl- $\beta$ -naphthylamine.

This preparation was conducted in acetone solution and bright yellow crystals were obtained, which, on heating to  $70^{\circ}$ , turned red. The crystals were suspected to contain acetone of crystallisation and were found, on heating in an oven at  $70^{\circ}$ , to lose 13.54 per cent. of their weight, this being the theoretical amount for one molecular proportion of acetone.

Analysis ;  $N = 16.90$  ;  $C_{16}H_{11}O_6N_5 + C_3H_6O$  requires  $N = 16.40$  per cent.

The compound free from acetone was obtained by preparation in benzene solution and by crystallising the acetone product, after heating to  $70^{\circ}$ , from benzene. It consists of bright red crystals, melting at  $212^{\circ}$ .

Analysis ;  $N = 19.43$  ;  $C_{16}H_{11}O_6N_5$  requires  $N = 19.00$  per cent.

In the case of each of the products obtained from primary arylamines as above, attempts were made by repeated crystallisation under varying conditions to obtain chromoisomeric forms, such as are common among the picrylamines. In no case, however, was more than one form obtained.

CECIL WHITFIELD DAVIES.  
THOMAS CAMPBELL JAMES.

NATURAL SCIENCE.





## 1. THE ORIGIN OF THE SEED-PLANTS (SPERMOPHYTA)

THE name Seed-plants or Spermophyta is used to cover the Phanerogams in the widest sense, including Gymnosperms (*e.g.* Conifers and Cycads) as well as the true Flowering Plants or Angiosperms. Not all Phanerogams bear flowers, but all produce seeds.

In contradistinction to the Seed-plants we have the Spore-plants or Cryptogams (*e.g.* Ferns, Mosses, Seaweeds and Fungi). In all these groups the reproductive bodies are minute and simple, usually consisting of a single cell, while the Spermophyta are reproduced (apart from vegetative propagation) by complex bodies, often of considerable size, composed of various tissues, and usually containing an embryo. That there is a certain relation between these two great divisions of the vegetable kingdom has been recognised since the time of Hofmeister (the middle of the nineteenth century).

Taking one of the simpler representatives of the higher Spore-plants, such as a Fern, we find that all the spores are of one kind ; on germination each spore gives rise to an independent plantlet, the prothallus, on which the sexual organs are borne. Fertilisation is effected by the active male cells or spermatozoids, swimming in water, and the egg at once develops into an embryo and forms a new Fern.

In the more advanced Vascular Spore-plants, such as the Water-ferns or *Selaginella*, the sexual differentiation begins earlier, and the spores are of two kinds, microspores and megaspores. The former have little more to do than to produce the spermatozoids ; the large spores, on the other hand, give rise to a fairly massive prothallus, bearing the female organs, and serving as a store-house of food for the developing embryo. This is to some extent an approach to the conditions in the Seed-plants, and especially in the Gymnosperms. There the great distinction is that, while the prothallus is comparable to that of a hetero-

sporous Cryptogam, the megaspore (embryo-sac) remains permanently enclosed in the sporangium, which is itself enveloped in a highly organised integument, becoming the seed-coat or testa. Pollination and (in most cases) fertilisation take place on the parent plant, and the seed (testa, sporangium and prothallus) is, as a rule, only shed when the embryo has attained a certain development. It is unnecessary here to refer to the seed characters of the Angiosperms, which are altogether more advanced and more remote from the Cryptogamic phase.

It has been generally assumed, since Hofmeister's discoveries, that the Seed-plants were derived from heterosporous Vascular Cryptogams, though the particular group to which they traced their origin has been a subject of controversy. Although the homologies of the reproductive organs in Seed-plants and the higher Spore-plants can, to a considerable extent, be traced, there is nowhere any indication of a transition from one to the other, beyond the fact that in the Cycads and the Maidenhair trees, fertilisation is still effected by motile spermatozoids, as in the Cryptogams. Yet they produce very highly developed seeds.

It thus came to be one of the chief problems of Palæobotany to seek, among the plants of past ages, some trace of a connection between the Spore-plants and the Seed-plants, so widely separated in the living Flora. Of late years the tendency has been to find such a connection between a certain group of Palæozoic Seed-plants and the Ferns. We will shortly explain how the present position was reached.

Up to the year 1903 the current enumerations of Carboniferous land-plants showed that almost exactly half of the known species of that age were referred to the Ferns. The estimate was based almost wholly on the evidence of the fronds, which were so entirely fern-like that Sir Joseph Hooker, in 1848, spoke of *Pecopteris* as 'the Fossil representative, if not congener, of the modern *Pteris*,' and added, 'It is not improbable that there are other genera of living ferns fossilised in the shales of the coal formation.'<sup>1</sup>

It is true that as early as 1883, the Austrian palæobotanist Stur stated his conviction that a large number of such fronds, including *Neuropteris*, *Alethopteris* and other important genera, having never been found with Fern-fructifications, could not have

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Hooker, 'On the Vegetation of the Carboniferous Period as compared with that of the present day,' *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Great Britain*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 401, 1848.

been Ferns.<sup>1</sup> This negative evidence, however, carried little weight with palæobotanists generally.

From another side, however, proof was soon forthcoming that some of the apparent Ferns of the Carboniferous were very different from any known plants of that affinity. Anatomical investigation, in which Williamson took the lead, showed that in his *Lyginodendron* (now *Lyginopteris*) and *Heterangium*, genera with the foliage of *Sphenopteris*, the structure was in certain respects like that of a Cycad rather than a Fern, though points of analogy with the latter group were also observed. Williamson, in 1887, speaking of these plants, suggested that 'Possibly they are the generalised ancestors of both Ferns and Cycads.'

Similar combinations of characters were found in other groups; thus *Medullosa*, originally described as an extinct genus of Cycads, was shown by the independent investigations of Weber and Renault to have borne the Fern-like fronds of *Neuropteris* and *Alethopteris*. The anatomy of *Medullosa* presents, in fact, an apparent union of Cycadean and Filicinean features, though on quite distinct lines from those of *Lyginopteris* or *Heterangium*. Another totally different genus, *Protopitys*, was placed by Solms-Laubach in 1893 among plants which are intermediate in their characters between Filicineæ and Gymnosperms.

Potonié in 1897 established the group Cycadofilices to include such intermediate or indeterminate forms, and his proposal was widely adopted. So far, however, there was no satisfactory evidence as to the reproductive organs of any of the Cycadofilices, and it remained therefore doubtful whether they really represented a distinct class, or only a peculiar race of Ferns.

Then, in 1903, came the discovery of the seed of *Lyginopteris oldhamia*, identified by F. W. Oliver by means of the glands on the cupule of the seed *Lagenostoma Lomaxi*, agreeing exactly in structure with those long known on the vegetative parts of the *Lyginopteris*. The identification was confirmed by other points of agreement, and by analogous cases observed in other forms. Thus the fact was established that one member, at least, of the Cycadofilices was a seed-bearing plant. The seed itself proved to be of a complex structure, most nearly comparable to the seeds of the Cycadaceæ. The name Pteridosperms was then

<sup>1</sup> D. Stur, 'Zur Morphologie und Systematik der Culm und Carbonfarne,' *Sitzungsberichte Akad. Wiss. Wien*. Bd. LXXXVIII, p. 638, 1883.



proposed for those Cycadofilices in which there was evidence of the seed-habit.

Further examples of 'Seed-Ferns' were soon brought to light. In 1904 Dr. Kidston discovered large seeds, of the size of a Hazel-nut, borne on the fronds of *Neuropteris heterophylla*; here the evidence was direct, though the structure was not preserved. In the same year Dr. David White showed that his *Aneimites* (*Adiantites*) *fertilis*, from the Lower Pottsville beds of West Virginia (correlated with our Millstone Grit), was a seed-bearing plant. The small flattened seeds are borne directly on the Maidenhair-like fronds. Then, a year later, Grand'Eury discovered the fronds of *Pecopteris Pluckeneti*, previously an unquestioned Fern, covered with hundreds of winged seeds, resembling those of the Gymnospermous trees known as Cordaiteæ.

Other discoveries followed, and in numerous cases, besides those clearly demonstrated, there was reason to suspect that so-called Palæozoic Ferns were in reality members of the Spermatophyta. In fact the conclusion was soon reached that an actual majority of the 'Carboniferous Ferns' were not Ferns, but Pteridosperms.<sup>1</sup>

So far there is nothing to criticise. For a time there may have been a tendency to make too little of the true Ferns of the Carboniferous period, but this was only a temporary aberration, and the general result as to the importance of the 'Seed-Ferns' remains unshaken.

A further conclusion, however, was drawn by some of those who were interested in these discoveries. The idea got abroad that the Pteridosperms were 'Ferns which had become Spermatophytes,' the popular name 'Seed-Ferns' thus being taken in a literal sense. The present writer is one of those responsible for this interpretation of the facts. The Fern phylum was said to have been the source from which the great majority, if not the whole of the Seed-plants were derived.<sup>2</sup> This generalisation was of course dependent on the assumption that the Pteridosperms themselves, the most primitive known Seed-plants, were descended from the Ferns.

<sup>1</sup> The evidence is brought together in Seward's *Fossil Plants*, Vol. III, 1917, chaps. xxix-xxxi, and in the present writer's *Studies in Fossil Botany*, Vol. II, 2nd edition, 1909, chaps. x. and xi. The latter account will shortly be brought up to date in a third edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in Fossil Botany*, Vol. II, 2nd edition, p. 638.



Although it was pointed out that the stock from which the 'Seed-Ferns' were derived was still unknown, and might well have differed widely from any group of Ferns with which we were familiar,<sup>1</sup> yet the general idea of a Fern-ancestry was favoured.

Zeiller, with excellent judgment, stated the position more cautiously. After pointing out how tempting is the idea of deriving the Cycads, through the Pteridosperms, from the Ferns, he showed that we could not regard such a filiation as established, firstly because the necessary link of heterosporous Ferns was missing, and secondly because in the Lower Carboniferous and Devonian the Pteridosperms were, as he thought, largely preponderant over the Ferns. He added that we could only infer a probable community of origin.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequently Zeiller seems to have been more impressed by the Fern-affinities of the early Seed-plants, for he said, in 1907, that 'it is impossible not to be struck by the close relations (liens) which exist between these "Seed-Ferns" and the true cryptogamic Ferns, not only from the point of view of their external appearance, but from the point of view of their anatomical structure and even of the constitution of their organs of fructification.'<sup>3</sup> At that time he even suggested that 'heterosporous Ferns might have existed at a remote epoch, and have given rise, by way of inverse modifications, on the one hand to Pteridosperms, on the other to isosporous Ferns.'<sup>4</sup>

Whatever we may think of this suggestion, it shows that Zeiller was at that time prepared to derive the 'Seed-Ferns' from an ancestry actually superior to the typical Cryptogamic Ferns.

Dr. Kidston, in 1906, stated the position in words which appear perfectly just, and anticipate the conclusion at which the present writer has arrived. He said<sup>5</sup>: 'The Cycadofilices [Pteridosperms] are undoubtedly the oldest group of "Fern-like" plants of which we have fossil evidence. . . . It seems therefore to be highly improbable that the Cycadofilices could have descended from

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Fossil Botany*, Vol. II, 2nd edition, p. 645.

<sup>2</sup> Zeiller, 'Une nouvelle Classe de Gymnospermes; Les Ptéridospermes,' *Revue Générale des Sciences*, Aug. 30, 1905, p. 726.

<sup>3</sup> Zeiller, 'Les Végétaux Fossiles et leurs Enchaînements,' *Revue du Mois*, Feb. 10, 1907, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Zeiller, *l.c.*, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> R. Kidston, 'On the Microsporangia of the Pteridospermeæ, with remarks on their relationship to existing groups,' *Phil. Trans. Royal Society*, B, Vol. CXCVIII, 1906, p. 441.

plants to which the name of "Fern," as understood in recent botany, can be applied. What the progenitors of the Cycadofilices were for the present remains unknown.'

In spite of this judicious warning, the belief that Pteridosperms were descended from Ferns has undoubtedly been prevalent since their discovery. On a review of the evidence it appears that this view is unjustified. The question is of fundamental importance, for the 'Seed-Ferns,' though very far from being really 'primitive,' are yet the *most* primitive of the known Spermatophyta, as shown especially by their reproductive organs being borne on fronds, little if at all altered from the vegetative foliage. Thus the question of their origin may involve that of the origin of the Seed-plants generally.

It is easy to see how the current idea arose. We used to believe that half the Carboniferous plants were Ferns. Then it turned out that many or most of these 'Ferns' bore seeds. Yet we could not get it out of our heads that they were Ferns after all—they were so like them. We should have remembered 'That every like is not the same!'

The fact is, paradoxical as it may sound, that the Pteridosperms are too much like Ferns to be related to them! A resemblance so close as to have deceived a great botanist like Sir Joseph Hooker, if it indicated relationship at all, must surely have implied a *near* relationship. Yet a near relationship is out of the question, for the Pteridosperms bore highly organised seeds, on a level with those of living Cycads, while the Ferns are ordinary Cryptogams, which only attain even to heterosporous in a couple of specialised recent families, which certainly have nothing to do with Seed-plants.

There is not the most distant likeness between the seed of any known Pteridosperm, and the sporangium of a Fern. When we fancied that the two groups were related, we were bound to derive the one organ from the other, and the puzzle was attacked with much ingenuity. But all the attempts made to prove that the seed was once a Fern-sporangium depended on purely gratuitous hypotheses, involving assumed intermediate stages which may never have had any existence except in the imagination of the speculators. We know no more of the origin of the seed than what recent plants (such as Cycads) might already have told us.

It is very different where we really have evidence that a sort

of seed was developed in an otherwise Cryptogamic phylum. Among the Carboniferous Lycopods there are two genera, *Lepidocarpon* and *Miadesmia*, which are known to have formed seed-like organs. An integument grew up around the megasporangium, in which only a single megaspore (embryo-sac) came to maturity. Here, however, the Lycopod characters are perfectly evident, both in the sporangial and vegetative organs. These plants are truly Cryptogams which had become (after a fashion) Seed-plants, but there is not the least probability that their imitation seeds had anything to do with the real seeds of the main line of Spermatophyta. The 'seed-bearing' Clubmosses, in fact, came too late upon the scene; the old-established Seed-plants were already too strong for them, and it seems that after a comparatively short career they came to nothing.

The characters which have appeared to support a direct affinity between the Pteridosperms and the Ferns are to be found in the male organs, the anatomy, and the habit. As regards the first, it is no doubt often difficult to distinguish the sporangia of a Carboniferous Fern from the pollen-sacs of a contemporary Pteridosperm. Our knowledge of the latter is, however, still very imperfect. Our first information came from Dr. Kidston, who, in 1906, identified the male fructification of *Lyginopteris Oldhamia*. He found that the pollen-sacs, in this case, are bilocular. If this should turn out to be general, there would be little real resemblance to the sporangia of a Fern. The evidence in other cases, since discovered, is usually in the form of impressions, showing little of the actual structure.

Great stress has been laid on the Fern-like anatomy of various Pteridosperms. For example, the primary structure of the *Lyginopteris* stem has been compared with that of *Osmunda*, and the structure of *Heterangium* with that of *Gleichenia*. Here, however, the comparison was with recent Ferns, which cannot have any real affinity with Palæozoic Seed-plants. Osmundaceæ, it is true, go back to the Permian, but their early representatives have quite a different stem-structure from that which was compared with *Lyginopteris*.

*Medullosa* is polystelic, like most recent and many Carboniferous Ferns, but the moment we begin to examine the details (development, course of the bundles and so on) the resemblance vanishes. The analogies with recent Ferns can clearly only show a certain parallelism of evolution, not a genetic relation.



When we compare the Pteridosperms anatomically with their contemporary Ferns, we find no approximation whatever between them. Fern-stems of the *Psaronius* type agree with those of *Medullosa* in being polystelic, but differ in every other respect. The older and simpler Primofilices, now very well known as regards two families, have a peculiar anatomy of their own, perfectly distinct from that of any Pteridosperm.

It was an anatomical detail, discovered by Professor Weiss, which first suggested to the present writer that the Pteridosperms had no direct connection with the Ferns. Van Tieghem had shown that one of the differences between Vascular Cryptogams and Phanerogams is to be found in the orientation of the plate of primary wood in diarch lateral rootlets. In the Vascular Cryptogams the plate is at right angles to the axis of the main root; in Phanerogams it is parallel to it. Professor Weiss discovered that in *Lyginopteris* the latter is the case. It is a small point, but a definite one, and shows that in this respect the Pteridosperm *Lyginopteris* was a Phanerogam, pure and simple.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the external characters, all botanists know that habit is illusory. Yet, when the likeness is very close, it may impress the mind, as it has certainly done in the case we are considering. It is still often impossible to say, from the fronds alone, whether a given Carboniferous plant was a 'Seed-Fern' or a true Fern. We are able, however, to demonstrate that in such cases the habit is no guide to affinities. One of the Ferns which Hooker cited as particularly close to the modern Bracken was an *Alethopteris* (then called *Pecopteris heterophylla*). The anatomy of *Alethopteris* is now well known, and proves to be totally different from that of any Fern-frond and very similar to the leaf-structure of a Cycad. Here, then, the habit was clearly deceptive—the resemblance was merely an external one, not necessarily any more significant than the familiar likeness between a succulent *Euphorbia* and a *Cactus*, or between a Frogbit and a Waterlily. The special conditions under which the Carboniferous vegetation had to grow may well explain a similarity of habit in quite diverse groups.

An important subject of inquiry is suggested by the evidence as to the relative antiquity of Ferns and Seed-plants. There

<sup>1</sup> F. E. Weiss, 'The Root-apex and Young Root of *Lyginodendron*,' *Manchester Memoirs*, Vol. LVII, No. 16, 1913.



seems now to be no proof of the existence of Ferns, in the ordinary sense, before the Upper Devonian. In the earlier Devonian floras, the only suggestion of Fern-fronds is in the form of a naked, branched rachis, with no lamina, a structure perhaps little removed from the undifferentiated thallus of the simplest land-plants.

On the other hand, the Gymnosperms appear to have been well developed in early times. The Upper Devonian genus *Callixylon* had a beautifully-organised wood, even rivalling that of the highest Conifers of the present day. This was not a Pteridosperm, but already something more advanced. From the Middle Devonian we have Hugh Miller's famous, but somewhat neglected 'Coniferous Tree' (now *Palæopitys Milleri*), which, whatever it may have been, shows the structure of a well-developed Gymnosperm. If we may judge by anatomical characters, the Seed-plants seem to have been in advance of the Spore-plants from about the time of the earliest known Land Flora.

The inference from all the facts at present available appears to be that the Seed-plants, of which the Pteridosperms are among the earlier representatives, constitute an independent phylum, of equal antiquity with any of the recognised lines of Vascular Cryptogams. Some of the Seed-plants (not necessarily all, for there may have been distinct races within the main phylum) passed through a Fern-like phase, but we have no reason to believe that they were ever Ferns. What the origin of the Spermatophyta may have been is still unknown, but they must have sprung from some very early race, at least as ancient, and perhaps as simple, as the Psilophytales of Kidston and Lang. That such a hypothetical race may have been the common source of the Ferns also is not impossible, though the Fern-like features of the Pteridosperms are no doubt due, for the most part, to parallel development, rather than to common descent.

The question must suggest itself: if the Seed-plants have always been distinct from any known line of Vascular Cryptogams, how did the seed arise? Were there heterosporous forms among the ancient and unknown race from which we must suppose the Spermatophyta to have been derived? Does the current, Hofmeisterian, theory of the origin of the seed represent what really took place, or are the accepted homologies merely analogies? These are speculative questions, on which it would be vain to enter. Probably the great morphological conclusions of the last

century may continue to hold good, but the recognition of the Seed-plants as an independent phylum, which has run its own course from early Devonian times onwards, must some day demand a reconsideration of all questions concerning Phanerogamic and Cryptogamic relations.<sup>1</sup>

D. H. SCOTT.

<sup>1</sup> The writer made a preliminary statement of his present views before Section K of the British Association, in 1919, and an abstract is published in the Report for that year. See also his Presidential Address to Section K, British Association, 1921.

## 2. INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE FAUNA OF THE SEA FLOOR OF CARDIGAN BAY

A PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF WORK IN THE  
NORTHERN PORTION OF A REGION BETWEEN  
ABERYSTWYTH AND NEWQUAY KNOWN AS THE  
“ GUTTER ”

### INTRODUCTORY

INVESTIGATIONS into the fauna of the sea floor have been carried out by naturalists since comparatively early times, but it is only during the last decade that methods aiming at quantitative precision have been employed in such work. The older naturalists were interested in the life of the sea from the collector's point of view, contenting themselves with the description of the genera and species found, and their classification into the various phyla of the animal and plant worlds. It fell to the lot of Edward Forbes (1839), Wyville Thompson, and John Murray, the triumvirate of British pioneers, together with notable workers in other countries, to study marine organisms and the environment in which they live, on comprehensive lines, and to found the science of oceanography. By 1887 the study of marine organisms had so far advanced that it became profitable to apply quantitative methods, and such were developed by Henson and the Kiel planktologists in relation to the study of the population of small floating and drifting organisms, or 'plankton'; their work was upon extensive lines in the Baltic and North Seas, and was followed upon intensive lines in the Irish Sea by Sir William Herdman. The progressive testing and improvement of apparatus in relation to quantitative plankton investigation forms an interesting chapter in the history of scientific technique. The investigation of the bottom living forms, however, lagged behind, and it was only at the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century that the rough apparatus of dredge and trawl was supplemented by bottom sampling apparatus devised for quantitative work.

The real beginning of quantitative investigations into the fauna of the sea floor lies in the work of C. G. Joh. Petersen, of Denmark, and it is mainly on the lines laid down by him that the work in Cardigan Bay is being conducted, of which the present paper gives a preliminary account. Petersen began his work in the waters of the Limfjord, which connects the North Sea to the Baltic Sea across the north of the Danish peninsula. He conceived the idea, when working on the stomach content of fish, and other problems connected with marine fisheries, that a quantitative investigation into the fauna of the sea floor would yield results which would be of material benefit to the fisheries of that region. He wanted to find out the quantitative relationships of the fauna of the sea floor, how they varied from region to region, what was the amount of food which one region could be expected to produce in a given period, how much of this was utilised by the food-fish living on the bottom, what animals were in competition with the food-fish for this food, what interrelationships all these animals bore to one another, what was the ultimate food supply of the bottom living marine animals, and various other questions. In 1911, he made his first report on the use of his apparatus for quantitative work, including a figure of what is now known as the 'Petersen grab' (*Report of the Danish Biological Station*, No. XX, 1911. Published in Copenhagen, 1912<sup>1</sup>). He further conceived the idea that when some of the above problems had been elucidated, it would be possible by various means, such as ridding the sea floor of the deleterious fauna and increasing the food fauna, to increase greatly the output of fish from a given region, and thus augment the fishing industry generally. Besides the above, which may be regarded as problems in applied science, various pure science problems would present themselves for elucidation, the solution of which should aid in the unravelling of that intricate problem, the general metabolism of the sea.

### THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION

The scheme of work which we have planned for Cardigan Bay is as follows, the 'Gutter,' lying to the south of Aberystwyth (see Map, Fig. 1), and to be described later, having been chosen

<sup>1</sup> The annual Reports of the Danish Marine Biological Station are essential to anyone carrying out faunistic investigations of the sea floor.



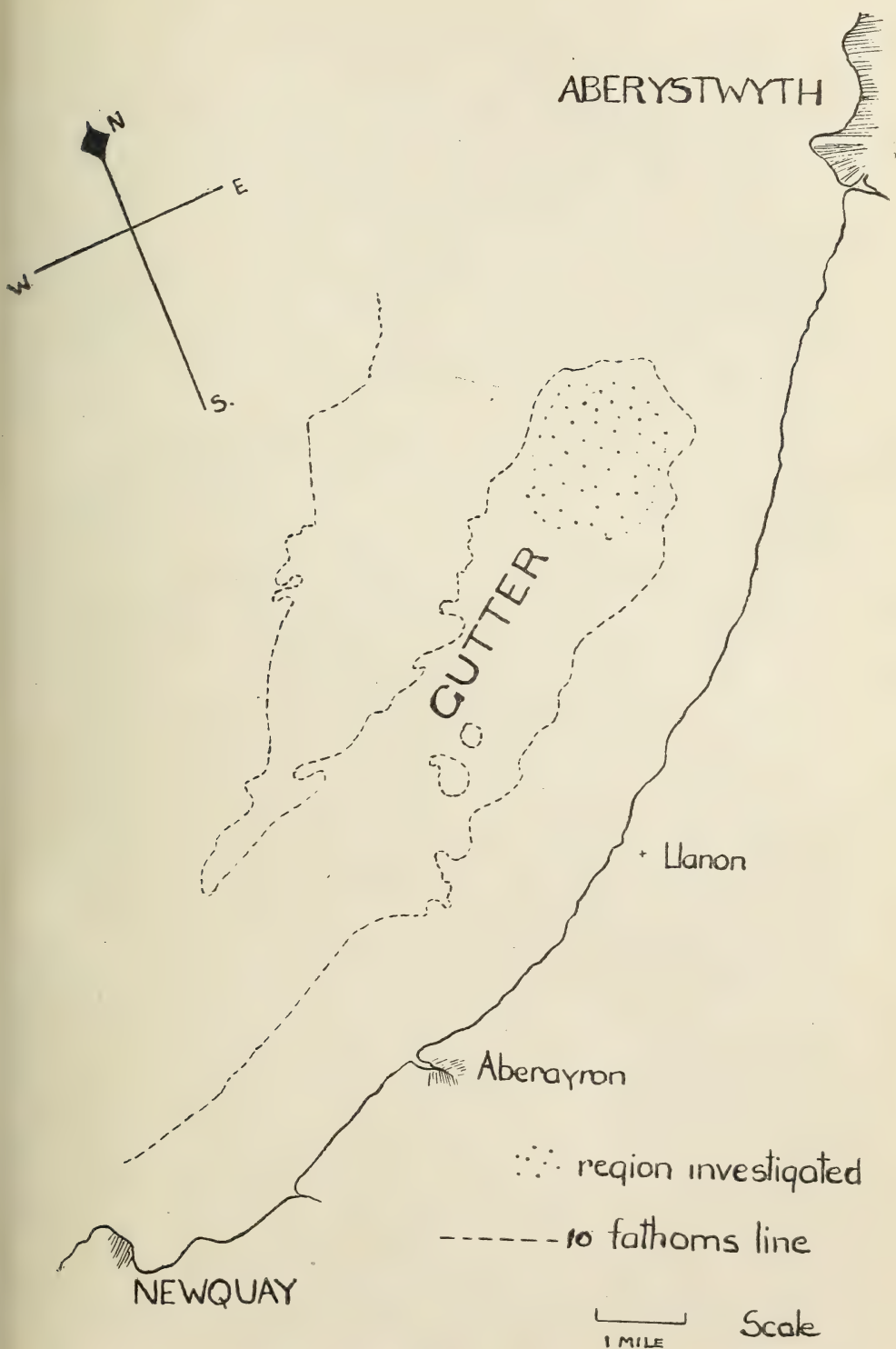


FIG. 1.

as a first region for analysis. Samples are taken by means of an apparatus devised by Petersen called a 'bottom sampler,' which will be described later. The 'bottom sampler,' or 'Petersen grab,' brings up a little piece of the sea bottom of known area; in the case of the instrument which we use this is a tenth of a square metre. The samples of the fauna so obtained are analysed and the various genera and species contained therein noted and enumerated. Several samples are taken on the same day and as close together as possible. By this means some estimate of the nature and the amount of the fauna of the particular region of the sea floor under investigation is obtained. This is the first stage in the investigation.

The stomach content of these various species is then examined and information thus obtained as to what constitutes their food.

The diatoms and protozoan fauna of the sea floor are obtained by means of a 'Lucas grab,' which brings to the surface a much smaller sample of the sea floor than does the Petersen grab. The sample is investigated and the results correlated as far as possible with the results of the stomach content investigations of the animals brought up by the Petersen grab.

The Petersen grab, in the main, catches the smaller invertebrates, some of the larger invertebrates and the fishes moving out of the way; it catches animals which lie partly embedded in the sea floor and which lead a sedentary life. The larger animals of the sea bottom, such as the fishes and larger invertebrates, are caught by means of the dredge, beam trawl, or shrimp trawl, which are dragged over the sea floor in the region under investigation. The species so obtained are identified, and this is followed again by a stomach content analysis.

Samples of the sea bottom are also taken by the Lucas grab, for mechanical and organic analysis, so as to determine the character of the ground upon which the animals are living.

An endeavour is then made to correlate these various observations so as to discover what animals may be regarded as useful, that is to say, form food for the edible fish, and what animals are deleterious, that is to say, compete with the edible fish for the available food without being of use themselves for food or otherwise. Continued investigations, moreover, should reveal what changes take place in the nature of the fauna throughout the year, what changes take place in the food of the various

animals, what migrations certain of the fauna may undergo, and will, it is hoped, throw light upon the time and habits of breeding, the rate of growth, and other matters of interest concerning many of the forms present.

### DESCRIPTION OF APPARATUS

The first necessity is a boat of sufficient size to allow of the manipulation of the gear. The *Draig-y-môr* is a motor-boat which we have secured by the financial aid of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, and the generosity of the Honble. Samuel Vestey. The boat is thirty-seven feet in length and has an engine of 18-20 horse-power. Without a boat of this order it would not be possible to carry out the research discussed in this paper. The heaviest piece of apparatus to manipulate is the Petersen grab, but the boat is quite equal to its management.

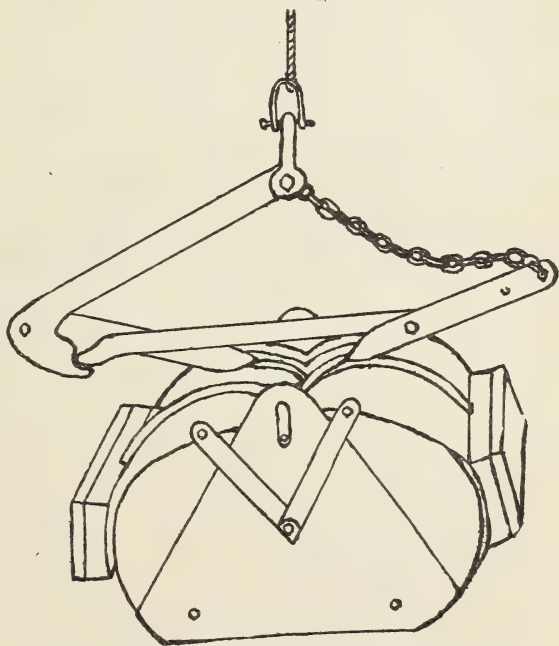


FIG. 2.—PETERSEN GRAB OR BOTTOM SAMPLER.

The *Petersen Grab or Bottom Sampler* (Fig. 2) is, as already remarked, an apparatus devised by C. G. Joh. Petersen, of Denmark. It is built on the plan of the great grabs which are used for removing earth, etc., in canal construction. It consists of two main pieces held together by movable clamps on their upper surfaces. These two pieces when closed together fit tightly against one another to form a kind of box. The apparatus is let down into the sea open, being held open by means of a cross-piece, which fits into a hook arrangement and is kept in position by the tightness of the rope by which the apparatus is lowered.

On reaching the bottom its weight carries it in to a small depth, varying with the hardness of the sea floor. The lowering rope now slackens with the consequence that the cross-piece holding the apparatus open falls out of its hook. On hauling in the rope the two pieces of the apparatus come together and enclose tightly a sample of the sea bottom, which is thus brought to the surface. The contents of the sampler are now emptied on to a sieve and the sand or mud washed out, leaving on the sieve the fauna of that particular sample, together with a certain amount of residue of dead shells, etc. The fauna and residue are transferred to a bottle and labelled, and examined at the earliest opportunity.



FIG. 3.—  
LUCAS GRAB  
OR SOUNDING  
LEAD.

*Lucas Grab* (Fig. 3).—This is a variety of sounding lead. It is an apparatus consisting of a small grab weighted with lead, weighing 20 lb. The grab is fitted on to the bottom of the lead and is in connection with a strong spring. It is let down into the sea open and is held open by two small cross-pieces inside it fitting against one another. The impact of touching the bottom slightly compresses the spring, which releases the two cross-pieces, and the grab snaps together, enclosing a sample of the sea bottom about the size of a tennis ball. This sample, which gives a much truer account of the sediment of the sea floor than the Petersen grab, is used for mechanical and organic analysis, as well as for the study of the bottom living diatoms and protozoa. The Petersen grab allows the escape of much of the fine sediment through a piece of wire gauze which is inserted to allow of the escape of the surplus water.

*Sounding Tube* (Fig. 4).—This is another type of sounding lead, differing from the Lucas grab in that it has a brass tube at its lower end. This tube, on passing into the sea floor, encloses a sample of it, which is then brought to the surface. It has the advantage over the Lucas and Petersen grabs in sampling the layers of the sediments of the sea floor as they lie in their natural relations.

*Naturalists' Dredge* (Fig. 5).—Consists of a rectangular iron frame four times as long as broad. To each end is attached

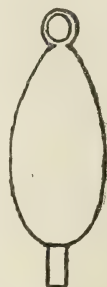


FIG. 4.—  
SOUNDING  
LEAD WITH  
TUBE.



an arm which swings forward for attachment to the dredge rope. The dredge frame we use for light work is two feet in

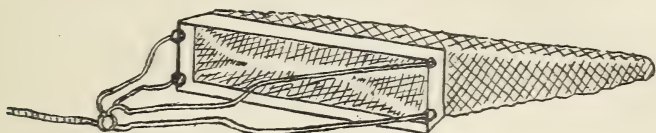


FIG. 5.—NATURALISTS' DREDGE.

length and six inches in breadth, and carries a bag two feet deep with a mesh of four inch perimeter. For heavier work a dredge of twice this size is used. In the latter the bag has a two inch perimeter.

*Beam Trawl* (Fig. 6).—Consists of a wooden beam, which in our net is twenty-eight feet in length, attached at either end to the upper, curved portion of a stirrup-shaped iron. The straight side of each of the irons runs on the sea bottom, the foot-rope, having a spread of fifty-four feet, drags along, curving backward, and the beam is held about three feet off the bottom. The mouth of the net is thus formed and is twenty-eight feet long and about three feet broad. To the beam and foot-rope is attached a conical bag, fifty feet in depth, with a mesh of six inch perimeter. This is one of the characteristic nets used by fishermen.

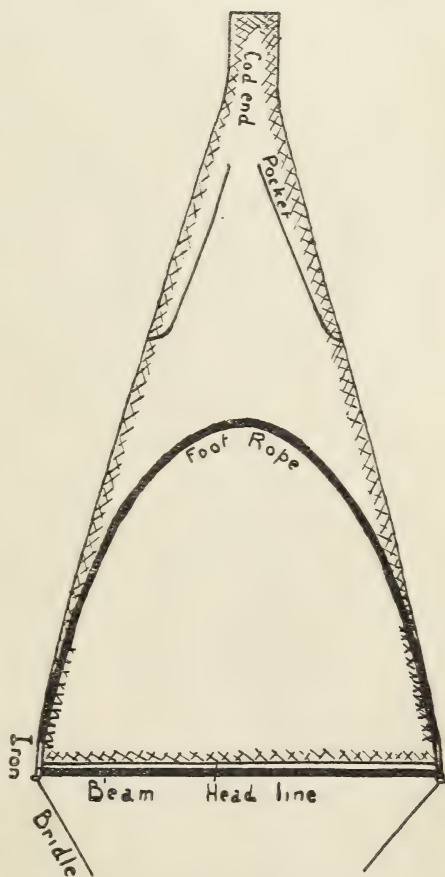


FIG. 6.—BEAM TRAWL.

*Shrimp Trawl*.—Of essentially the same form as the beam trawl, but the mesh is much smaller, being two inches in perimeter. This is more useful generally for our purpose than the beam trawl, but it is of interest

to take catches also with the latter since these are directly comparable with the hauls of the fishermen.

#### THE GUTTER CONSIDERED AS A FISHING GROUND

As already stated, the portion of the sea floor of Cardigan Bay chosen for analysis is that known as the 'Gutter,' which lies to the south of Aberystwyth (see Map, Fig. 1). This region is considered by the local fishermen as the best commercial fishing ground in the bay so far as the ordinary small local fishing boats are concerned. Larger fishing grounds are found farther out which are worked by steam trawlers, but being rough and further afield are uneconomical to work from the point of view of the local fishermen. The Gutter is fished from the beginning of May until the end of October by boats carrying beam trawl nets. Several species of fish are caught here, the bulk of which fall into the family Pleuronectidæ and are of commercial value. The most abundant species taken is *Pleuronectes platessa*, the plaice, followed by the allied species *Pleuronectes limanda*, the dab, of less commercial value. *Pleuronectes flesus*, the flounder, and *Rhombus lævis*, the brill, are occasionally taken, and also, now and then, the turbot, *Rhombus maximus*. Further, taken occasionally during the day, but mainly at night, is the sole, *Solea vulgaris*, a species of high commercial value, requiring its own method of fishing. Large quantities of young plaice are taken in this region, which may perhaps be regarded as a rearing ground for the Pleuronectid family generally. A peculiar fact noted by the fishermen is that whenever unusually large quantities of plaice are taken here, very few skate are caught. During the earlier part of the season the inshore portion of the Gutter is fished, but as the season advances fishing operations move outwards across the Gutter to the more open sea, and by the end of October this region is passed over and operations are carried out on the shallower nine-fathom line of the bay. Here, again, the plaice is the chief species caught, but with the difference that very few small specimens are taken, suggesting a winter quarters for the large mature fish. This nine-fathom ground is fished until the beginning of May, when operations recommence in the Gutter. These two seasons seem fairly well defined, and any fishing carried on in either region out of season is a failure, extremely few fish being caught. In the early part of the Gutter season the plaice caught there are small (see later under Stomach Content Investigation section). As the season advances larger

fish are caught. What causes underlie their migration from the deeper water of the Gutter on the approach of winter is not known, nor whither they go. The river Dovey enters the sea a few miles north of the nine-fathom grounds and the local fishermen believe there is a migration of plaice between the latter and the Dovey Estuary at different seasons of the year, into the Estuary about May and out again with the colder weather about October. Large plaice were caught in the Estuary in June of the present year.

Species of *Scyllium*, the dogfishes, are sometimes taken in large numbers whilst fishing in the Gutter, but their occurrence seems spasmodic. During the winter months, from October to March, large shoals of *Gadus merlangus*, the whiting, visit the Gutter, and these are fished for by lines.

### PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE GUTTER

The Gutter is characterised by being rather deeper than the surrounding ground; it may represent the basin of an old river bed. It runs parallel with the coast and opens out into much deeper water just off Newquay. Its depth is, on the average, about thirteen fathoms, ranging a little on either side of this figure; the surrounding ground averages eight to ten fathoms. Its floor may with convenience be divided provisionally into two regions based upon the results of mechanical analysis. The first we may regard as a clayey region consisting of a fine sticky mud. The second region is relatively sandy as compared with the first, but it has a greater percentage of clay than, for example, the 'hard sand' of the bottom of Borth Bay, half a dozen miles north of Aberystwyth. These distinctions are given precision by the following mechanical analyses:

	Size of particles	Relatively clayey region of gutter	Relatively sandy region of gutter	Hard sand of Borth Bay
Stones and gravel .	3 mm. and above	..	..	..
Fine gravel . . .	1-3 mm.	..	..	..
Coarse sand . . .	0.2-1 mm.	4.5%	2.2%	27.1%
Fine sand. . . .	0.04-0.2 mm.	30.3%	53.7%	62.6%
Silt . . . . .	0.01-0.04 mm.	18.9%	13.9%	1.1%
Fine silt . . . .	0.002-0.01 mm.	20.3%	16.6%	2.1%
Clay . . . . .	less than .002	11.4%	1.3%	2.0%
Soluble matter, etc. .		13.8%	13.4%	6.6%
Totals . . . . .		99.2%	101.1%	101.5%



The first or more clayey region lies the nearer inshore of the two, and at a slightly greater depth.

#### DATA OBTAINED BY THE PETERSEN GRAB

Forty-three samples have so far been taken, and the analysis of these is set out in the table.

A glance at the table will reveal that the sea floor of the Gutter presents a varied fauna, practically every phylum of the Invertebrata being represented, but that numerically two forms overshadow the others, namely, the Brittle Star, *Amphiura filiformis*, and the Gastropod Mollusc, *Turritella communis*.

The Cœlenterata are very few on this muddy bottom, an occasional *Cylista* being found. Also the Nemertinea are scarce, a specimen of *Carinella linearis* being, however, occasionally brought up. The Polychæta are in greater abundance, eight species being recorded. Amongst these, *Nephtys cæca* is the most common, followed by *Pectinaria auricoma*, with its peculiar tube-building habit. *Owenia fusiformis* is another tube-building form. *Sthenelais limicola* is of interest owing to the occurrence of its allied species *S. boa* on the shore. The Echinodermata are well represented numerically as regards individuals, although only six species are found. Of these, particular mention must be made of the Ophiuroid, *Amphiura filiformis*, which exists in some regions in great abundance, and is to be found practically all over the Gutter, forming indeed one of the most characteristic features of its fauna. When taken it frequently throws off its arms and sometimes its central disk, making the actual counting of its numbers rather difficult. Several females have been found bearing eggs on their bodies. The aberrant *Synapta inhærens* comes next in abundance, although its numbers are far less than those of the previous species, in proportion about one to fourteen. The allied *Synapta digitata* is less numerous. The heart urchin, *Echinocardium cordatum*, is fairly common and, although small in numbers compared with *Amphiura filiformis*, in bulk it forms quite a large percentage of the total Echinodermata taken. A specimen of the relatively large species *Asterias rubens* is sometimes found in the samples; the trawl net shows it to be quite a common species in the Gutter. *Ophiura ciliaris* is also taken; this, again, is commonly brought up by the trawl. The Crustacea taken in the samples are few, the most abundant genus being *Ampelisca*, one of Gammaridæ, of



TABLE SHOWING ANIMALS CONTAINED IN SAMPLES OF THE SEA FLOOR OBTAINED BY THE PETERSEN SAMPLER FROM THE ABERYSTWYTH-NEWQUAY GUTTER (1921).

[illegible]

which two very similar species are found, *typica* and *laevigata*, distinguished from each other by the form of the third segment of the pleon. Two species of hermit crabs are found in the samples, namely, *Eupagurus cuanensis* and *Eupagurus bernhardus*, and also the swimming crab, *Portunus depurator*. The last three species are shown by the trawl and the stomachs of Elasmobranchs to be quite common. Amongst the Sipunculoidea we may note *Phascolion strombi*, characterised by its habit of living in the shells of Gastropod Molluscs, especially *Turritella communis*. It fills the shell with sand, which it hardens by a secretion of its own body, leaving, however, a small circular opening at the

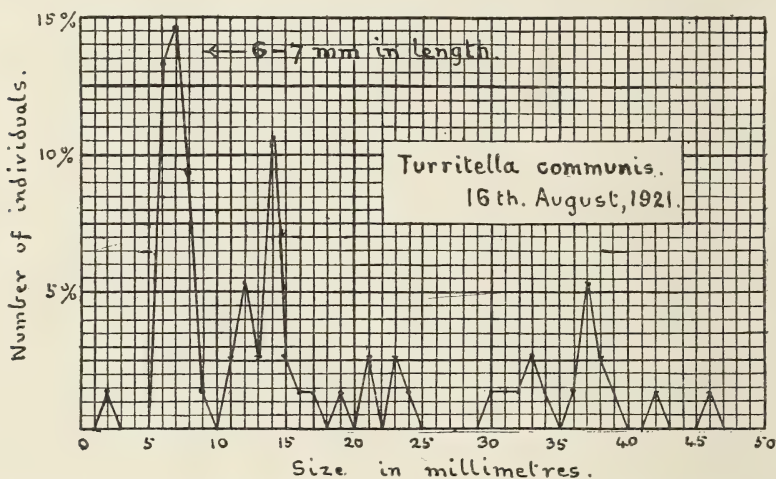


FIG. 7.—MEASUREMENTS IN MM. OF THE SHELLS OF 74 SPECIMENS OF *TURRITELLA COMMUNIS* TAKEN BY THE PETERSEN GRAB ON AUGUST 16, 1921.

(The results are expressed as percentages.)

mouth of the shell, through which it protrudes. The other species of Sipunculoidea, *Phascolosoma procerum*, does not occur in the Plymouth or Irish Sea records. Occasionally species of Polyzoa are taken, generally encrusting forms on the dead shells of *Turritella*. An occasional Ascidian also invests a *Turritella* shell. One specimen of the Turbellarian *Leptoplana tremellaris* has been found, a species quite common under stones on the rocky shore of this coast.

But the phylum of the animal kingdom most strongly represented is the Mollusca, which, in individuals, outnumbers practically all the other recorded specimens put together. By far the most abundant species is the Gastropod *Turritella*

*communis*, and hardly a sample is taken without specimens of this species being present ; it is, however, much more abundant in some parts of the Gutter than in others, some of the samples consisting indeed mainly of this species. The residue of the

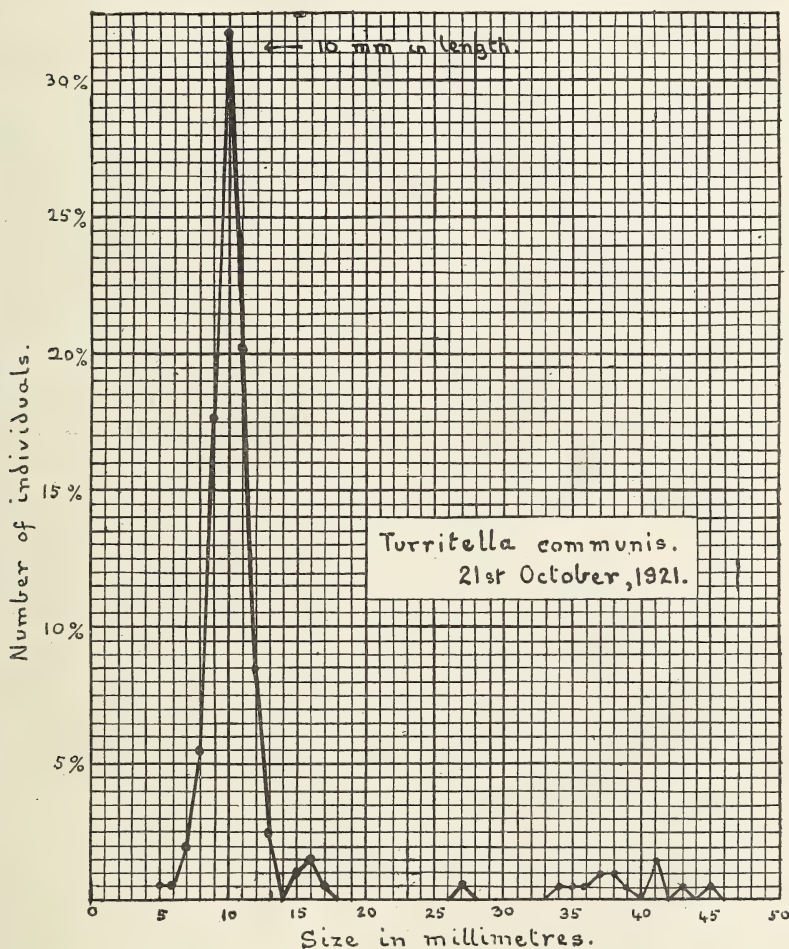


FIG. 8.—MEASUREMENTS IN MM. OF THE SHELLS OF 197 SPECIMENS OF *TURRITELLA COMMUNIS* TAKEN BY THE PETERSEN GRAB ON OCTOBER 21, 1921.

(The results are expressed as percentages.)

samples also is sometimes composed almost entirely of its dead shells. The size varies immensely, from small young specimens with a shell about 3 mm. in length up to individuals with a shell 45 mm. long ; probably still smaller specimens could be obtained with a sieve of smaller mesh. The samples which are



most rich in *T. communis* are those obtained on August 16, October 21, and November 11. For these, graphs have been plotted representing the frequency of occurrence of the different sizes, and a reference to these graphs (Figs. 7, 8, and 9) will show that they follow much the same general plan.

They show a strongly marked maximum of small specimens,

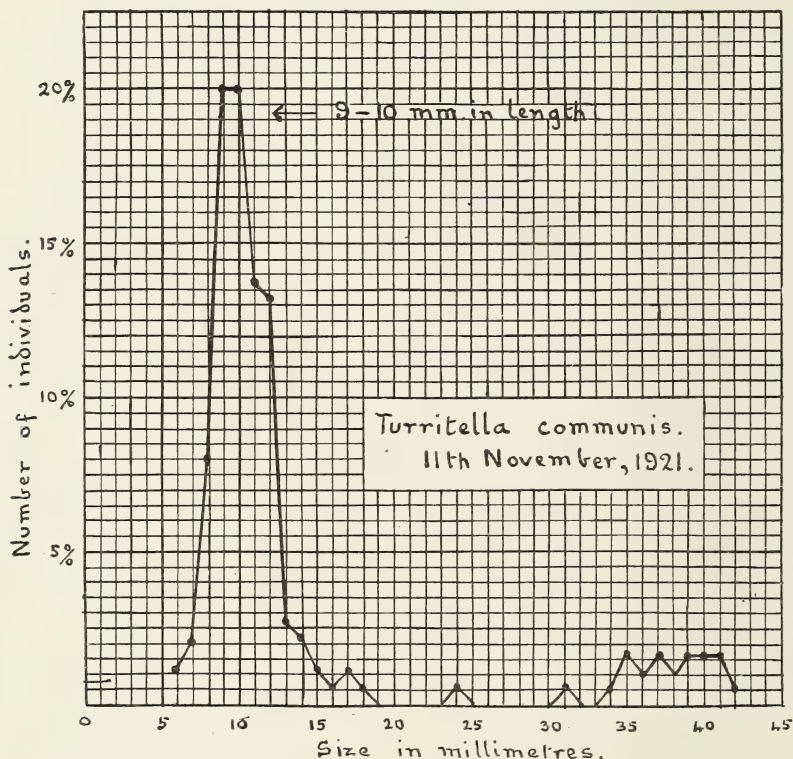


FIG. 9.—MEASUREMENTS IN MM. OF THE SHELLS OF 177 SPECIMENS OF *TURRITELLA COMMUNIS* TAKEN BY THE PETERSEN GRAB ON NOVEMBER 11, 1921.

(The results are expressed as percentages.)

a comparative absence of specimens of middle size, and an increased number again of the larger ones. The significance of the drop in the middle of the curves is doubtful; it may point to a bad breeding season some time back, or perhaps to the action of some parasite or other influence causing a particularly heavy destruction of individuals when they were young, the older specimens being more immune. It is, however, evident that this region of the Gutter is on the whole very



suitable for the growth of Mollusca in general, and of *Turritella communis* in particular. Of the seventeen species of Mollusca which have been found in the samples, the next to *T. communis* in order of numerical merit is *Cultellus pellucidus*. No specimens of this species have been taken under a length of 10 mm., but they range from 10 mm. up to about 30 mm., with the majority about 15 mm. The absence of specimens less than 1 cm. in length may be taken to suggest that *Cultellus* does not breed in this region, or that its breeding seasons only occur every two or three years, as is known to be the case in some other species of Lamellibranchs. Next in numerical order we find *Syndosmya alba*, the size of which ranges from 4 mm. up to 18 mm., with the greatest number of specimens about 5 mm. The remaining species of Mollusca, among which we may mention the primitive Lamellibranch *Nucula nitida*, are of comparatively infrequent occurrence, and are most of them of very small size.

Measurements are made of all the Molluscs taken, and these will be discussed in relation to growth when further data have accumulated, but in the meantime attention may be called to the above graphs of *Turritella communis* as showing a point of interest regarding growth in that species. In the samples of August 16 the most frequently occurring shell length is 6 to 7 mm., but by October 21 it has moved on to 10 mm., showing thus an average growth of 3 to 4 mm. in two months. For November 11 it still remains at 10 mm., growth for the season having apparently stopped by October 21.

#### CORRELATION BETWEEN THE FAUNA AND THE TYPE OF SEA BOTTOM

It has been pointed out above that the floor of the Gutter may be divided into relatively more clayey and relatively more sandy portions. It is now proposed to consider the fauna in relation to these two types of bottom.

The type of fauna found in the more clayey portion, as evidenced by the Petersen grab, is indicated by the samples obtained on August 10 and 31. It will be seen that by far the most abundant species present is *Amphiura filiformis*. The Mollusca, though by no means absent, do not exist here in large numbers, supporting the suggestion that Mollusca in

general, and especially Lamellibranchs, prefer a relatively sandy bottom to a more clayey one. Plate I is based on the five samples obtained on August 31 and represents the average numerical relations obtaining between the forms present and their relative frequency in a sample of a one-tenth of a square metre.

The second or more sandy portion of the Gutter lies more centrally and in slightly shallower water, and its fauna, as evidenced by the Petersen grab, is indicated by the samples taken on August 16, October 21, and November 11. Mollusca predominate here over Echinodermata. The chief species of Mollusc found is *Turritella communis*. Plate II is drawn on the same kind of basis as Plate I, and illustrates the frequency of occurrence of the animals composing the fauna of this second, more sandy region.

Plates I and II thus show the faunal distinction that exists between the samples so far taken from the more clayey and the more sandy portions of the Gutter respectively. In the first series it will be seen that the proportion of *Amphiura filiformis* to *Turritella communis* is 21 : 7, whilst in the second the proportion is reversed, being now 8 : 22. It will be seen that these two provisional regions of the Gutter support faunas which in the range of their species are practically identical, but in which the relative frequency of occurrence of the two most abundant species is reversed.

Petersen's work in the Limfjord has led him to the conclusion that different regions of the sea-floor support different types of animal 'communities.' His investigations also show that each such community may be characterised by one or two dominant species. To characterise the community satisfactorily such species must at all times of the year compose an important part of the whole community, either in number or weight of individuals, and should also give an idea of the conditions upon which the community is dependent. No community of Petersen's corresponds exactly to our community of the Gutter. The nearest approach is one from the Northern Kattegat Station, N. 14, described in his *Report of the Danish Biological Station* to the Board of Agriculture, No. XXI, 1913, published in Copenhagen, 1914. This contains as characteristic species *Turritella terebra* (= *communis*) and *Echinocardium cordatum*, with *Amphiura filiformis* as an attendant species. In a later Report, that for 1918,

Petersen makes reference to *Turritella communis* and *Amphiura filiformis* in relation to a Venus community. Further, in a paper by Southern on 'Marine Ecology in the Clare Island Survey' (*Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, Vol. xxxi., 1915), based on dredgings, evidence is given suggesting that on the west coast of Ireland there may be groupings of the same kind as this one of the Aberystwyth-Newquay Gutter. The latter we name provisionally a *Turritella-Amphiura* grouping, and note that it can be subdivided to a certain extent, according to the relative proportions in which the two characterising forms occur, and according to the mechanical nature of the sea-floor on which they live. The appropriateness or otherwise of the name *Turritella-Amphiura* will become more evident when more detailed investigations have been carried out, as also the extent in which it may be possible to analyse it into *Turritella* and *Amphiura* subdivisions. The occurrence of *Echinocardium cordatum* should be investigated further.

As attendant species to this community we may note the Polychæte worms, which are perhaps on the whole more abundant in the *Amphiura* section, especially *Pectinaria auricoma* and *Sthenelais limicola*. *Nephtys caeca* and *Owenia fusiformis* are, on the other hand, more numerous in the *Turritella* section.

Of the Echinodermata, *Synapta* seems to thrive equally well in both subdivisions, *Echinocardium cordatum* rather preferring the *Turritella* subdivision. Among the Crustacea, the genus *Ampelisca* is found in equal numbers in both subdivisions, *Eupagurus bernhardus* and *Eupagurus cuanensis* preferring the *Turritella* subdivision, where the greater prevalence of Gastropoda no doubt increases their facilities for finding a suitable home.

The residue of the samples after sieving out the muds and removing all the living animals consists mainly of the dead shells of Mollusca and empty tubes of tube-building Polychætes.

#### STOMACH CONTENT INVESTIGATIONS

Some preliminary stomach content analyses have been made in the case of plaice and skate. A haul of the trawl-net was made on May 11, 1922, in the more clayey portion of the Gutter, where the Petersen grab had been used. Most of the fish taken



were small, it being evident that the fishing season of the Gutter had not yet commenced (see account above of the Gutter as a fishing ground). The stomach content of nineteen plaice from 15 to 25 cm. in length was examined with the following result :

Serial number of fish	Echino- dermata		Crustacea		Polychæta					Mollusca			
	<i>Amphiura filiformis</i>	<i>Synapta</i> spp.	<i>Eupagurus bernhardus</i>	<i>Ampelisca</i> spp.	<i>Pectinaria auricoma</i>	<i>Glycera alba</i>	<i>Sthenelais limicola</i>	<i>Aphrodite aculeata</i>	Not identified	<i>Cultellus pellucidus</i>	<i>Mactra</i> sp.	<i>Syndosmya alba</i>	<i>Corbula gibba</i>
1	x	..	x	..	x	..	..	..	..	x	..	..	..
2	x	..	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	x	x	..	x	..	x	x	..	x	..	..	..	..
6	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	x	x	..	..
7	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	x	..	..	..	..	..
9	x	..	..	..	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	x	..	x	..	x	..	..	..	..	x	..	..	..
11	x	..	..	..	x	..	..	..	..	x	..	..	..
12	x	..	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	x	..	..	..
13	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	x	..	..	..	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16	..	x	..	..	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17	..	..	..	x	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	x	x
18	x	..	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	x	..	..	..
19	x	..	..	x	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	16	2	5	3	8	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1

The totals indicate the number of stomachs in which each of the various species was found. It will be seen that by far the most abundant species found in the stomachs of the plaice was *Amphiura filiformis*, this brittle-star being present in sixteen out of nineteen cases. Some stomachs contained nothing but the disintegrated remains of this species, and as the fish were taken from the region of the Gutter where *A. filiformis* is in abundance it will be seen that it forms a suitable feeding ground for plaice. The Crustacea are also fairly well represented in the plaice stomachs ; among them being a few large complete hermit-crabs without their shells, and one wonders how the fish catches the



hermits sufficiently napping to separate them from their houses. Amongst the Polychæte worms, *Pectinaria auricoma* ranks first in frequency. In one stomach three almost perfect specimens of *Aphrodite aculeata* were obtained, and nothing else; the trawl-net on the same date brought up several large adult specimens. The Mollusca are poorly represented, with the exception of *Cultellus pellucidus*; all the Molluscs recorded are Lamellibranchs.

An examination of the stomach content of fifteen young skate from 15 to 25 cm. in length gave the following result :

Serial number of fish	Crustacea			Mollusca			Poly- chæta
	<i>Ampelisca</i> spp.	<i>Crang-</i> <i>onidæ</i>	<i>Nika</i> <i>couchii</i>	<i>Cultellus</i> <i>pellucidus</i>	Not identified	<i>Loligo</i> sp.	Not identified
1	x	x	..	..	..	..	..
2	x	..	x	x	..	..	x
3	x	..	..	..	..	x	..
4	x	..	..	x	..	..	..
5	x	..	..	..	x	..	..
6	x	..	x	..	..	..	..
7	x	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	x	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	x	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	x	x	..	..	..	..	x
11	x	..	..	x	..	..	..
12	x	..	x	..	..	..	..
13	x	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	13	2	3	3	1	1	2

Of the fifteen stomachs examined thirteen contained food. This consisted mainly of Crustacea, with occasional Molluscs and Polychæte worms. Species of the Crustacean genus *Ampelisca* are by far the most abundant item; some stomachs contained no other food, and as many as twenty-three individuals of this genus were found in one stomach. This is in marked contrast with the contents of the plaice stomachs, and an even more strongly marked contrast is the absence from the skate stomachs of *Amphiura filiformis*.

Most invertebrate forms common on the sea-floor in this region are taken as food by one or other of the two fish under considera-

tion, with, however, some notable exceptions. So far *Turritella communis* has not been found in any stomach, nor has *Nephtys cæca*, although the latter species has been found in the stomachs of plaice which we have caught in other parts of the bay.

A comparison of the plaice and skate tables given above suggests that very little competition for food occurs between these two fish.

#### CONCLUDING REMARK

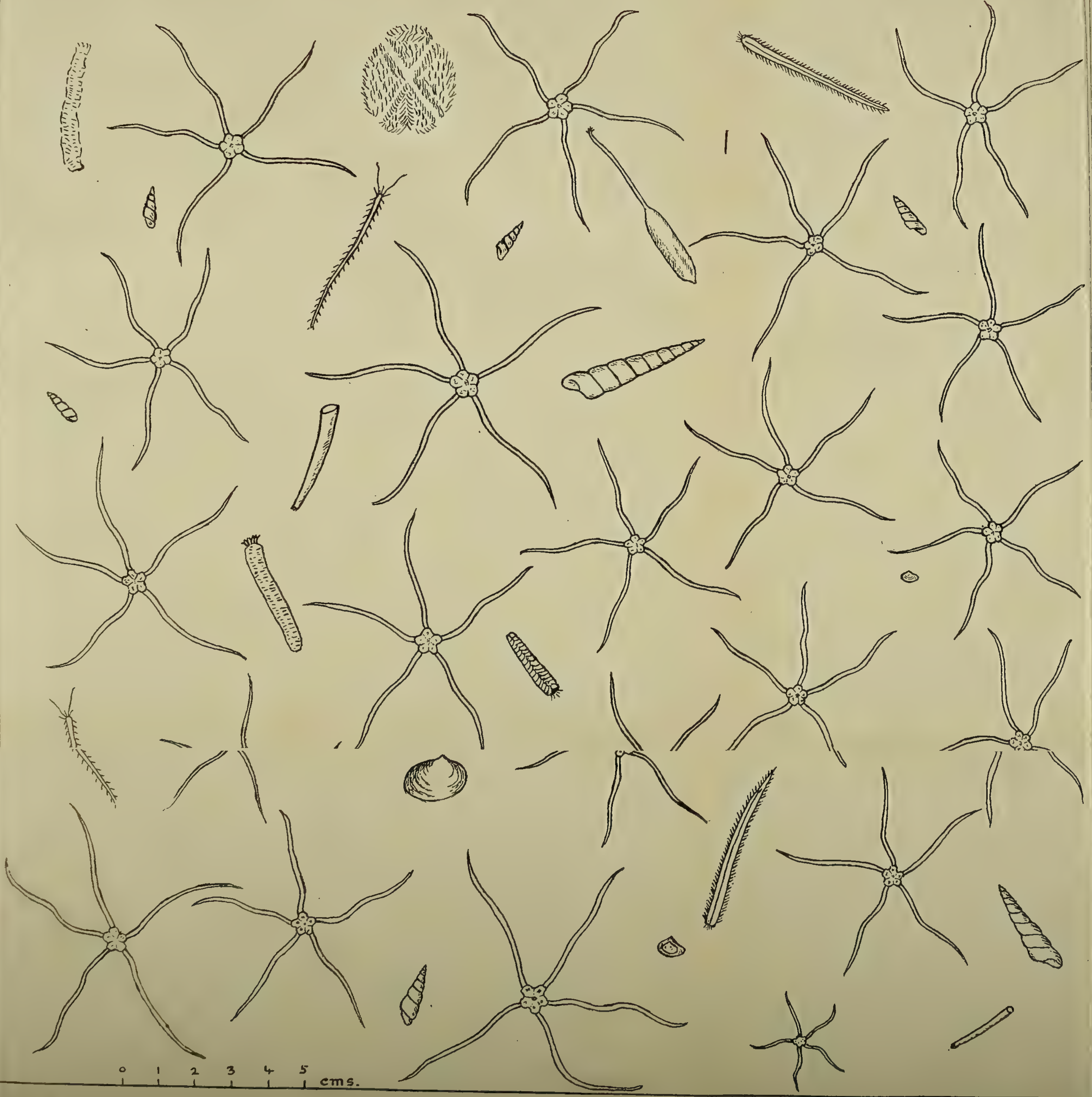
A preliminary study of the fauna of the Aberystwyth-Newquay Gutter shows that certain interrelations obtain between the various species of animals found living therein. We find one species depending upon another for its existence ; we find one species preferring one definite region of the sea-floor to another ; two species living in the same region, but making a different selection from the available food ; some species existing in much greater abundance than others, and the proportional numbers of the forms present varying with the type of sea-floor.

These preliminary results indicate that a wide field of fruitful enquiry awaits the investigator, and we greatly hope that facilities may offer for carrying forward the work we have planned. Increased knowledge of life in the sea may not only be expected to further the elucidation of a variety of scientific problems, but also to render possible the introduction of methods of control that will be of material advantage to the fishing industry.

R. DOUGLAS LAURIE.  
E. EMRYS WATKIN.







0 1 2 3 4 5 cms.



Fauna found on  $\frac{1}{10}$  square metre of sea-floor in *Amphiura* region of *Turritella*-*Amphiura* community. An averaged result is given from the five samples obtained on August 31, 1921, which is graphically depicted on the opposite page. Plate I.

## ECHINODERMATA—

<i>Amphiura filiformis</i>	. . . . .	20.8 individuals.
<i>Synapta digitata</i>	. . . . .	1.0     "
<i>Synapta inhærens</i>	. . . . .	.6     "
<i>Echinocardium cordatum</i>	. . . . .	.2     "

## POLYCHÆTA—

<i>Pectinaria auricoma</i>	. . . . .	2.2     "
<i>Nephtys cæca</i>	. . . . .	1.8     "
<i>Sthenelais limicola</i>	. . . . .	1.6     "
<i>Evarne impar</i>	. . . . .	.8     "

## SIPUNCULOIDEA—

<i>Phascolosoma procerum</i>	. . . . .	.8     "
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## MOLLUSCA—

<i>Turritella communis</i>	. . . . .	7.2     "
<i>Montacuta bidentata</i>	. . . . .	1.4     "
<i>Syndosmya alba</i>	. . . . .	1.2     "
<i>Corbula gibba</i>	. . . . .	.6     "

In addition to the above the following species are found, but which are too small numerically to be depicted. All species above .5 are depicted except in the case of *Echinocardium cordatum* which is included owing to its comparatively large size.

## NEMERTINEA—

<i>Carinella linearis</i>	. . . . .	.2 individuals.
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## POLYCHÆTA—

<i>Owenia fusiformis</i>	. . . . .	.2     "
<i>Aphrodite aculeata</i>	. . . . .	.2     "

## CRUSTACEA—

<i>Ampelisca lævigata</i>	. . . . .	.2     "
<i>Eupagurus cuanensis</i>	. . . . .	.2     "

## MOLLUSCA—

<i>Cultellus pellucidus</i>	. . . . .	.2     "
<i>Sphenia binghami</i>	. . . . .	.2     "

Fauna found on  $\frac{1}{10}$  square metre of sea-floor in *Turritella* region of *Turritella*-*Amphiura* community. An averaged result is given from the eight samples obtained on November 11, 1921, which is graphically depicted on the opposite page. Plate II.

## NEMERTINEA—

<i>Carinella linearis</i> . . . . .	.5 individuals.
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## ECHINODERMATA—

<i>Amphiura filiformis</i> . . . . .	8.1	„
<i>Synapta inharens</i> . . . . .	.8	„
<i>Echinocardium cordatum</i> . . . . .	.1	„

## POLYCHÆTA—

<i>Nephtys cæca</i> . . . . .	2.3	„
<i>Sthenelais limicola</i> . . . . .	1.1	„
<i>Owenia fusiformis</i> . . . . .	.9	„
<i>Pectinaria auricoma</i> . . . . .	.5	„

## SIPUNCULOIDEA—

<i>Phascolion strombi</i> . . . . .	1.0	„
<i>Phascolosoma procerum</i> . . . . .	.8	„

## MOLLUSCA—

<i>Turritella communis</i> . . . . .	22.1	„
<i>Cultellus pellucidus</i> . . . . .	3.5	„
<i>Syndosmya alba</i> . . . . .	.8	„

In addition to the above the following species are found, but which are too small numerically to be depicted except in the case of *Echinocardium cordatum* which is included owing to its comparatively large size.

## PLATYHELMINTHES—

<i>Leptoplana tremellaris</i> . . . . .	.1 individuals.
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## ECHINODERMATA—

<i>Ophiura ciliaris</i> . . . . .	.1	„
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## POLYZOA—

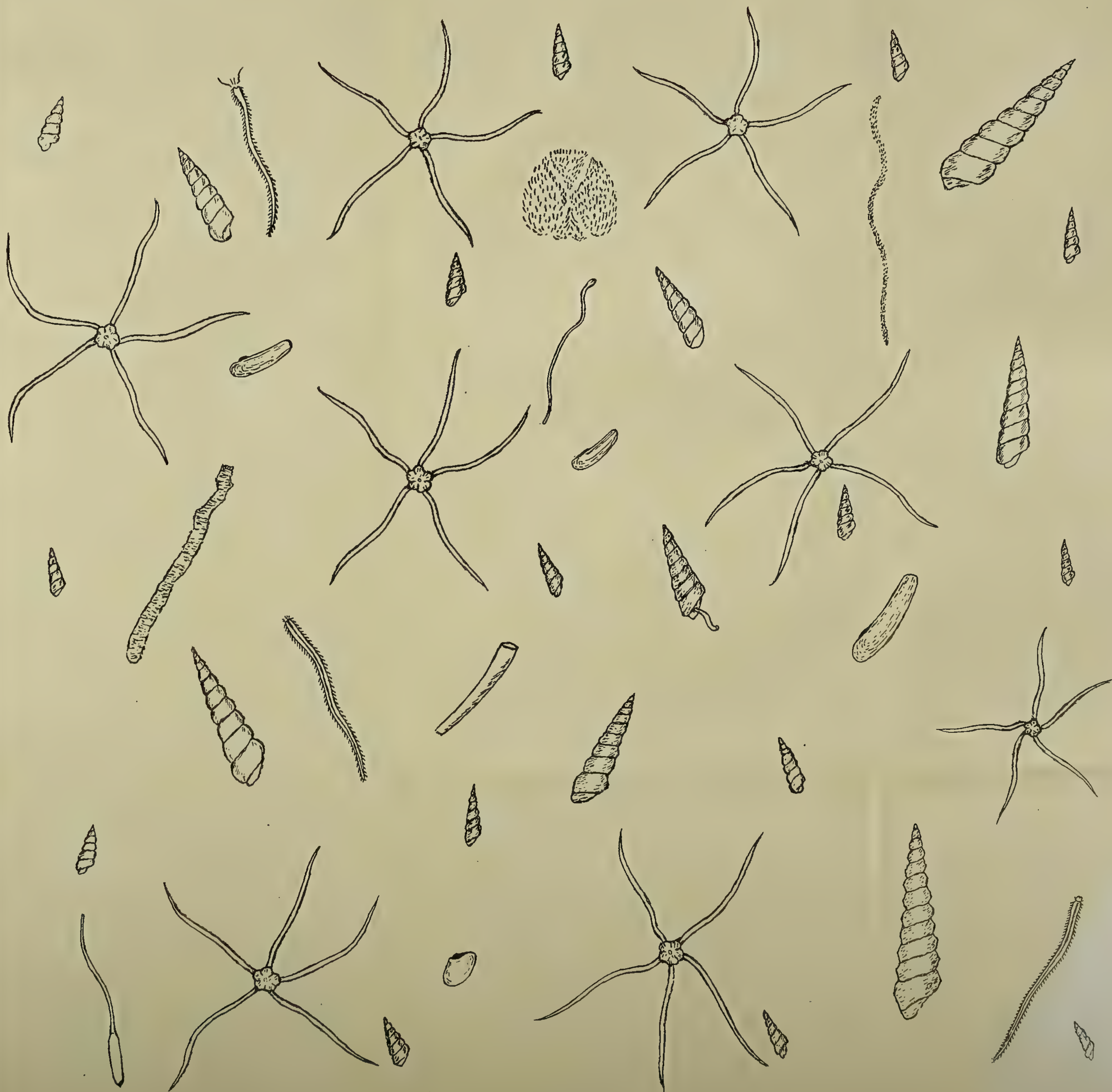
<i>Membranipora pilosa</i> . . . . .	.1	„
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## CRUSTACEA—

<i>Ampelisca lævigata</i> . . . . .	.3	„
<i>Eupagurus bernhardus</i> . . . . .	.3	„
<i>Eupagurus cuanensis</i> . . . . .	.3	„

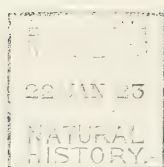
## MOLLUSCA—

<i>Bela rufa</i> . . . . .	.1	„
<i>Bullinella cylindracea</i> . . . . .	.1	„
<i>Philine aperta</i> . . . . .	.1	„
<i>Spisula subtruncata</i> . . . . .	.4	„
<i>Corbula gibba</i> . . . . .	.1	„
<i>Thracia fragilis</i> . . . . .	.1	„
<i>Thyasira flexuosa</i> . . . . .	.1	„



0 1 2 3 4 5 cms.

E.E.W. del.





### 3. THE FAUNA OF THE CLARACH STREAM (CARDIGANSHIRE) AND ITS TRIBUTARIES

#### A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF THE PROBLEM OF LEAD POLLUTION

STUDY of the freshwater fauna of the Aberystwyth district has hitherto been much neglected, owing partly to the superior attractions of the fauna of the seashore, on which most zoological workers here have concentrated their attention, partly also to the acknowledged poverty of the streams.

The only two streams of any considerable size in the immediate neighbourhood of Aberystwyth, namely the Rheidol and the Ystwyth, are absolutely barren of fish, and the Clarach, a much smaller stream, although it does contain a few trout, has not sufficient numbers to make fishing a profitable industry or even a very popular sport. On the other hand, the river Dyfi, only a few miles to the north, is well stocked with salmon and appears to have on a rough inspection a normal abundance of invertebrate fauna.

The poverty of the Aberystwyth streams has always been ascribed as a matter of course, and without much direct evidence, to the influence of lead mining activities, once carried on extensively in the neighbourhood of the head-waters of our rivers, and still polluting their waters through the presence of mine-refuse heaps along their banks. A thorough investigation of the matter seemed to promise points of both scientific and economic interest, and such an investigation has been commenced. The investigation assumes a definite local economic importance at the present time in view of the suggested opening of lead mines near hitherto unpolluted streams, operations which may, if uncontrolled, prove fatal to river fisheries.

An initial step is necessarily the collection and comparison of species from streams in different parts of the area, since up to the present no records have been published. Another

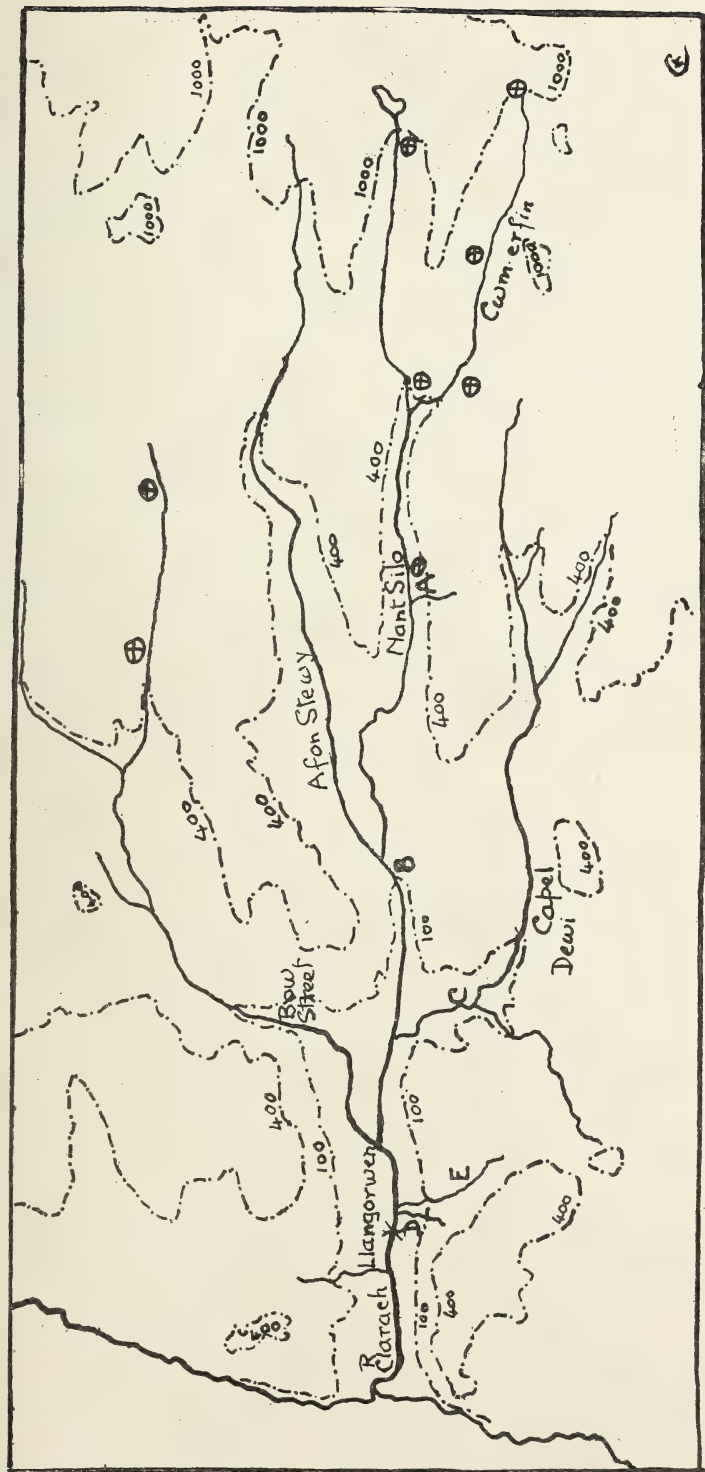
important feature of the work is the analysis of lead-content both in solution in the water and in solid form in the river-bed, and the collation of the results of such analyses with the faunalists of the various localities.

The study of the Clarach stream and its tributaries, an area of about thirty square miles, may well serve as an introduction to a study of the whole district, since within it are reproduced on a small scale many of the features which characterise the larger area. A study of the Clarach basin forms the basis of the present preliminary paper.

The Clarach enters the sea about a mile and a half to the north of Aberystwyth town, on the northern side of Constitution Hill; its two head-streams, the Nant-Silo and the Afon Stewy, draw their waters from the edge of the region known as the High Plateau, just west of the Upper Rheidol Valley, and at about the 1,000 ft. level. The Nant-Silo and its tributary from Cwm-erfin flow through a lead-mining area, and six mines are found along their banks within three miles east to west. These mines have ceased working, like most of those of North Cardiganshire, but heaps of mine-waste and borings in the rock, from which small streams drain into the river, remain to tell the story of former activity. The Afon Stewy and the Capel Dewi affluent, from north and south respectively, have no mines in their immediate neighbourhood; the Bow Street Brook has two near its upper course.

The main stream of the Clarach, swollen by the addition of several smaller tributaries, flows due west to the sea through an old glaciated valley. The river and its tributaries are all rapid, descending abruptly from the higher ground to the level of the valley-floor; the bed is stony in the upper courses, but lower, over the boulder-clay floor, it contains much comparatively fine sediment.

Here, in the lower reaches of the main river, a little above Llangorwen, grow great tufts of *Callitriche verna* and other aquatic vegetation, and round about these tufts may be collected representatives of what is undoubtedly the richest fauna of any stream within the Aberystwyth area. Sheltering among the roots of the *Callitriche* tufts occur seven species of Caddis-larvæ, some dragging with them tubes constructed of leaves or of bark-fragments fallen from the trees which overhang the stream, others, masons in mud and stones, affixing their shelters to the



Scale

Rivers —  
Lead Mines ⊕  
Contour Lines — 100 —  
— 400 —  
— 1000 —

Localities described  
A. B. C. D. E.

THE CLARACH BASIN.

stones in its bed. The worm-like larvæ of several species of Diptera crawl under the stones, and in summer clouds of gnats emerge from their pupation; three Caddis flies and two species of May flies undergo their larval stages here, and Turbellarian flat-worms crawl over the vegetation and stones. Molluscs, rare in the district as a whole, are not unrepresented here, though but small and thin-shelled individuals occur in this district, which is poor in lime. The small bivalve *Sphærium corneum* is found buried in the surface layers of sediment at the sides of the river-bed, the Goat's-horn Shell (*Planorbis spirorbis*) clings to the water-weeds, and on the stones, rasping off the clinging Algæ, are found the Freshwater Limpet (*Ancylus fluviatilis*) and the "snail" (*Limnæa peregra*). Quite large-sized leeches (*Hæmopsis sanguisuga*) prey upon the latter species, and the active and predaceous Water-Mite (*Sperchon glandulosum*) is common. *Gammarus pulex*, the Freshwater Shrimp, is present in large numbers among the roots of the vegetation, and five water-beetles occur, the largest being *Dytiscus marginalis*. On the calmer waters to the sides of the main stream float minute plankton-Copepoda, and here may also be found the Water Boatman (*Corixa geoffroyi*) and the Water-Measurer (*Hydrometra stagnorum*). Last, but by no means least, trout (*Salmo fario*) may be caught in this part of the stream. In all, excluding minute forms such as Protozoa and Rotifers, thirty-nine animal species have been collected from this locality: far and away the greatest number found in any stream of the district.

Collection near the head-waters of the Clarach gives very different results. Near the Nant-Silo lead-mine the stream is already of a fair size, and the growth of vegetation (exclusively Bryophyte and Algal) on the stones of its bed might well afford shelter to quite a number of animal types, yet from this locality only three insect-larvæ have been collected, namely two Diptera and an Ephemerid, other groups being unrepresented. Lower down the same stream, after its union with the Afon Stewy, four new species make their appearance—two Stone-fly larvæ, one Ephemerid, and a Caddis, thus representing two new groups.

The Capel Dewi tributary presents a much richer fauna, including sixteen species and several new groups (*e.g.* Mollusca, Coleoptera, Crustacea), with a far greater abundance of individuals. The fauna of the Afon Stewy is very similar.



Several very small contributory brooks have a remarkable wealth of Turbellarian individuals clinging to the stones and weed, as well as a few small Molluscs which are preyed upon by the leech, *Glossosiphonia complanata*. (*Hæmopsis* does not appear to find a footing in these shallow waters.)

Detailed fauna-lists for a few typical localities are as follows :

LOCALITY A. Nant-Silo, just below the old lead-mine, from which issues a small contributory stream.

<i>Diptera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Tanypus maculatus</i> .	
		<i>Simulium elegans</i> .	
<i>Ephemera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Chlœon simile</i>	Total, 3

LOCALITY B. Below confluence of Nant-Silo and Afon Stewy.

<i>Diptera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Tanypus maculatus</i> .	
		<i>Simulium elegans</i> .	
<i>Ephemera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Chlœon simile</i> .	
		<i>Ecdyurus fluminum</i> .	
<i>Plecoptera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Perlodes dispar</i> .	
		<i>Chloroperla grammatica</i> .	
<i>Trichoptera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Rhyacophila nubila</i>	Total, 7

LOCALITY C. Near Capel-Dewi. No lead-mines above ; volume of stream much as at A.

<i>Diptera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Tanypus maculatus</i> .	
		<i>Simulium elegans</i> .	
		<i>S. sericeum</i> .	
<i>Ephemera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Chlœon simile</i> .	
		<i>Ecdyurus fluminum</i> .	
<i>Plecoptera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Perlodes dispar</i> .	
		<i>Chloroperla grammatica</i> .	
<i>Trichoptera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Rhyacophila nubila</i> .	
		<i>Glossosoma Boltoni</i> .	
<i>Coleoptera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Bidessus geminus</i> .	
		<i>Hydroporus memnonius</i> .	
<i>Hydrachnida</i>	. . . . .	<i>Sperchon glandulosum</i> .	
<i>Amphipoda</i>	. . . . .	<i>Gammarus pulex</i> .	
<i>Mollusca</i>	. . . . .	<i>Ancylus fluviatilis</i> .	
		<i>Pisidium nitidum</i> .	
<i>Oligochæta</i>	. . . . .	<i>Tubifex tubifex</i>	Total, 16

LOCALITY D. Main river, near Llangorwen.

<i>Diptera</i>	. . . .	<i>Tanypus maculatus</i> . <i>Simulium elegans</i> . <i>Dixa maculata</i> .
<i>Ephemerida</i>	. . .	<i>Chlœon simile</i> . <i>Ecdyurus fluminum</i> .
<i>Plecoptera</i>	. . . .	<i>Perlodes dispar</i> . <i>Chloroperla grammatica</i> . <i>Tænipteryx seticornis</i> .
<i>Trichoptera</i>	. . .	<i>Rhyacophila septentrionis</i> . <i>Stenophylax nigricornis</i> . <i>S. infumatus</i> . <i>Brachycentrus montanus</i> . <i>Limnophilus extricatus</i> . <i>L. decipiens</i> . <i>Sericostoma</i> sp.
<i>Coleoptera</i>	. . . .	<i>Bidessus geminus</i> . <i>Agabus chalconotus</i> . <i>Hydrophilus caraboides</i> . <i>Hydrobius fuscipes</i> . <i>Dytiscus marginalis</i> .
<i>Hemiptera</i>	. . . .	<i>Corixa geoffroyi</i> . <i>Hydrometra stagnorum</i> .
<i>Hydrachnida</i>	. . .	<i>Sperchon glandulosum</i> .
<i>Copepoda</i>	. . . .	<i>Cyclops serrulatus</i> . <i>C. fuscus</i> . <i>C. prasinus</i> . <i>Canthocamptus staphylinus</i> . <i>C. minutus</i> .
<i>Ostracoda</i>	. . . .	<i>Cypris virens</i> .
<i>Cladocera</i>	. . . .	<i>Eurycercus lamellatus</i> .
<i>Amphipoda</i>	. . . .	<i>Grammarus pulex</i> .
<i>Mollusca</i>	. . . .	<i>Ancylus fluviatilis</i> . <i>Limnæa peregra</i> . <i>Planorbis spirorbis</i> . <i>Pisidium nitidum</i> .
<i>Hirudinea</i>	. . . .	<i>Hæmopsis sanguisuga</i> .
<i>Turbellaria</i>	. . . .	<i>Dendrocelum lacteum</i> . <i>Polycelis nigra</i> .
<i>Vertebrata</i>	. . . .	<i>Salmo fario</i> . . . . . Total, 39

LOCALITY E. Very small brook near Cwm House.

<i>Diptera</i>	. . . . .	<i>Tanypus maculatus</i> .	
		<i>Simulium elegans</i> .	
<i>Hydrachnida</i>	. . . . .	<i>Sperchon glandulosum</i> .	
<i>Amphipoda</i>	. . . . .	<i>Gammarus pulex</i> .	
<i>Isopoda</i>	. . . . .	<i>Asellus aquaticus</i> .	
<i>Mollusca</i>	. . . . .	<i>Limnæa peregra</i> .	
		<i>L. truncatula</i> .	
<i>Otigochæta</i>	. . . . .	<i>Nais elinguis</i> .	
<i>Hirudinea</i>	. . . . .	<i>Glossosiphonia complanata</i> .	
<i>Turbellaria</i>	. . . . .	<i>Dendrocœlum lacteum</i> .	
		<i>Polycelis nigra</i> .	. . . . . Total, 11

Several features come into prominence when these lists are compared :

(1) The fauna of the main stream (D) is comparatively rich, as might be expected, considering the volume of water and the occurrence of comparatively quiet reaches as well as fairly fine mud.

(2) The fauna of locality A (Nant-Silo) is astonishingly small, especially as compared with that of C, which has about the same volume of water, or of E, where there is a mere trickle ; yet eleven species occur at E, three at A.

Some other factor, then, than the mere physical geography is active in the selection of species in this area. We note that locality A is situated just below one lead-mine, with five others not far above it, while locality C is free from such conditions. Further, at locality B, after the stream from A has met with an unpolluted stream (Afon Stewy), the number of species increases from three to seven, and the number of individuals increases in still greater ratio. The selective factor would thus appear to be the contamination which occurs in the neighbourhood of lead-mines : this is in agreement with the theory which has so far been generally accepted without much definite evidence.

Next arises the question of the actual method of operation of such a selective factor : whether through the clogging of delicate organs by solid particles from the lead-mines or through permeation by lead-substances dissolved in the river-water. The matter is of some economic interest, especially in view of the probable opening of lead-mines near hitherto unpolluted streams in Cardiganshire. Such operations may, if uncontrolled,

prove fatal to river-fisheries ; any method of control must be determined by the mode of operation of the selective factor.

A few results of chemical analysis may be quoted, as follows :

*At A.* Nant-Silo—poorest fauna.

(1) Lead in solution appreciable : 0·05 milligrammes per litre of river-water.

(2) Lead solid in river-sludge : 0·35 per cent.

*At D.* Main river—richest fauna.

(1) Lead in solution not appreciable.

(2) Heavy percentage of lead-solid : 0·12 per cent.

In view of this, it seems likely that the determining factor in the selection of species is the presence of lead in solution rather than in solid form : such a relationship appears to prevail also in other localities of the wider area around Aberystwyth which is being studied. It must, however, be noted that neither factor is exclusive of the other, and both may operate at the same time upon the same or different elements in the river-fauna. In the case of trout, for example, there exists some evidence of the deleterious effect of lead-solids in clogging the gills ; still, even if they can be safeguarded against this, they cannot exist unless their food-organisms be also preserved, and the absence of these latter, such as *Gammarus pulex* and certain Ephemera, from water containing a relatively high proportion of lead in solution is significant.

It is hoped to return to the discussion of the problem at no very distant date, when investigations at present in progress over a wider area shall have been completed.

KATHLEEN E. CARPENTER.



#### 4. ADDITIONS TO THE MARINE FAUNA OF ABERYSTWYTH AND DISTRICT

WHILST carrying out investigations in Marine Zoology in the Aberystwyth district I have from time to time identified animals not previously recorded from the locality. The following list supplements that given by Walton, Fleure and Wright in their 'Notes on the Marine Life of the Shores of Cardiganshire,' which appeared in the *National Union of Teachers' Souvenir of Aberystwyth* Conference, 1911, page 97, published by S. V. Galloway, Aberystwyth, and which was repeated with slight additions by C. L. Walton in the *Journal of the Marine Biological Association*, Vol. X, No. 1, page 102, 1913.

These new records fall into two groups :

1. Forms from the inter-tidal areas. There are forty-five records of such. Where no locality is mentioned the specimens are from the shore immediately adjacent to the Aberystwyth promenade.

2. Bottom-dwelling forms from Cardigan Bay. There are seventy such records, all new for the locality, since the seabottom of Cardigan Bay has not hitherto been explored.

The species marked 'I' are recorded from the Irish Sea area in the report by Professor Herdman and others, presented to the British Association in 1896, or in the list of additions thereto published in the *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Liverpool Marine Biology Committee*, 1919. Those species marked 'P' are recorded in the Plymouth Invertebrate Fauna, [published in the *Journal of the Marine Biological Association*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1904.

##### 1. SHORE FAUNA. NEW RECORDS

###### ANTHOMEDUSÆ :

I.P. *Clava multicornis* (Forskål). G. J. Allman, *Monograph Gymnobl. Hydr.*, 1871, page 246, plate 2. With gonophores. 7.v.20.

- I. *Coryne pusilla* (Gartner). G. J. Allman, *Monograph Gymnobl. Hydr.*, 1871, page 266, plate 4. Near low-tide mark. 25.iv.21.

## LEPTOMEDUSÆ :

- I.P. *Campanularia flexuosa* (Hincks). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 168, plate 33.  
 I. *Sertularia gracilis* (Hassall). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 262, plate 55. 9.xii.22.  
 I.P. *Aglaophenia pluma* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 286, plate 63. Washed on to shore. 24.ii.21.

## ECHINODERMATA :

- Ophiocoma neglecta* (Johnston). Forbes, *Brit. Starfishes*, 1841, page 30, and fig. 28.x.20.  
 I.P. *Ophiothrix fragilis* (Müller). Forbes, *Brit. Starfishes*, 1841, page 60 and fig. as *Ophiocoma rosula*. Laminarian Zone. 15.iii.22.  
*Ophiocoma bellis* (Link). Forbes, *Brit. Starfishes*, 1841, page 53 and fig. Very small specimen, Laminarian Zone. 15.iii.22.

## TURBELLARIA :

- I.P. *Stylochoplana* sp., F. W. Gamble, *Quart. Jour. Micr. Sci.*, 1893, Vol. 34, Part 4, page 497. 4.v.20.

## NEMERTINI :

- P. *Cephalothrix linearis* (Rathke), Oersted. McIntosh, *Brit. Marine Ann.*, 1874, Vol. I, page 208, plate 4. 26.iv.20.  
 I.P. *Tetrastemma candidum* (O. F. Müller). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1874, Vol. I, page 167, plate 2. 9.iii.20.  
 I.P. *Tetrastemma melanocephalum* (Johnston). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1874, Vol. I, page 165, plate 2. Aberystwyth, 20.v.20. Ynyslas, 28.ii.21, etc.  
 I. *Tetrastemma flavidum* (Ehrenberg). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1874, Vol. I, page 170, plate 4.

## NEMATODA :

Kindly identified by Dr. N. A. Cobb, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, U.S.A. 26.i.21.  
*Oncholaimus fuscus* (Bastian), numerous in sand at Ynyslas.  
*Oncholaimus* sp. } new vars. of fuscus or possibly new spp. near  
*Oncholaimus* sp. } fuscus.  
*Enoplus brevis* (Bastian).  
*Monhystera setosa* (Butschli).  
*Enoploides cephalophorus* (?) (Ditlevsen).

## POLYCHÆTA :

*Syllis* sp. McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, Vol. II. Laminarian Zone. 25.iv.21. Genus recorded I.P.

- I.P. *Magalia perarmata* (Marion and Bobretzky). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1908, Vol. II, page 136, plate 59. 4.v.20.
- P. *Evarne impar* (Johnston). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, Vol. I, 1900, page 353, plate 26. 7.v.20.
- I.P. *Phyllodoce maculata* (Linnæus). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1908, Vol. II, page 89, plate 45. 28.x.20. 9.x.20.
- P. *Eteone picta* (De Quatrefages). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1908, Vol. II, page 100, plate 45, etc. Ynyslas, 18.xii.20.
- I.P. *Nereis diversicolor* (O. F. Müller). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1910, Vol. II, page 312, plate 52. Aberystwyth, 28.x.20. Ynyslas, 28.ii.21.
- Staurocephalus Kefersteini* (McIntosh). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1910, Vol. II, page 358, plate 55. 22.iv.21.
- I. *Glycera alba* (De Blainville). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1910, Vol. II, page 486, plate 65, etc. From sand at Ynyslas. 30.ix.21, etc.
- I.P. *Scoloplos armiger* (Müller). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1910, Vol. II, page 510, plate 56. Ynyslas all dates—egg masses on surface of sand. 22.iii.20. 28.ii.21.
- I.P. *Scolecopsis fuliginosus* (Claparède). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1915, Vol. III, page 160, plate 98, etc. Specs. with only 6 or 7 anal. cirri. 26.iv.20. 14.v.20.
- Pygospio elegans* (Claparède). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1915, Vol. III, page 189, plate 93. Very numerous in sand at Ynyslas. Aberystwyth, 9.xii.20.
- I.P. *Dodecaceria concharum* (Oersted). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1915, Vol. III, page 255, plate 91, etc. Extreme low water. Tentacles from 3 to 9. 23.iv.21.
- I.P. *Cirratulus tentaculus* (Montagu). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, 1915, Vol. III, page 242, plate 91, etc. 28.x.20.

SIPUNCULOIDEA :

- P. *Petalostoma minutum* (Keferstein). Selenka, *Die Sipunculiden*, Zweite Hälfte, 1884, page 129 ; in Semper's *Reisen im Archipel der Philippinen*. Single spec., low water. 25.iv.21.

AMPHIPODA :

- Bathyporeia* sp. G. O. Sars, *Crust. of Norway*, Vol. I, 1893, page 137. Ynyslas sand near high water. 27.iv.21. Genus recorded I.P.
- I.P. *Gammarus marinus* (Leach). G. O. Sars, *Crust. of Norway*, Vol. I, 1893, page 497, plate 175. Common. 7.iii.21, 22.iv.21, etc.
- I.P. *Cheirocratus Sundewalli* (Rathke). G. O. Sars, *Crust. of Norway*, Vol. I, 1893, page 524, plate 185. Ynyslas, 28.ii.21.

- I. *Corophium grossipes* (Linne). G. O. Sars, *Crust. of Norway*, Vol. I, 1893, page 614, plate 219. Numerous at Ynyslas, all dates.

- I.P. *Caprella acanthifera* (Leach). G. O. Sars, *Crust. of Norway*, Vol. I, 1893, page 666, plate 239. Low water. 23.iv.21.

## ISOPODA :

- Gnathia maxillaris* (Montagu). G. O. Sars, *Crust. of Norway*, 1899, Vol. II, page 52, plate 22. Larval form from sand at Ynyslas. 22.iv.22.

- Eurydice pulchra* (Leach). Bate and Westwood, *Brit. Sessile Eyed Crust.*, 1868, Vol. II, page 310. Ynyslas, 26.i.21.

## MACRURA :

- I.P. *Leander squilla* (Linnæus). Bell, *Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, 1853, page 305. Numerous. 2.v.21.

## POLYZOA :

- I.P. *Mucronella Peachii* (Johnston). Hincks, *Brit. Mar. Polyzoa*, 1880, page 360, plate 50, investing *Fucus* along with *Sertularia* from base of Constitution Hill. 12.x.20.

- I.P. *Alcyonidium mytili* (Dalyell). Hincks, *Brit. Mar. Polyzoa*, 1880, page 498, plate 70. 4.v.20.

## MOLLUSCA :

- P. *Craspedochilus onyx* (Spengler). Forbes and Hanley, *Brit. Mollusca*, Vol. II, 1853, page 407, plate 59, as *Chiton*. 14.v.20.

- I. *Utriculus obtusus* (Montagu). Jeffreys, *Brit. Conch.*, Vol. IV, 1867, page 423, plate 8. From sand at Ynyslas. 26.i.21, etc.

## 2. BOTTOM FAUNA OF CARDIGAN BAY

There are no previous records of the invertebrate animal life of the sea-bottom of Cardigan Bay. The list of species recorded from the Irish Sea area by Professor Herdman and others and reported to the British Association in 1896, and the list of additions thereto published in the *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Liverpool Marine Biology Committee*, 1918, deals with an area whose southern boundary is considerably north of Aberystwyth, being represented by a line running west from Nevin which is about 53" north latitude. I have examined catches made by trawl and dredge from the Lancashire and Western Sea Fisheries steamer *James Fletcher* and motor boat *Alpha* and by trawl, dredge and Petersen grab or 'bottom sampler' from the Aberystwyth motor-boat *Draig-y-môr*, and have identified the following species :



ANTHOMEDUSÆ :

- I.P. *Hydractinia echinata* (Fleming). G. J. Allman, *Monogr. Gymnobl. Hydr.*, 1871, page 345, plate 15. On Buccinum shell. Trawled off Ynys Bach, S. of New Quay, 13 fms. 5.v.20.

LEPTOMEDUSÆ :

- I.P. *Campanularia flexuosa* (Hincks). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 168, plate 33. Trawled off Ynys Bach, S. of New Quay, 13-14 fms. 3.vi.20, with gonosomes.
- I. *Obelia flabellata* (Hincks). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 157, plate 29, growing on Flustra. Trawled off Ynys Bach, S. of New Quay, 13-14 fms. 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Obelia longissima* (Pallas). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 154, plate 27. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 16.vi.20.
- I.P. *Clytia Johnstoni* (Alder). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 143, plate 24. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 16.vi.20.
- I.P. *Campanulina repens* (Allman). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 189, plate 38. Investing other hydroids. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20 and 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Calycella syringa* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 206, plate 39. Investing other hydroids. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Lafœa dumosa* (Fleming). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 200, plate 41. On Hydrallmania, trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20.
- I.P. *Halecium Beanii* (Johnston). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 224, plate 43. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13 fms. 15.v.20. Off Aberystwyth, 11 fms. 8.ix.20.
- P. *Halecium labrosum* (Alder). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 225, plate 44. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20.
- I.P. *Sertularia abietina* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 226, plate 55. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20. Between Aberayron and Aberystwyth, 11 fms. 2.viii.20.
- I.P. *Sertularia operculata* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 263, plate 54. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20, 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Sertularia argentea* (Ellis and Solander). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 268, plate 56. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20. On Ostrea shell. 3.vi.20. On pebbles. 8.ix.20.
- I.P. *Hydrallmania falcata* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*,

- 1868, page 273, plate 58. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13–14 fms. 15.v.20. With gonothecæ. On *Ostrea* and *Buccinum*. 3.vi.20. Very common.
- I.P. *Sertularella Gayi* (Lamouroux). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 237, plate 46. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13–14 fms. 15.v.20. Between Aberayron and Aberystwyth. With gonothecæ. 11.vi.20.
- I.P. *Sertularella polyzonias* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 235, plate 46. Growing on *Ostrea* trawled off Ynys Bach, 13–14 fms. 31.v.20.
- I. *Sertularella rugosa* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 241, plate 47. Parasitic on *Flustra foliacea*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13–14 fms. 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Diphasia attenuata* (Hincks). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 247, plate 49. Growing on *Hydrallmania*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13–14 fms. 15.v.20 and 3.vi.20. Growing on *Sertularella Gayi*. Trawled between Aberayron and Aberystwyth. 11.viii.20.
- I.P. *Diphasia rosacea* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 245, plate 48. Growing on *Buccinum*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13–14 fms. 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Antennularia ramosa* (Lamouroux). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 282, plate 621. Growing on *Ostrea*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13–14 fms. 16.vi.20.
- I.P. *Plumularia pinnata* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 295, plate 65. Growing on sponge. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13–14 fms. 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Plumularia setacea* (Ellis). Hincks, *Brit. Hyd. Zoophytes*, 1868, page 296, plate 66. Growing on stone dredged 3 miles off Aberystwyth, 11 fms. 8.ix.20.
- Alcyonium digitatum* (Linnæus). S. J. Hickson, *Quart. Journal Micr. Sci.*, Vol. XXXVII, N.S., 1895, page 354, plate 36. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13–14 fms. 15.v.20.

## ZOANTHARIA :

- I.P. *Metridium senilis* (Linnæus). P. H. Gosse, *Hist. Brit. Sea Anemones*, 1860, page 12, figured as *Actinoloba dianthus*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13–14 fms. 16.vi.20.

## ECHINODERMATA :

- P. *Synapta digitata* (Montagu). F. J. Bell, *Cat. Brit. Echinoderms Brit. Mus.*, 1892, page 34, plates 1 and 7. In sand from Bottom Sampler—two spec. in each sample—about 13 fms. in Gutter off N. of Aberayron. 3.v.21.
- I.P. *Antedon bifida* (Pennant). F. J. Bell, *Cat. Brit. Echino. Brit. Mus.*, 1892, page 54, plate 9. Trawled between Aberayron and Aberystwyth. 11.viii.20.

- I.P. *Astropecten irregularis* (Pennant). Forbes, *Hist. Brit. Starfishes*, 1841, page 130, figured as *Asterias aurantiacus*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20, etc.
- I.P. *Solaster papposus* (Fabricius). Forbes, *Hist. Brit. Starfishes*, 1841, page 112. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. Very common. 15.v.20, etc., etc.
- I.P. *Asterias rubens* (Linnæus). Forbes, *Hist. Brit. Starfishes*, 1841, page 83, figured as *Uraster*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 3.vi.20. Common.
- I.P. *Ophiura ciliaris* (Linnæus). F. J. Bell, *Cat. Brit. Echino. Brit. Mus.*, 1892, page 106. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 3.vi.20. Common.
- P. *Amphiura filiformis* (Müller). F. J. Bell, *Cat. Brit. Echino. Brit. Mus.*, 1892, page 119, fig. in Forbes' *Hist. Brit. Starfishes*, page 40. Several specimens in mud from Bottom Sampler from 'Gutter' about 13 fms. off N. of Aberayron. 3.v.21.
- I.P. *Spatangus purpureus* (O. F. Müller). F. J. Bell, *Cat. Brit. Echino. Brit. Mus.*, 1892, page 165. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. Common. 15.v.20, etc., etc.
- I.P. *Echinocardium cordatum* (Pennant). F. J. Bell, *Cat. Brit. Echino. Brit. Mus.*, 1892, page 169, plate 16. In mud of Bottom Sampler from 'Gutter' about 13 fms. off N. of Aberayron. 3.vi.21.

NEMERTINI :

- I.P. *Carinella annulata* (Montagu). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, Vol. I, 1874, page 203, plate 8. Dredged between Aberayron and Aberystwyth. 11.viii.21.

POLYCHÆTA :

- I.P. *Aphrodita aculeata* (Linnæus). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, Vol. I, 1874, page 247, plate 24. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. Common. 15.v.20, etc.
- I.P. *Nereis (Nereilepas) fucata* (Savigny). McIntosh, *Brit. Mar. Ann.*, Vol. II, 1910, page 336, plate 52, etc. In Buccinum shells along with Eupagurus Bernhardus. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20.

HIRUDINEA :

- I.P. *Pontobdella muricata* (Linnæus). McIntosh, *Mar. Invert. and Fishes of St. Andrews*, 1875, page 114, plate 5. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13 fms. 15.v.20, etc.

CRUSTACEA :

- I.P. *Paratylus Swammerdami* (Milne Edwards). G. O. Sars, *Crust. of Norway*, 1893, Vol. I, page 463, plate 163. From sand of Bottom Sampler from 'Gutter' about 13 fms. N. of Aberayron. 3.v.20.

- I.P. *Cheirocratus Sundewalli* (Rathke). G. O. Sars, *Crust. of Norway*, 1893, Vol. I, page 524, plate 185. Dredged three miles off Aberystwyth, 11 fms. 8.ix.20.
- I.P. *Phtisica marina* (Slabber). G. O. Sars, *Crust. of Norway*, 1893, Vol. I, page 646, plate 233. Dredged three miles off Aberystwyth, 11 fms. on Zoophytes. 8.ix.20.
- I.P. *Crangon vulgaris* (Linnæus). Bell, *Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, 1853, page 256, from Sand of Bottom Sampler from 'Gutter' N. of Aberayron. 3.v.21.
- I.P. *Eupagurus Bernhardus* (Linnæus). Bell, *Hist. Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, page 171, figured as *Pagurus*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13 fms. 15.v.20. Common.
- Eupagurus Hyndmanni* (Thompson). Bell, *Hist. Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, page 183. Inhabiting shell of *Turritella communis*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Eupagurus cuanensis* (Thompson). Bell, *Hist. Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, page 178. In *Turritella communis* shell. From 'Gutter' N. of Aberayron in Bottom Sampler—shedding eggs. 8.v.21.
- I.P. *Porcellana longicornis* (Linnæus). Bell, *Hist. Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, 1853, page 193. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. Common. Females in berry. 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Macropodia rostratus* (Linnæus). Bell, *Hist. Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, 1853, page 2, as *Stenorhyncus phalangium*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. Common. 15.v.20, etc.
- P. *Maia squinado* (Herbst). T. Bell, *Hist. Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, page 39 and fig. Trawled off Aberayron, 13-14 fms. 10.vi.21.
- I.P. *Cancer pagurus* (Linnæus). Bell, *Hist. Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, 1853, page 59. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Portunus depurator* (Linnæus). Bell, *Hist. Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, 1853, page 101. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. In berry. 3.vi.20. Common.
- I.P. *Corystes Cassivelaninus* (Pennant). Bell, *Hist. Brit. Stalk-Eyed Crust.*, 1853, page 159. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 31.v.20.

## POLYZOA :

- Gemellaria loricata* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Mar. Polyzoa*, 1880, page 18, plate 3. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20.
- I.P. *Scrupocellaria reptans* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Mar. Polyzoa*, 1880, page 52, plate 7. Growing on Flustra. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 3.vi.20, etc., etc.



- I. *Flustra foliacea* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Mar. Polyzoa*, 1880, page 115, plates 14 and 16. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20, etc., etc. Very common.
- I.P. *Membranipora pilosa* (Linnæus). *Var. dentata*. Hincks, *Brit. Mar. Polyzoa*, 1880, page 137, plate 23. Trawled between Aberayron and Aberystwyth. 11.viii.20.
- I.P. *Lepralia foliacea* (Ellis and Solander). Hincks, *Brit. Mar. Polyzoa*, 1880, page 300, plate 47. Trawled between Aberayron and Aberystwyth. 11.viii.20.
- I.P. *Crisia eburnea* (Linnæus). S. F. Harmer, *Quart. Jour. Micr. Sci.*, Vol. XXXII, N.S., 1891, page 131, plate 12. On *Flustra*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Alcyonidium gelatinosum* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Mar. Polyzoa*, page 491, plate 69. Trawled between Aberayron and Aberystwyth, 11 fms. 8.ix.20.
- I.P. *Bowerbankia pustulosa* (Ellis and Solander). Hincks, *Brit. Mar. Polyzoa*, page 522, plate 76. Dredged three miles off Aberystwyth, 11 fms. 8.ix.20.
- I.P. *Amathia lendigera* (Linnæus). Hincks, *Brit. Mar. Polyzoa*, page 516, plate 74. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20.

MOLLUSCA :

- I.P. *Turritella communis* (Lamarck). Jeffreys, *Brit. Conch.*, Vol. IV, page 80, plate 2, as *T. terebra*. From 'Gutter' N. of Aberayron in Bottom Sampler. 3.v.21.
- I.P. *Buccinum undatum* (Linnæus). Forbes and Hanley, *Brit. Moll.*, 1853, Vol. III, page 401, plate 109. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20, etc., etc. Common.
- P. *Tritonofusus gracilis* (Costa). Forbes and Hanley, *Brit. Moll.*, 1853, Vol. III, page 416, plate 103, as *Fusus islandicus*. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 3.vi.20.
- I.P. *Scaphander lignarius* (Linnæus). Jeffreys, *Brit. Conch.*, Vol. IV, page 443, plate 8. Trawled between Aberayron and Ynys Bach. 16.vi.20.
- I.P. *Nucula nitida* (Sowerby). Forbes and Hanley, *Brit. Moll.*, Vol. II, page 218, plate 47. From 'Gutter' N. of Aberayron in Bottom Sampler. 3.v.20. 13 fms.
- I.P. *Ostrea edulis* (Linnæus). Jeffreys, *Brit. Conch.*, Vol. II, page 38, plate 1. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 31.v.20.
- I.P. *Pecten opercularis* (Linnæus). Jeffreys, *Brit. Conch.*, Vol. II, page 59, plate 2. Trawled off Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20.
- I. *Scrobicularia prismatica* (Montagu). Jeffreys, *Brit. Conch.*, Vol. II, page 435. From 'Gutter' N. of Aberayron in Bottom Sampler. 3.v.20.

- I.P. *Cultellus pellucidus* (Pennant). Jeffreys, *Brit. Conch.*, Vol. III, page 14, as *Solen pellucidus*. From 'Gutter' N. of Aberayron in Bottom Sampler. 3.v.21.
- I.P. *Loligo media* (Linnæus). Forbes and Hanley, *Brit. Moll.*, 1853, Vol. IV, page 228, Vol. I., plate Q.Q.Q. Trawled Ynys Bach, 13-14 fms. 15.v.20.
- I.P. *Eledone cirrhosus* (Lamarck). Jeffreys, *Brit. Conch.*, Vol. V, page 146, plate 7. Trawled off Aberystwyth, 9 fms. 14.x.20.

ELSIE HORSMAN.

## 5. THE BRYOPHYTA OF ARCTIC-ALPINE ASSOCIATIONS IN WALES

THE two counties Carnarvon and Merioneth have long been famous for their rich bryophytic *Flora*, and this has been very thoroughly investigated and recorded by two or three critical bryologists who have lived in North Wales for many years and by others visiting the district periodically; but the Bryophyte *Associations* of the high mountains have not received the attention which they deserve in this country.

The study which forms the subject of the present article was begun by the writer about ten years ago as forming part of a general comparative investigation of the associations of bryophytes on the high mountains of the Alps, Scottish Highlands and North Wales. This was interrupted during the war, and in the past three years since the war the writer's time being completely occupied with research in Genetics, his investigation of these mountain tops has been restricted to a few weeks' excursion in the early autumn of each year. It is only proposed to deal here with that portion which relates to Wales (with occasional brief reference to corresponding types in Scotland), and this article must be considered a brief preliminary account, the publication of which is only justified by the absence of literature dealing with the subject in this country and the regrettable project of planting exotics on Snowdon, which if carried out on a large scale must inevitably alter the original character of the vegetation by the introduction of foreign species.

The mountain areas dealt with are as follows:

(1) The whole range of Snowdon from the upper limits of the Sub-alpine region to the summit (3,560 ft.), including Y-Wyddfa, the summit, Y-Lliwedd, Crib Goch, Crib-y-ddysgl and Braich Main, with the upper portions of the valleys Cwm Llan, Cwm Dyli, Cwm Glas Mawr and Llyn Glas (west of Braich Main).

(2) The summit ridge of Carnedd Dafydd (3,426 ft. alt.).

(3) The summits of Glyder Fawr and Glyder Fach from the

'Devil's Kitchen,' Cwm Idwal and the slopes on the opposite (south) side (3,279 ft. and 3,262 ft. respectively).

(4) Aran Mawddwy summit (2,970 ft.) and the rocky ravines and precipices on the eastern side of the ridge, above Craiglyn Dyfi, Merioneth.

(5) The whole range of Cader Idris from the upper Sub-alpine to the summit, Pen-y-Gader (2,970 ft.).

### THE ARCTIC-ALPINE PLANT FORMATION

(a) *The true upper Arctic-alpine* is scarcely represented in the area under consideration, the altitudes not being great enough to harbour such plants as :

*Andreaea nivalis*, Hook ;

„ „ „ var. *fuscescens*, Hook ;

*Marsupella nevicensis* (Carr.), Kaal. ;

*Alicularia Breidlerii*, Limpr. ;

*Gymnomitrium varians* (Lindb.), Schiffn. ;

„ *crassifolium*, Carr. ;

*Pleuroclada albescens* (Hook), Spruce. ;

which form such a characteristic association at the summit of Ben Nevis near the 'snow line.' Similarly the 'Marsupella Association,' which sparsely covers considerable areas of gravelly granitic detritus on the summits of the Carn Gorm mountains of Inverness and the eastern borders of Aberdeen, is unrepresented in Wales, there being no extensive outcrop of Granite at a high altitude on exposed summits.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *The Lower Arctic-alpine*.—The altitude at which the Alpine region meets the Upper Sub-alpine varies considerably according to local conditions, but the average may be taken as 2,500 feet in North Wales.

It is composed of the following associations :

I. The Chomophyte Association of Crags and Corries.

II. The Moss-Lichen Association.

III. *Rhacomitrium* Heath.

IV. *Anthelia* Association.

<sup>1</sup> The author hopes, after the publication of a future paper elsewhere, on the Bryophyte vegetation of parts of the North-West Highlands of Scotland, to discuss the equivalent associations in the two mountain areas, with special reference to the geological formations, which it is impossible to go into here in the space available.



V. Alpine bogs.

VI. *Festuca* grassland.

# I. THE CHOMOPHYTE ASSOCIATION OF CRAGS AND CORRIES

This is essentially an association of Bryophyta, although Phanerogams are often locally dominant in the corries. Craggs and corries occupy the greater part of the Alpine region of Snowdon and Cader Idris as well as the eastern side of Aran Mawddwy and the northern side of the Glyder Fawr and Glyder Fach ridge over Cwm Idwal, Y-Tryfan, etc.

The list of Mosses and Hepaticæ occurring more or less frequently is a long one, while the rare species are very numerous.

Representative species are best considered under three sub-associations :

## (1) Damp or dripping rocks :

*Andreaea alpina*, Smith cum fr. Frequent—abundant.

*Campylopus Swartzii*, Schp. Rare.

„ *flexuosus*, Brid. Frequent.

„ *fragilis*, B. & S. Occasional.

„ *atrovirens*, De Not. Frequent.

*Dicranum falcatum*, Hedw. Rare.

„ *starkei*, W. & M. Occasional.

*Fissidens adiantoides*, Hedw. Frequent.

*Grimmia torquata*, Hornsch. Rare.

„ *atrata*, Mielich. Rare.

*Rhacomitrium protensum*, Braun. Frequent.

*Barbula spadicea*, Mitt. Occasional.

*Trichostomum tenuirostre*, Lindb. Frequent.

*Zygodon Mougeotii*, B. & S. Occasional.

*Bryum filiforme*, Dicks. cum fr. Frequent.

„ *alpinum*, Huds. Frequent.

*Hypnum uncinatum*, Hedw. Occasional.

*Preissia quadrata* (Scop.), Nees. Occasional.

*Aneura pinguis* (L.), Dum. cum per. Occasional.

„ *multifida* (L.), Dum. cum per. Occasional.

*Marsupella emarginata* (Ehrh.), Dum. Abundant.

*Alicularia compressa* (Hook), Nees. Frequent.

*Eucalyx obovatus* (Nees), Breidl. Frequent.

*Gymnocolea inflata* (Huds.), Dum. Rare.

*Lophozia ventricosa* (Dicks.), Dum. Abundant.

„ *Floerikii* (Web. & Mohr.), Schiffn. Frequent.

- Plagiochila asplenioides* (L.), Dum. Frequent.  
*Saccogyna viticulosa* (Sm.), Dum. Frequent.  
*Bazzania trilobata* (L.), Gray. Occasional.  
     ,, *tricrenata* (Wahl.), Pears. Rare.  
     ,, *triangularis*, Pears. Rare.  
*Herberta adunca* (Dicks.), Gray. V. rare.  
     ,, *Hutchinsiae* (Gottsche), Evans. Occasional.  
*Diplophyllum taxifolium* (Wahlenb.), Dum. Rare.  
*Scapania crassiretis*, Bryhn. V. rare.  
     ,, *obliqua* (Arnell), Schiffn. Frequent. Forming very  
         large patches in rocky streamlets.  
     ,, *dentata*, Dum. Abundant.  
*Frullania Tamarisci* (L.), Dum. cum per. Frequent.

(2) Exposed dry rocks :

- Andreaea petrophila*, Ehrh. cum fr. Abundant.  
     ,, *Rothii*, Web. & Mohr. cum fr. Frequent.  
*Dicranoweisia crispula*, Lindb. cum fr. Occasional.  
*Grimmia Doniana*, Sm. cum fr. Frequent.  
     ,, *ovata*, Schwaeg. Rare.  
*Rhacomitrium heterostichum*, Brid. Abundant.  
*Tortula princeps*, De Not. Rare.  
*Barbula rubella*, Mitt. Frequent.  
*Gymnomitrium concinnum* (Light.), Corda. Frequent.  
     ,, *obtusum* (Lindb.), Pears. Frequent.  
     ,, *alpinum* (Gottsche), Schiffn. V. rare.  
*Alicularia scalaris* (Schrad.), Corda. Abundant.

(3) Sheltered rock crevices or clefts :

- Tetraphis Browniana*, Grev. Rare.  
*Ditrichum zonatum*, Limpr. Rare.  
*Swartzia montana*, Lindb. Frequent.  
*Dicranum fulvellum*, Smith. Rare.  
     ,, *Schisti*, Lindb. Rare.  
*Bartramia ithyphylla*, Brid. Occasional.  
*Webera cruda*, Schwaeg. Frequent.  
*Alicularia scalaris* (Schrad.), Corda. Abundant.  
*Diplophyllum albicans* (L.), Dum. Abundant.

## II. THE MOSS-LICHEN ASSOCIATION

This is an open association dominated by Lichens and Bryophyta and having a few species of Phanerogams. The number of

Bryophytes in each particular case is principally dependent upon the degree of stability of the stones. The mobile scree is devoid of vegetation. On the relatively stable scree, consisting of large stones under Y-Lliwedd and Braich Main (Snowdon) and on the north side of Cader Idris, east of the precipices over Llyn-y-Gader, *Grimmia Doniana*, Smith is dominant, produces abundant capsules and is usually the only moss growing directly on the bare stones.

On the areas of stable boulders where, owing to the more gradual slope, a certain amount of earth is allowed to accumulate between the stones, the following Bryophyta are typical. Lichens are very numerous :

- Andreæa petrophila*, Ehrh. Abundant.
- „ *Rothii*, Web. & Mohr. Frequent.
- Grimmia Doniana*, Smith. Frequent.
- Rhacomitrium heterostichum*, Brid. Abundant.
- „ *lanuginosum*, Brid. Frequent.
- Gymnomitrium concinnatum* (Lightf.), Corda. Rare.
- „ *crenulatum*, Gottsche. Frequent.
- Alicularia scalaris* (Schrad.), Corda. Frequent.
- Diplophyllum albicans* (L.), Dum. Abundant.

Such conditions as this prevail over considerable tracts near the summits of the higher mountains, especially along the broad ridge of Carnedd Dafydd ; on the western side of Snowdon from Clogwyn-dur-arddu to Y-Wyddfa ; on the summit and southern side of Glyder Fawr and Glyder Fach and around the summit of Aran Mawdddy and Cader Idris.

In the lower part of the alpine region *Cryptogramme crispa* Br. is the dominant vascular plant. At higher altitudes this Fern gives way to *Vaccinium Myrtillus* L.

### III. RHACOMITRIUM HEATH

This is a 'closed' association forming a thickly-matted carpet, usually studded with boulders. There is a considerable area of *Rhacomitrium* Heath below the Moss-Lichen Association on the summit ridge of Carnedd Dafydd and smaller stretches on Snowdon. Slight depressions in the general contour of the slope tend to become covered with this association, while the more exposed positions, or places where the Moss carpet is torn up by violent storms, revert to the Moss-Lichen Association.

Plants of *Vaccinium Myrtillus* L. and *Empetrum nigrum* L. are scattered here and there, but *Rhacomitrium lanuginosum*, Brid. is the dominant plant and in some cases is the only species of Moss found in the association. The Lichen *Cladina rangiferina*, Nyl. is abundant and *Cetraria islandica*, Ach. frequent.

On the borders of the Moss-Lichen Association transitional types between these two associations are sometimes found, but on the whole the *Rhacomitrium* Heath, although undoubtedly poorest of all in species, is perhaps the most marked and characteristic in the whole Alpine region.

#### IV. THE ANTHELIA ASSOCIATION ('ANTHELIETUM')

On the east side of Crib Goch (Snowdon), at an altitude of 2,600–2,800 feet, and in the damp rocky ravines between the precipices on the eastern side of the Aran Mawddwy ridge, the Anthelia Association is well developed.

*Anthelia julacea* (L.), Dum. is always noticeably dominant, most frequently forming rounded cushions which are a pure association of this species; *Alicularia scalaris* (Schrad.), Corda and *Lophozia alpestris* (Schleich), Evans are, however, occasionally intermixed. Each year as the new stems of the Hepatic develop and detritus washed down collects at the base the cushions become higher and spread laterally until, as in the first of the two localities mentioned, they are ultimately several yards across. These *Anthelieta* are only developed where there is an abundant water supply.

#### V. ALPINE BOGS

Large Sphagnum bogs are not found in the Alpine region on the Welsh mountains, but small boggy areas are found in many places, frequently by the side of streamlets, near the lower limit, extending up from the Sub-alpine region where they are of wide occurrence.

In a typical example, some fifty square yards at an altitude of about 2,600 feet, the following species were abundant:

- Sphagnum recurvum*, P. de Beauv., var. *majus* Angstr. (pro parte).  
 „ „ var. *robustum*, Breidl.  
 „ *Russowii*, Warnstorf., var. *poecilum* Russ.  
 „ *auriculatum*, Schimp., var. *ovatum*, Warnstorf.  
 „ *plumulosum*, Roll., var. *purpureum*, Warnstorf.



- Sphagnum rubellum*, Wils., and  
 „ *acutifolium*, Ehrh. are frequent.  
*Polytrichum commune*, L. Abundant.  
*Aulacomnium palustre*, Schwaeg. Abundant.  
*Philonotis fontana*, Brid. Abundant.  
*Hypnum revolvens*, Schwartz. Abundant.  
 „ *stramineum*, Dicks. Frequent.

In these small mountain bogs in North Wales, dominated by *Sphagnum*, *Hepaticæ* are rarely actually present in the tufts, but *Ptilidium ciliare* (L.), *Hampe* occurs frequently between them.

## VI. SCATTERED FESTUCA GRASSLAND

Patches of grassy turf, dominated by *Festuca ovina* L. exist in many places near the summits as well as on the sides of the mountains. *Polytrichum alpinum* L. (frequently with abundant capsules) is usually the dominant Moss in this association. In places where the grasses develop more luxuriant growth, under the shade of rocks, etc., *Hylocomium loreum*, B. & S. is frequently abundant, while a rather large number of species of *Hepaticæ* are occasional or rare. Unlike the associations described above, however, in the present one Bryophyta constitute a relatively insignificant part of the whole, their extent being dependent upon the amount of moisture available.

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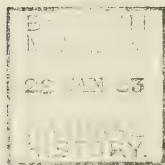
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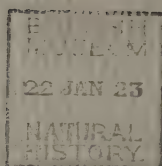
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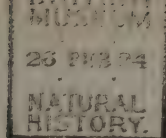
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## THE GOVERNMENT OF NICOLAS DE OVANDO IN ESPAÑOLA (1501-1509), AS THROWING LIGHT UPON THE QUESTION OF THE TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS BY THE SPANIARDS <sup>1</sup>

It would be difficult to frame a more serious indictment than that which has been brought against the earlier Spanish governors and settlers in the New World, on the ground of their treatment of the native inhabitants of the lands which they occupied. It has been alleged that the Spaniards were guilty of almost incredible atrocities, that they caused the death of thousands, if not of millions, of innocent men, women and children. It is further asserted that they had not even the excuse of ignorance, or of obedience to superior orders, since their own Government consistently impressed upon them the duty of treating the Indians humanely. And it is declared that to their barbarity, they added hypocrisy, since they professed that all their actions were dictated by a desire to secure the material and moral salvation of those whom they so ruthlessly destroyed.

During some four hundred years, these charges have been brought against the Spaniards; throughout that period, their truth has hardly been questioned. Within twenty-five years of the discovery of the New World, Las Casas began to hold up to reprobation the conduct of his fellow-countrymen towards the Indians, and that moral indignation which inspired his fiery denunciations has found a ready echo in the pages of later writers. It is true that the famous *Brevisima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias Occidentales*, with all its palpable extravagances, has been generally recognised for what it is, a mere essay in controversial literature. But the same writer's *Historia de las Indias* has been accepted as authentic history, its unsupported asser-

<sup>1</sup> Paper read before the Fifth International Historical Congress at Brussels, April, 1923.

tions as statements of fact.<sup>1</sup> The main contention of Las Casas has been admitted to be just, and such protests as have been raised against it have been somewhat lightly dismissed as the outcome of self-interest or of national prejudice.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, if these charges are to be believed, it must also be believed that the Spanish conquerors were peculiarly atrocious criminals, and further that there was a most complete divergence between the theory and the practice of Spanish administration in America. For the theory of that administration was admittedly admirable.<sup>3</sup> The welfare of the Indians was a foremost, if not the foremost, consideration in all the instructions issued by the home Government. Isabella the Catholic was enthusiastically devoted to the task of securing the salvation of the natives; even the permission, which she granted, for the enslavement of the Caribs was dictated by a

<sup>1</sup> In some cases, the statements of Las Casas have been even exaggerated by later writers. For example, Las Casas (*Historia de las Indias*, II, 8; *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, Vol. 64, p. 46), says: 'Creo que á la gran señora vieja, que arriba dijimos llamarse Higuanamá . . . la ahorcaron, si bien me acuerdo.' In Washington Irving (*Life of Columbus*, Bk. VIII, c. iii.; ed. 1828, Vol. I, 395) this becomes: 'An aged female cacique of great distinction, named Higuinama, being taken prisoner, was hanged.'

<sup>2</sup> These protests have been neither numerous nor effective. Oviedo (*Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, Bk. III, c. vi.; ed. 1851, Vol. I, p. 73) contents himself with noting the divergence of opinion between the Franciscans and the Dominicans, and with the pious suggestion that the misfortunes of the natives must have been the result of some sin on their part, since 'Dios . . . no hace cosa injusta.' An attempt to controvert Las Casas is found in an anonymous letter written from Peru to Philip II in 1571 (*Doc. Ined. España*, 13, p. 425 *et seq.*). Ricardo Cappa (*Estudios Críticos, acerca de la Dominación Española en América*, Vol. II, p. 1 *et seq.*) tends to question the crimes of the Spaniards; Blanco Herrero (*Dominación Española en Ultramar, passim*) denies them by taking for granted that the legislation of Spain was in complete accord with the practice of colonial administrators. But the Spanish historians who gathered to celebrate the fourth centenary of Columbus at Madrid (1892-4) appear to have agreed in accepting the views of Las Casas as to the treatment of the natives (cp. *El Continente Americano, conferencias dadas en el ateneo . . . de Madrid*, 1892-1894).

<sup>3</sup> 'Es opinión por nadie contradicha, y puede en consecuencia elevarse á la categoría de verdad inconcusa, que las leyes que dió España á sus posesiones de Ultramar son uno de los más gloriosos monumentos de su historia nacional' (Fabie, *Ensayo Histórico sobre la Legislación de los Estados Españoles de Ultramar*, in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al descubrimiento . . . de las antiguas posesiones Españolas de Ultramar*, 2da serie, Vol. 5, I, p. v.).



desire to bring those cannibals to a better way of life, and to protect from them their unhappy victims, the peaceful Indians.<sup>1</sup> After her death, a less altruistic spirit may have prevailed, but even Ferdinand displayed a shrewd appreciation of his own interest and insisted upon the importance of good treatment of the natives.<sup>2</sup>

The supposition that there was such divergence between the theory and the practice of Spanish administration presents a difficulty, which has been generally recognised. Las Casas attempted to solve it by means of the further supposition that Ferdinand and Isabella were deceived with peculiar ease.<sup>3</sup> Other suggested solutions have been little more satisfactory. It has been argued that the distance between Spain and the Indies was so great as to make any real supervision impossible, and it has been supposed that the settlers were men who could not be controlled. But it is hardly credible that all the governors sent out, or even a large proportion of them, were men who at once availed themselves of the lack of direct supervision to disregard the express orders of their sovereigns, and, as to the character of the settlers, it is well established that in Española, at least, they were reduced to almost servile obedience by Ovando.<sup>4</sup>

But since the attempted solutions of the problems are so little satisfactory, there would seem to be ground for suggesting another solution, or rather, for doubting the very existence of the problem. It is, after all, possible that there was no such divergence as has been supposed between the theory and the practice of Spanish administration in the New World. There is, assuredly, nothing intrinsically improbable in the

<sup>1</sup> 'Por lo qual, aborreciendo la Reina esta nueva de comer Carne Humana, que para ella fue mui espantosa, i la relacion de sus barbaras, i bestiales costumbres, mandó dár una Patente; cuiu substancia era; Que . . . para el servicio de Dios, sosiego, i seguridad de los Indios pacíficos, convenia, que fuesen castigados. . . . Acordaron de dar licencia . . . cautivar, i llevar à qualesquier partes, para venderlos' (Herrera, *Historia de las Indias*, Dec. 1, lib. 6, c. 10).

<sup>2</sup> For the policy of Ferdinand, see D.I.I. (i) 36, pp. 192-5, 257-263, 270-272. Ferdinand, perhaps, insisted more than Isabella had done upon the need for the production of gold and other metals, and for the development of the material resources of Española.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, II, 12; D.I.E. 64, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Las Casas, II, 40; D.I.E. 64, p. 205. Herrera, I, 6, xvii. Oviedo III, 12.

suggestion that governors obeyed the orders which they had received ; that they did so would appear to be even probable when it is remembered that loyalty was a marked characteristic of the Spaniards of the early sixteenth century, loyalty which was proof against the basest royal ingratitude. Nor is it surprising if, in the heat of controversy, instances of cruelty were magnified or if atrocities were invented. Ardent champions of a particular cause have not infrequently been led to exaggerate ; they have not infrequently been the victims of an honest credulity which has produced ready belief in all that appears to support the cause which they have at heart. It is not impossible that the Spaniards were less guilty than has been alleged, and it is therefore worth while to consider the extent to which the accusations brought against them rest upon any sure evidence. Upon this question, the history of the Government of Fray Nicolas de Ovando in Española would seem to throw some light.

The instructions, given to Ovando <sup>1</sup> prior to his departure for the Indies, were very explicit, and were emphasised both by a royal answer to various questions asked by the governor and by a lecture on the theory of colonial government delivered to him in the presence of the sovereigns and not improbably composed or revised by Ferdinand himself. Ovando was to promote the cause of religion by every means in his power, regarding this as his primary duty. He was to hold the residencia of Bobadilla and to send him back to Spain, together with such as he should find to have been foremost in causing the recent disturbances in the island. He was to restore to Columbus the property which Bobadilla had confiscated, and to allow Sanchez de Carvajal to act as the Admiral's steward in the island, from which the Admiral himself was to be excluded. He was to enforce the payment of the royal dues, which had been remitted without authority by Bobadilla ; to promote the material prosperity of the island, and to found new settlements, in which the Spaniards were to be compelled to reside

<sup>1</sup> The text of the instructions given to Ovando is printed in the *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos . . . de archivos . . . de Indias*, 1ra serie, Vol. 31, p. 13 *et seq.* Cédulas relative to various points in those instructions are in D.I.I. (i), Vol. 30 and Vol. 31. The answer to Ovando's questions is in D.I.I. (i), Vol. 31, p. 50 *et seq.* The curious lecture on colonial government is in Herrera, I, 4, xiii. An English paraphrase of the greater part of the lecture is in Helps, *Spanish Conquest of America*, Bk. III, c. 1.

that they might be more completely under the control of the Government. In the interest alike of good order and of religion, Ovando was instructed to prevent the immigration of undesirables and to deport such as he might find in the island, from which aliens were also to be excluded.

Finally, in the matter of the natives, Ovando was to preserve peace between them and the Spaniards, administering equal justice to both races. He was to labour for their conversion, 'which is the greatest good that can be procured for them,' and in this matter he was to act in collaboration with the clergy in the island.

'You shall see to it,' the instructions continue, 'that the Indians be well treated and be able to go securely throughout the land, and that no one does violence to them, or robs them, or does to them other ill or damage, setting for such action the penalties which you shall find to be necessary, and exacting them from persons who may be guilty, and on this matter you shall make the needful proclamation and issue the needful prohibitions. You must on our behalf declare to the caciques and to the other chief men that we desire that the Indians shall be well treated as our good subjects and vassals, and that no one shall dare to do to them ill or wrong,'

and that anyone doing any injury to the Indians will be punished. The instructions continue:

'As we are informed that some Christians of the said islands, especially of Española, have taken from the said Indians their wives and daughters and other things, contrary to their will, you shall prohibit under severe penalties anyone henceforth to dare to do such things, and if they wish to marry with the Indian women, it shall be by the free will of those concerned and not by violence.'

The Indians are to pay dues,

'but since the manner in which they shall be paid and collected must be according to the nature of the land, you shall speak on our behalf with the caciques and other chief persons, and the Indians as you shall see fit, and by their will shall agree with them as to what shall be paid annually to us by each as tribute, and as to the manner of payment, that they may know that no injustice is done to them. As for the collecting of gold and for the other work which we command to be performed, it will be necessary for us to make use of the services of the Indians, you shall compel them to work in our service, paying to each one the wages which you shall consider that they ought justly to have, according to the character of the land.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Procurareys como los yndios sean bien tratados e puedan andar syguramente por toda la tierra, e nenguno los faga fuerza, nin los rroben, nin fagan otro mal nin dapño, poniendo para ello las penas que vieredes



The character of the man, to whom these instructions were given, was such that he might be reasonably expected to carry them out. Las Casas, it is true, says that he was unfitted to rule Indians, and that when Oviedo describes him as very favourable to the natives, 'he talks like a blind man, and as one who fills up his writings with any trifles, be they what they may.'<sup>1</sup> For the rest, the authorities agree in depicting Ovando as a man of piety, honest in word and deed; so devoid of greed, that he was forced to borrow money to defray the cost of his return to Spain; a lover of justice, stern but not vindictive,

ser menester, e executándoles en las personas quen ella fueren culpantes, e faciendo sobrello los pregonos e defendimientos necesarios. Debeys de Nuestra parte a los Caciques e a los otros principales, que Nos, queremos que los yndios sean bien tratados como Nuestros buenos súbditos e vasallos, e que nenguno sea osado de les facer mal nin dapño. . . . Porque somos ynformados que algunos Cristianos de las dichas Islas, especialmente de la Española, thienen thomados a los dichos yndios sus muxeres e fixas e otras cosas contra su voluntad; luego como Uegaredes, dareys orden como se los vuelvan todo lo que les thienen thomado contra su voluntad e defendereys so graves penas, que de aquí adelante nenguno sea osado de facer lo semexante, e si con las yndias quysieren casar, sea de voluntad de las partes, e non por fuerza. . . . Pero porque la forma como acá se pagan e cobran a ellos sygund la calidad de la Tierra, hablareis de Nuestra parte con los caciques e con las otras personas prencipales, e los yndios que vieredes son menester, e de su voluntad concordareis con ellos lo que Nos ayan de pagar cada uno, cada año, de tributos; e dichos de manera, quellos conozcan que non se les face ynxusticia. Porque para coger oro e facer las otras labores que Nos Mandamos facer, será necessario aprovecharnos del servicio de los yndios, compeler los eis que trabaxen en las cosas de Nuestro servicio, pagando a cada uno el salario que xustamente vos pareciere que debieren de aber, sygund la calidad de la Tierra' (D.I.I. (i), 31, pp. 15-16).

A summary of the instructions given to Ovando is supplied by Herrera (I, 4, xi) and, less fully, by Las Casas (II, 3; D.I.E. 64, p. 18). The latter says: 'Entre otras cláusulas de sus instrucciones fué una muy principal, y muy encargada y mandada, conviene á saber, que todos los indios vecinos y morados desta isla fuesen libres y no sujetos á servidumbre, ni molestados ni agraviados de alguno, sino que viviesen como vasallos libres, gobernados y conservados en justicia, como lo eran los vasallos de los reinos de Castilla, y mandándole asimismo, que diese orden, como en nuestra sancta fe católica fuesen instruidos.' In the actual text of the instructions, there is no warrant for the statement that the orders with regard to the Indians were 'muy principal,' etc., and Las Casas seems to produce a false impression of the instructions as a whole. He was interested to prove that Isabella intended that the natives should not work except voluntarily, whereas some amount of enforced labour was inevitable from the provision that they should pay tribute and assist in the gathering of gold and in other necessary work.

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, III, 12, Vol. I, p. 89. Las Casas, II, 9; D.I.E. 64, p. 55.



and free from all personal ambition ; in a word, a great gentleman, as became a Comendador of the knightly order of Alcantara.<sup>1</sup>

And it is admitted that, in general, Ovando did obey the orders which he had received. He promoted religion by his encouragement of the Franciscan mission, for which he built two monasteries, one at Santo Domingo and the other at Concepcion de la Vega.<sup>2</sup> In order to extend the area of civilisation in the island, he ordered the foundation of new settlements. The earlier tendency had been to concentrate all the Spanish residents in one city ; this policy was now reversed, and thirteen new towns testified to the wish of Ovando to erect centres of Spanish or of civilising influence throughout Española.<sup>3</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> For the character of Ovando, cp. Oviedo, *loc. cit.* ; Las Casas, II, 3 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 17. The attack of Fernando Colon (*Life of Admiral Christopher Colon . . . written by his own son*, in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. XII, p. 122), may not unreasonably be discounted. Herrera (I, 4, xi) transcribes Las Casas. Ovando was thirty years of age when he was appointed to the government of Española ; he was of a distinguished family in the province of Carceres. The high opinion held of him by the Catholic kings is indicated by the fact that he was selected as one of the ten boys to be brought up with the Infante Don Juan. As an example of his lack of ambition, there is the well-known story that he refused to allow himself to be addressed by the title to which he was entitled when he became Comendador Mayor of the Order of Alcantara (Las Casas, *loc. cit.*). He was extremely moderate in his diet and his dress, the latter despite the fact that a special cedula (D.I.I. (i), 31, p. 61) authorised him to wear brocades, etc., despite the rules of his Order, that he might maintain the dignity of his position as governor. He was affable, but at the same time dignified, and was loved as well as respected (cp. Oviedo, *loc. cit.*, and Las Casas, *loc. cit.* and II, 50 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 254, 'plega á Dios, que la que Dios le tomó en su divinal juicio, le haya sido favorable, porque, en verdad, yo le amaba').

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, I, 5, xii. Las Casas must be suspected of prejudice when he says (II, 13 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 70) : ' Por todo el tiempo que el Comendador Mayor esta isla gobernó . . . no se tuvo más cuidado de la doctrina y salvacion dellos, ni se puso más por obra, ni hobo más memoria ni cuenta della ni con ella, que si los indios fueran palos, ó piedras, ó gatos, ó perros, y esto no sólo por el mismo Gobernador, y á los que dió los indios que les sirviesen, pero ni por los religiosos de Sant Francisco, que con él vinieron, que eran buenas personas, los cuales, cerca dello, ninguna cosa hicieron ni pretendieron, sino vivir en su casa, la desta ciudad, y otra que hicieron en la Vega, religiosamente.'

<sup>3</sup> When Ovando landed, there were four settlements in the island, of which only Santo Domingo was important. For a list of the foundations of Ovando, see Las Casas, II, 18 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 101 ; Oviedo, III, 12. Las Casas (II, 10 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 58) complains that the towns were built by the forced labour of the Indians, adding : 'y asi el Comendador Mayor

aimed also at giving these settlements a more permanent character than had been possessed by the earlier foundations, and at avoiding for the future catastrophes such as that which had overtaken Santo Domingo soon after his landing, when the town was destroyed by a hurricane. He therefore urged the building of houses of stone, instead of wood, and himself set the example.<sup>1</sup> There was a certain danger that the economic activity of the Spaniards would be confined to the exploitation of mineral resources, and to meet this danger, Ovando endeavoured to develop both the raising of livestock and various forms of agriculture; it is to him that the island owed the introduction of the sugar cane.<sup>2</sup> During the period of his government, the island advanced considerably in material prosperity; the Spanish population increased from some three hundred to some twelve thousand, and in place of being a source of expense, Española became a source of revenue to the Crown.<sup>3</sup>

But Ovando was, perhaps, most successful in performing the most onerous of the duties imposed upon him, the establishment of law and order among the Spanish residents in Española. Both Columbus, and his brother Bartholomew, appear to have been lacking in administrative capacity; they failed to control the settlers, and such events as the rebellion of Roldan illustrate the disorder which prevailed.<sup>4</sup> Conditions did not improve during the brief rule of Bobadilla. He has been accused, with apparent justice, of having accentuated the evil by his remission

comenzó á ir por el camino que Francisco Roldan habia comenzado . . . señalar y forzar los indios que hiciesen las casas y labranzas que los españoles querian, y todos los otros servicios que habian menester, no sólo los necesarios, pero los demasiados.' He finds in this labour, the condemning of the natives to practical slavery.

<sup>1</sup> Ovando rebuilt Santo Domingo on the opposite bank of the river, its present site, which was probably an error of judgment, the new situation being far more unhealthy (Las Casas, II, 8; D.I.E. 64, p. 48; Oviedo, III, 10, 11). Francisco de Garay built the first stone house in the Indies. Ovando built a residence for himself, a street of houses, etc. (Oviedo, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, I, 5, xii; I, 6, xvi. Wild pigs did much damage to the livestock; Ovando imported greyhounds to hunt them.

<sup>3</sup> For the general results of Ovando's administration, cp. Las Casas, II, 6, 42; D.I.E. 64, pp. 33, 215. The estimated amount of gold dealt with each year at the close of Ovando's rule was 450,000 pesos.

<sup>4</sup> The Colons were possibly hampered by the fact that they were Genoese, and that the Spaniards resented alien rule. Cp. Ricardo Cappa, *Colon y los Españoles; Estudios Críticos*, Vol. I.

of the royal dues and by his lavish grants of Indians, and of having devoted himself to the task of securing personal support, rather than to that of governing the island.<sup>1</sup> It is at least certain that when Ovando landed, the Spaniards were scattered in small bands over the country; that they had taken the daughters of native chiefs to be their mistresses, and ruled with practically independent authority over the districts in which they had settled. The effective control of the central government was confined to the city of Santo Domingo and its immediate neighbourhood.

To establish order in a community which had never known order would in no case have been easy, but various circumstances served to accentuate the difficulty of the task. The government of Española was claimed by Columbus, whose early restoration was believed to be intended.<sup>2</sup> The position of Ovando was thus uncertain; the very legitimacy of his authority might be questioned. This was the more serious since, having no military force, he was obliged to rely upon prestige in his efforts to maintain or to introduce discipline among the settlers.

He was, moreover, accompanied to the island by some two thousand Castillians, drawn mainly from the ranks of the impoverished nobility, men temperamentally averse from submission to control and rendered more so by the misfortunes which presently fell upon them. They had hoped to 'gather gold like fruit'; they found that it could be won only by arduous labour, for which they were neither fitted nor inclined, and for which they had not the necessary implements. In a short while, they were reduced to the extreme of distress.

<sup>1</sup> For the licence under Bobadilla, cp. Las Casas, II, 41; D.I.E. 64, p. 212. An interesting defence of Bobadilla has been written by Luis Vidart (*Colon y Bobadilla*, in *El Continente Americano*, Vol. I), but there would seem to be no doubt that the utmost disorder reigned in Española at the time of Ovando's landing.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas (II, 3; D.I.E. 64, p. 18) states definitely that Ovando was at first appointed for two years only, and is followed by Herrera (I, 4, xi). But the royal letter of appointment does not warrant this statement; Ovando 'thenga por Nos la gobernacion . . . por todo el tiempo que Nuestra merced e voluntad fuere' (D.I.I. (i), 30, p. 512). It is probable that it was popularly believed that he was appointed for two years only, and it is not impossible that Ferdinand and Isabella wished Columbus and his friends to believe that the restoration of the Admiral was intended, or that they had not themselves reached any definite decision.



Such men, in such circumstances, were unlikely to be pillars of good order.<sup>1</sup>

Nor did the policy of the home Government lighten the task of Ovando. From the first, grants of Indians had been made to members of the royal council and to others possessed of influence at Court, and after the death of Isabella these grants became more frequent. Ferdinand found no readier means of satisfying his creditors or of rewarding his favourites. The grantees, for the most part, remained in Spain, entrusting the management of their property in Española to agents, whose sole concern was to secure the greatest possible profit for their employers and who were guilty of serious misconduct. Ovando was obliged either to allow such misconduct to go unpunished or to risk making powerful enemies; in either event, the carrying on the government of the island would not be facilitated.<sup>2</sup>

Yet, despite all these obstacles, Ovando succeeded in establishing and in maintaining discipline among the Spanish settlers in Española. Every sign of disorder was sternly repressed. Those guilty of misconduct were either deprived of their Indians or, in more serious cases, sent back to Spain. The tendency towards the creation of hereditary lordships was checked. The Spaniards were compelled to send away or to marry the Indian women whom they had taken; those who chose to marry the daughters of caciques were at once deprived of control over the former subjects of their wives by being sent to some distant part of the island.<sup>3</sup> It was the aim of Ovando to make his

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, II, 6; II, 42; D.I.E. 64, pp. 33, 215. Some of the newcomers were forced to sell their clothes for food.

<sup>2</sup> Ovando attempted in vain to prevent such grants to absentees. Those who had served in the expedition to Naples demanded payment, and Ferdinand had nothing to give them except grants of Indians. 'El Rey, por cumplir con ellos y echillos de sí, no sabiendo lo que daba, ni dando los indios, en qué paraban, dió á algunos Cédulas para el Gobernador, mandando que les diese 200 indios, como á los otros vecinos desta isla los daba' (Las Casas, II, 41; D.I.E. 64, p. 209). The recall of Ovando may be partly attributed to his attitude in this matter; he roused the hostility of Lope Conchillos (cp. Oviedo, III, 12; and D.I.I. (i), 23, p. 306).

<sup>3</sup> For the treatment of undesirables, see Las Casas, II, 40; D.I.E. 64, p. 204; and Herrera, I, 5, xii. Las Casas (II, 41; D.I.E. 64, p. 212) says that it was under pressure from the Franciscans that Ovando forced the Spaniards to marry or send away the women with whom they had been living, but such a course was so clearly dictated by considerations of policy that it may be doubted whether any clerical pressure was necessary. Having regard to the excellent terms on which Ovando was with the



authority felt throughout Española, and with this end in view, he spent some part of each year at Concepcion de la Vega, in order personally to supervise the district of which that town was the centre.<sup>1</sup> His administration was admittedly severe, but the men with whom he had to deal would hardly have understood leniency. He was at times, perhaps, guilty of considerable duplicity,<sup>2</sup> but it must be remembered that he had neither an army nor a police force, independent of those whom he was called upon to chastise. And that his rule was essentially just would appear to be attested by the fact that he won not merely the affection, but also the respect, of the Spanish residents in the island.<sup>3</sup> It was generally believed that he was never actuated by petty motives or by any desire for personal advantage; that, in fact, loyalty was the mainspring of his conduct.

This belief seems to have been well warranted; his treatment of Columbus suggests that his fault was a too implicit obedience to orders. Ferdinand and Isabella had expressly excluded the Admiral from the island,<sup>4</sup> either because they believed that his presence there would be the signal for disturbances, or because they considered that he could serve them most usefully by continuing the work of exploration and by discovering that passage to the wealth of Asia, in the existence of which he so firmly believed. On his fourth voyage, Columbus found that one of his vessels was unseaworthy, and he therefore applied to Ovando for permission to enter the harbour of Santo Domingo, both in order to secure, if possible, another ship and also in order to escape an approaching hurricane. In obedience to the orders which he had received, Ovando refused this request.<sup>5</sup>

Franciscans, it is possible that their admonitions were suggested by the governor, that the performance of a difficult task might be rendered less difficult for him. For Las Casas' attack on Ovando in this matter, cp. *infra*, p. 26.

<sup>1</sup> Ovando resided at Concepcion partly because it was healthy, but he was undoubtedly also influenced by the fact that it was the best centre from which to supervise the mining district, in all probability the most unruly part of the island (Las Casas, II, 50; D.I.E. 64, p. 252).

<sup>2</sup> As in the well-known story of the way in which he rid himself of undesirables, for which see Las Casas, II, 40; D.I.E. 64, pp. 204-5.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, *loc. cit.*; Oviedo, III, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Navarrete, *Coleccion de los viajes y descubrimientos*, etc., II, 277; D.I.I. (i), 36, p. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Las Casas, II, 4, 5; D.I.E. 64, p. 22 *et seq.* Fernando Colon, c. 88; Pinkerton, XII, p. 123.

At a later date, when the Admiral was wrecked on the shore of Jamaica and was in great distress, Ovando delayed for some months to rescue him. His conduct in this case has been attributed to jealousy, and it has been asserted that he would have left Columbus to perish, had he not been obliged to bow to the pressure of public opinion, outraged by his treatment of the great explorer.<sup>1</sup> The suggestion that Ovando was at all inclined to regard public opinion is hardly more consonant with what is known of his character otherwise than is the suggestion that he was jealous. It is at least equally probable that his action was determined by the orders which he had received, and by the fact that he shared the fear of his sovereigns that the presence of Columbus in Española would interrupt the work of pacification. It may be supposed that by the time that Columbus was at last allowed to come to Santo Domingo, the island had been thoroughly reduced to order and the danger of disturbance consequently removed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But the governor of Hispaniola was afraid that if the admiral returned to Spain, Their Catholic Majesties would restore him to his government, and so he should be forced to quit it; for which reason he would not provide, as he might have done, for the admiral's voyage to Hispaniola; and therefore had sent this little caravel to spy and observe the condition the admiral was in, and to learn whether he could contrive with safety to have him destroyed, which he knew by what had happened to Mendez' (Fernando Colon, c. 104; Pinkerton, XII, p. 150). On this, Las Casas remarks: 'Esta intencion haber tenido el Comendador Mayor, afirmar yo, cierto, no osaria, como quiera que fuera malisima' (II, 33; D.I.E. 64, p. 172). As to the pressure of public opinion, see Las Casas, II, 36; D.I.E. 64, p. 182. It is to be noted that Las Casas, who was in the island at the time, does not himself say that public opinion was roused against Ovando: 'Quejabase mucho el Almirante del Comendador Mayor . . . y dijo que no lo proveyó (sc. de navios) hasta que por el pueblo desta ciudad se sentia y murmuraba, y los predicadores en los pulpitos lo tocaban y reprendian.'

<sup>2</sup> When news arrived that Columbus was wrecked in Jamaica, Ovando was in Xaragua, and according to Diego Mendez, who found him there, it was seven months before he returned to Santo Domingo (*Relacion de Diego Mendez*, in Navarrete, I, p. 324). Hence, if the Admiral had come at once to Santo Domingo, he would have arrived there in the absence of the governor. It has been suggested that Ovando might have sent a ship to convey Columbus directly to Spain, but it is possible that no ship was available. Ovando was only allowed one vessel (D.I.I. (i), 31, p. 51, and pp. 84-85), and it so happened that no ships had arrived from Spain for a considerable period (Diego Mendez, *loc. cit.*). Ovando has been accused of sending Escobar to Jamaica merely as a "spy"; it is at least legitimate to suggest that he sent him from an honest desire to discover what was the

And whether or no this be the true explanation of his conduct towards Columbus, Ovando certainly won the approval of Ferdinand by the general character of his administration. Not only was he maintained for eight years in his position, but the methods of government which he had adopted were recommended for imitation to his successor, Diego Columbus, who was further instructed to rely in doubtful cases upon the advice of the retiring governor.<sup>1</sup> It can, indeed, be hardly contested that in the main, at least, Ovando very faithfully carried out the instructions which he received.

But it is still asserted that in the matter of the Indians he set those instructions at nought. Las Casas alleges two specific instances of his disregard for the direct orders of Isabella,<sup>2</sup> the neglect of the work of conversion and the imposition of unreasonable labour, and to these definite charges he adds a general charge of maltreatment of the natives.

It must be admitted that if the Indians were so maltreated as Las Casas asserts, and as later writers have believed, then the blame must rest upon Ovando. Such maltreatment cannot be explained away on the ground that the Spaniards in the island could not be controlled, for Ovando both could and did control them. Nor can it be supposed that he was ignorant of any misconduct which occurred. Las Casas declared that Ovando saw what was happening, but that he made no effort to remedy

actual situation of Columbus; he may, as Harris ( *Christophe Colomb*, II, p. 247) suggests, have suspected that Columbus was only trying to find an excuse to come to Santo Domingo. Too much has, perhaps, been made of the fact that Escobar had shared in the rebellion of Roldan, etc. Ovando had to choose between employing a declared partisan of Columbus or a declared enemy; the island was hotly divided in opinion. For his purpose, a partisan of Columbus would clearly not have served. It is probably unwise to attach too much importance to the complimentary terms of the letter of Columbus to Ovando; the Admiral would obviously have sought to conciliate the governor as much as possible, since he was at his mercy. As soon as he reached Spain, Columbus complained bitterly to the king. The action of Ovando has been attacked by Ruiz Martinez ( *Gobierno de Fr. Nicolas de Ovando en la Española* ), and defended by Fernandez Duro ( *Amigos y Enimigos de Colon* ), both in *El Continente Americano*, Vol. I.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the instructions to Diego Columbus, D.I.I. (i), 23, pp. 290-309.

<sup>2</sup> For the charge of neglect of conversion, see Las Casas, II, 13; D.I.E. 64, p. 70. For the imposition of unreasonable labour, see Id. II, 19; D.I.E. 64, p. 59. For a general criticism of the whole attitude of Ovando towards the natives, see Id. II, 50; D.I.E. 64, p. 253.



the evil,<sup>1</sup> and the good order which he established seems to justify the belief, current at the time, that he was well acquainted with the character and conduct of all the settlers in Española.

There is, however, a certain improbability in the suggestion that a man who was essentially loyal should have been disloyal in the very matter upon which he knew that his Queen would feel disloyalty most deeply. Such curious inconsistency of character, while not impossible, would be so remarkable that it becomes necessary to consider carefully the grounds upon which the charges brought against Ovando rest, before accepting them.

Those charges are based upon a consideration of his conduct towards the natives both in war and in peace. It is alleged that he waged with extreme barbarity wars, which were in any case unnecessary and unprovoked, and that in his general administration, he showed no regard for the welfare of the Indians, allowing them to be ruthlessly exploited and, in the words of Las Casas:

‘depriving them of their natural liberty . . . and making all the Indians of this island the slaves of their greatest enemies, who consumed them.’<sup>2</sup>

The question whether the wars which he waged were necessary will be answered according to the view taken as to the need for maintaining Spanish dominion in the island. In the majority of cases, the Indians had taken up arms; in the one case in which they had not done so, they were declared to be planning a revolt and a massacre of the Spaniards. Even if it be admitted that these risings were provoked by the most intolerable oppression, it is still clear that to have allowed the natives in any part of the island to throw off the Spanish yoke would have been tanta-

<sup>1</sup> ‘Cosa fué maravillosa en aqueste tan prudente caballero, que cada demora . . . morian gran multitud de gente con aquellos trabajos, y no cognosciese que la orden y gobernacion que cuanto á los indios habia puesto era mortífera pestilencia, que con vehemencia estas gentes consumia y asolaba, y que nunca la revocase y enmendase, por lo cual no pudo él ignorar que no fuese pésimo é inicuo todo lo que habia en esto constituido y ordenado, y, por consiguiente, ni ante Dios ni ante los Reyes era excusado’ (Las Casas, II, 14; D.I.E. 64, p. 80). ‘Y que cada demora via que se acababan, y no curaba dellos ni á ponelles remedio se movia’ (Id. II, 50; D.I.E. 64, p. 254).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Privóles de su natural libertad . . . y todos los indios desta Isla entregó en servidumbre . . . á sus capitales enemigos, que los consumieron’ (Las Casas, II, 50; D.I.E. 64, p. 254).



mount to permitting the entire extinction of Spanish rule in Española. If the island were not to be entirely abandoned, the repression of resistance was a necessity, nor can Ovando be justly blamed for performing the most elementary duty of a colonial governor.

But he is also charged with having used needless cruelty in putting down the revolts. This charge rests mainly, or entirely, upon the conduct of the two wars in Higüey and upon the case of Anacaona.

For the original outbreak of disturbances in Higüey, Ovando was not responsible, since the natives of that district were already in arms when he arrived at Santo Domingo. Nor is there any evidence for the statement which has been made that he rejected the appeal of the Indian chiefs for redress. The matter seems to have been first brought to his notice by the murder of some of the party whom he had sent by sea to found a settlement at Puerto del Plata, of which murder the organisation of a punitive expedition was the natural consequence.<sup>1</sup>

According to Las Casas, this expedition was carried out with

<sup>1</sup> For the first war in Higüey, see Las Casas, II, 3; D.I.E. 64, p. 19, and II, 7, 8; D.I.E. 64, pp. 40-49; Herrera, I, 5, iv. Washington Irving (*op. cit.* xvii. 3; Vol. I, p. 393) says: 'This' (*i.e.* the murder of the Spaniards at Saona) 'was in revenge for the death of a cacique . . . for which the natives had in vain sued for redress.' He quotes no authority, nor does Monte y Tejada (*Historia de Española*, I, p. 232) by whom the same statement as to the demand for redress is made. There appears to be no evidence for the demand in the contemporary authorities, and it may be suspected that, had it been made, it would have been mentioned by Las Casas, who would certainly have known the fact, and who would hardly have omitted to mention a detail which reflected discredit upon his fellow-countrymen. There would seem to be some inconsistency in the account of the outbreak in Higüey as given by Las Casas. He states (II, 3) that Ovando was greeted on his arrival with the news of the revolt, but in relating the story of the massacre of the Spaniards on their way to Puerto del Plata (II, 7) he says that they landed at Saona for recreation; it is hardly credible that they would have done so, taking no precautions, had they known that the natives were hostile. Yet if the fact of the rising were known at Santo Domingo when Ovando landed, it could not have been unknown to those whom he later sent to Puerto del Plata. Such inconsistency is rather characteristic of Las Casas, and may be perhaps attributed to the fact that he wrote from memory some time after the events which he records. But whichever version be taken, it is still clear that the cause of the revolt (the tearing of a cacique to pieces by a dog) antedated the landing of Ovando, and that the Indians were in arms when he arrived.

extreme cruelty and those engaged upon it were mainly anxious to make slaves.<sup>1</sup> But this statement requires some qualification, both in the light of the orders given by Ovando to Juan de Esquivel, the commander of the Spanish forces, and of the actual events which followed. Esquivel was instructed only to make war if the Indians should refuse to lay down their arms, and in any event to confine his military operations within the narrowest possible limits, making the restoration of peace his primary object.<sup>2</sup> The natives refused the first offer of the Spaniards, but as soon as they showed a willingness to submit, they were accorded terms which were certainly not ungenerous. They were to remain undisturbed on condition of resuming the supply of bread to the Spaniards, and as a special concession, they were exempted from the duty of carrying that bread to Santo Domingo. Only a small garrison was left in the district.<sup>3</sup> In all this, there is little to suggest extreme barbarity. Las Casas, certainly, recounts various atrocities which he alleges to have been committed by the Spaniards, but even Las Casas adds a suggestion that his memory may have played him false.<sup>4</sup> This suggestion would seem to merit some attention. When the account of the war is compared with that of the later expedition against Higüey, it is found that the same story of the cutting off the hands of the Indians is told in each case, and this is in itself sufficient to justify the discounting of the stories of atrocities.<sup>5</sup> But if they be

<sup>1</sup> 'Hicieron todos, los que tomaban á vida, esclavos, que es lo que principalmente los españoles, aquí en esta isla, y despues en todas las Indias, pretendieron, y á esto enderezaron siempre sus pensamientos, sus deseos, sus industrias sus palabras y sus buenos hechos' (Las Casas, II, 8 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 47).

<sup>2</sup> 'Embío Nicolas de Ovando à hacer Guerra à los de la Saona, à Juan de Esquivel, con precisa orden de procurar de atraer aquellos Indios à la paz, por todos los medios posibles ; i que quando no aprovechase, que con quatrocientos Hombres, que le diò, hiciese la Guerra, llevando por principal fin el pacificarlos, con ella' (Herrera, I, 5, iv). It is noteworthy that Las Casas omits to mention the orders given to Esquivel.

<sup>3</sup> For the terms of peace, see Las Casas, II, 8 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Thus, after recording the hanging of Higuanama, he says, 'si bien me acuerdo' (Las Casas, II, 8 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 46).

<sup>5</sup> The comparison of these two stories is instructive. Writing of the first war, Las Casas (II, 8 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 46) says: 'Muchos de los que tomaban cortaban las manos ambas, á cercen, ó, colgadas de un hollejo, decíanles: "Anda, lleva á vuestros señores esas cartas"; conviene á saber, esas nuevas.' Writing of the second war, he says (II, 15 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 88): 'Despues de hechos grandes estragos, prendian muchos por los

discounted, then Ovando would in this case appear to have proceeded with both temper and humanity.

The renewal of hostilities was the result of the licence of the Spanish garrison and of an attempt to force the Indians to carry the bread to Santo Domingo, in defiance of the recent treaty. But once more a punitive expedition was necessary for the preservation of Spanish rule. The garrison had been practically annihilated by the natives, who had prepared for a prolonged resistance, removing their women, children and old men to places of safety, barricading the roads and laying ambushes. The situation was indeed grave enough to lead Ovando to draw contingents from all the Spanish settlements in the island, and to enrol a number of Indian auxiliaries who proved to be most valuable allies.<sup>1</sup>

The history of this war is in various ways instructive. Such stories, as that of the single combat between an Indian and a Spaniard,<sup>2</sup> where the two armies played the part of spectators, suggests that the invaders felt some respect for their opponents. The account given by Las Casas<sup>3</sup> of the skill shown by the Indians in meeting the Spanish attack, appears to dispose of the idea that wars between the Indians and the Spaniards amounted to little more than the hunting down of timorous and defenceless natives by well-armed members of the most warlike race of sixteenth century Europe.<sup>4</sup> Knowledge of an extremely difficult

montes, destos que del cuchillo se habian escapado, á todos los cuales les hacian poner sobre un palo la una mano, y con el espada se la cortaban, y luego la otra, á cercen, ó que algun pellejo quedaba colgando, y decíanles : “Andad, llevad á los demas esas cartas.” Por decir, “llevad las nuevas de lo que se ha de hacer dellos, segun que con vosotros se ha obrado ” ; íbanse los desventurados, gimiendo y llorando, de los cuales, pocos ó ningunos, segun iban, escapaban, desangrandose, y no teniendo por los montes, ni sabiendo donde ir á hallar alguno de los suyos, que les tomase la sangre ni curase ; y así, desde á poca tierra que andaban, caian sin algun remedio ni mamparo.’ It would almost seem that the story had been deliberately improved at the second telling.

<sup>1</sup> For the second war in Higüey, see Las Casas, II, 15-18 ; D.I.E. 64, pp. 84-102. Herrera, I, 6, viii.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, II, 16 ; D.I.E. 64, pp. 90-91. Herrera, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, *loc. cit.* It may be noted that in this war the Spaniards suffered great hardships from lack of adequate supplies of food (Las Casas, II, 17 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 95).

<sup>4</sup> ‘Pero como todas sus guerras eran como juegos de niños, teniendo las barrigas por escudos para recibir las saetas de las ballestas de los españoles, y las pelotas de las escopetas ; como peleasen desnudos en cueros, no con



country, agility and the advantage of numbers, served to compensate, at least to a considerable extent, for superiority in equipment, a superiority which was itself less marked than has sometimes been supposed, since the Spaniards had few muskets. The contest, in fact, was waged upon not unequal terms, and this in itself is sufficient rather to discount the charge of barbarity.

That charge is further discounted by another feature of this war. Cotubanama,<sup>1</sup> the leading cacique of Higüey, succeeded in exacting such implicit obedience from his people that not even torture would extract any information from them, and Esquivel was speedily convinced that the war could be ended only by the capture of the chief. That capture, however, was impossible without the assistance of Indian guides, and in order to secure such assistance, Esquivel attempted to make the Spaniards appear more terrible to the natives even than the terrible Cotubanama, whose authority, when his remarkable physique and his personal appearance are remembered, rested obviously rather upon fear than upon love. His efforts were eventually successful, and with the capture and execution of Cotubanama, the war ended. The argument that cruelty is in some cases the truest humanity was familiar enough to the soldiers of the sixteenth century; its adoption by Esquivel in this instance is not indicative of any peculiar barbarity of mind.

The treatment of Anacaona<sup>2</sup> appears at first sight to be less susceptible of justification or of defence. To Isabella, it appeared to be peculiarly abominable,<sup>3</sup> and her verdict has been endorsed by later writers, who have converted the Indian princess into a heroine endowed with most physical and moral excellencies.<sup>4</sup>

más armas de sus arcos y flechas, sin hierro, y con piedras donde las habia, poco sosten podian tener contra los españoles, cuyas armas son hierro, y sus espadas cortan un indio por medio, y las fuerzas y corazones tienen de acero; pues de los caballos no digo, que en una hora de tiempo alancea uno sólo 2,000 dellos' (Las Casas, II, 8; D.I.E. 64, p. 45).

<sup>1</sup> For Cotubanama, see Las Casas, II, 8; D.I.E. 64, p. 47; II, 16; D.I.E. 64, p. 89. Herrera, I, 6, viii.

<sup>2</sup> For Anacaona, see Las Casas, II, 9; D.I.E. 64, p. 50 *et seq.*; Herrera, I, 6, iv. Oviedo, II, 12. *Relacion de Diego Mendez*, in Navarrete, *Coleccion de los Viajes*, etc., I, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, *loc. cit.* Herrera, *loc. cit.* and I, 7, x. Isabella was anxious, according to these writers, that Ovando should be recalled to give an account of his conduct, and only her death prevented this from being done.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Charlevoix, *Histoire de S. Domingue*, I, pp. 231-234. Washington Irving, *op. cit.* XVII, ii. (Vol. III, pp. 389-390).



There is no doubt that the acts of Ovando were marked by considerable duplicity, and the burning alive of a number of Indian chiefs was certainly an act of barbarism.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is hardly safe to assert that the duplicity was all on one side. The Spaniards declared that Anacaona was plotting the destruction of those who had been resident in her territory, nor can this charge be dismissed as a pure invention, as it is dismissed by Las Casas. There is no doubt that the former affection of the princess for the Spaniards had been converted by various causes into the most intense hatred,<sup>2</sup> or that she was anxious to rid herself of their presence. And since treachery was an apparent characteristic of the natives, there is nothing intrinsically improbable in the suggestion that she hoped to attain her object by means of a surprise attack. Nor is the suggestion of a conspiracy disproved by the fact that, during the two preceding years, Anacaona, despite the occurrence of conflicts between her subjects and the Spaniards, had maintained her friendly attitude. Her hostility was admittedly of gradual growth, and it would seem to be possible that, in common with other native rulers, she hoped that the strangers would in due course depart of their own accord.<sup>3</sup> And when it is remembered that Ovando acted with deliberation, taking some time to convince himself of the reality of the alleged plot, the existence of that plot appears to be rather probable than improbable.<sup>4</sup>

If, however, the Indians were planning an attack, Ovando had little prospect of escape, save by acting as he did. His small

<sup>1</sup> The number of the caciques is uncertain; Las Casas (*loc. cit.*) gives eighty; Diego Mendez (*loc. cit.*) gives eighty-four; Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*, c. 32, gives forty.

<sup>2</sup> Among other causes, the love affair of her daughter, for which see Las Casas, I, 170; D.I.E. 63, p. 430 *et seq.* Herrera, I, 4, v.

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas (*loc. cit.*) says that the Spaniards were without arms and hence might have been easily annihilated, had Anacaona desired their destruction. But it is hardly conceivable that they should have remained unarmed among a population whose hostility they had abundant reason for fearing; Las Casas can only mean that they were without muskets and such more elaborate weapons.

<sup>4</sup> Herrera (*loc. cit.*) suggests deliberation. Diego Mendez (*loc. cit.*), who is here perhaps the best authority, says definitely: 'Donde hallé el Gobernador, el cual me detuvo allí siete meses hasta que hizo quemar y ahorcar ochenta y cuatro Caciques, Señores de vasallos, y con ellos á Nacaona la mayor Señora de la isla, á quien todos ellos obedecian y servian.' His time of waiting would have been impressed upon the memory of Diego Mendez.

force was surrounded by overwhelming numbers, and the natives of Xaragua, whose superior physique had already been noted by the Spaniards, were the most warlike of the peoples of Española.<sup>1</sup> Even in an open fight, the success of Ovando would have been doubtful; surprised, his defeat would have been almost certain. And even if victory had been at last attained, it would in all probability have been at the cost of a long and arduous war, such as that which was later waged in Higüey; the efforts made by the remnant of Anacaona's forces, after they had been deprived of their chief leaders and terrorised by the blow which had been struck, sufficiently indicates what would have been the character of a struggle against the whole strength of her state.<sup>2</sup> Ovando may well have argued that his action was dictated by necessity and justified by the circumstances in which he was placed, and by the canons of the age in which he lived.

The execution of Anacaona herself, by which the wrath of Isabella seems to have been more especially aroused, was the natural outcome of the conviction of Ovando that a plot had been formed. She was guilty of treason and the normal punishment for treason was death, nor can her hanging be regarded as unjustified, unless the whole position of Spain in Española be held to be illegitimate. That she was not at once executed, but brought to Santo Domingo and there placed upon trial, is important. It may be admitted that in this case, as in all treason trials in all lands at that time, condemnation was certain, but the mere fact of the trial indicates that Ovando desired to give justice, as justice was understood in that age.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, so far as his military operations against the Indians are concerned, the recorded acts of Ovando afford a very slight basis for a general charge of cruelty towards the natives. Far more serious, is the accusation based upon the general character of his administration. Las Casas<sup>4</sup> declares that Ovando invented the system of repartimientos, by means of which he deprived

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, I, 114; D.I.E. 63, p. 138 *et seq.* Herrera, I, 3, v.

<sup>2</sup> For the resistance after Anacaona's capture, see Las Casas, II, 10; D.I.E. 64, pp. 56-59.

<sup>3</sup> Ovando is said to have prepared a defence of his conduct, but that defence appears not to have been preserved. It may, however, form the basis of the scandalous character sketch of Anacaona given by Oviedo (V, 3). 'Esta fue una muger que tuvo algunos actos semejantes, á los de aquella Semíramis reyna de los asirios,' etc.

<sup>4</sup> Las Casas, II, 10; D.I.E. 64, pp. 58-59; and other passages.

the Indians of the liberty which Isabella intended them to enjoy and reduced them to slavery. He adds that Ovando depopulated whole villages ; that he neglected alike the moral and the material welfare of the natives, and that he must be held ultimately responsible for the death of some three million persons. Later writers, while admitting that the figures given by Las Casas are exaggerated, have repeated his charges. It has been asserted that Isabella declared the Indians absolutely free, but that by misleading her as to the conditions prevailing in the island and by availing himself of the dubiety of some of the orders which he received, Ovando secured the denial of that liberty, and so modified the repartimiento system as to change the condition of the Indians 'from serfdom to slavery.'<sup>1</sup>

In these charges there is an element of undoubted truth ; there is also an element of undoubted exaggeration. The character of the royal ordinances, and the conduct and motives of Ovando, have almost certainly been misrepresented both by Las Casas and by those who have so faithfully followed his guidance. It may be asserted that the Indians were never intended to be as free as has been suggested, and that the modifications in their position, which were introduced during the period of Ovando's government, were neither so great nor so disastrous for the natives as has been supposed.

There are four royal ordinances dealing with the position of the Indians during the period of Ovando's rule. In the instructions issued to him prior to his departure for the Indies, it was laid down that the natives were not to be maltreated ; that they were to pay royal dues, and finally, that their labour was to be used for the collecting of gold and for other purposes ; 'you shall compel them to work in our service, paying to each one the wages which you shall consider that they ought justly to have.'<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that there is here no question of the Indians being free to choose whether they would work or no. It was, indeed, contrary to the whole spirit of the age that anyone should be allowed to be idle ; the advantage, if not the dignity, of labour was universally recognised.

A second ordinance,<sup>3</sup> issued after Ovando's departure but probably before any detailed account of the condition of the

<sup>1</sup> Moses, *Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *supra*, p. 5, and *note*.

<sup>3</sup> Zaragosa, March 29, 1503. D.I.I. (i) 31, p. 156 *et seq.*



island had been received from him,<sup>1</sup> provided for the organisation of the Indians in *pueblos*. The natives were to live in these settlements with their families, and care was to be taken for their religious and secular instruction and provision made for their relief in sickness. The caciques were to be prevented from maltreating their dependants,<sup>2</sup> and finally the Indians were only to work for wages and voluntarily :

‘ you shall not consent nor allow the Christians who are in the said Indies to take from the said Indians their wives or sons or daughters, or to do to them any other personal wrong or injury, nor to wrong them in the matter of their lands ; nor shall they be allowed to make use of the services of the Indians as they have done hitherto, provided that they may have their service if the Indians come of their own accord and are paid the wages which may be just, as they shall be settled by our said governor.’<sup>3</sup>

At first sight, this ordinance appears sensibly to modify the original instructions given to Ovando and to make labour purely voluntary for the natives. There is some reason, however, to believe that no modification was intended. On the same date as that on which this ordinance was issued, secret instructions were drawn up for Ovando, to explain the meaning which was to be attached to its provisions.<sup>4</sup> In these instructions, he was urged to see that some of the proposed *pueblos* should be situated near the mines, in order that the collection of gold might be facilitated,<sup>5</sup> and it was added that the natives were to be drawn

<sup>1</sup> A letter had been received, since a cedula of the same date is an answer to it (D.I.I. (ii) 5, No. 10, p. 43 *et seq.*), but this cedula mentions that a memorandum from Ovando has not been received, and it is probable that the governor's first report was lost in the hurricane which destroyed the greater part of the fleet which had escorted Ovando to the Indies (cp. Fabie, *op. cit.*, p. xlv.).

<sup>2</sup> ‘ Non consienta nin dé lugar que los caciques maltratan nin fagan nenguna opresion a los dichos yndios ’ (D.I.I. (i) 31, p. 161).

<sup>3</sup> ‘ Non consienta nin dé lugar que los cristhianos questan en las dichas Indias, thomen de los dichos yndios sus mugeres nin fixos nin fixas, nin les fagan otro nengun mal nin dapño en sus personas, nin en sus tierras ; nin consientan que se sirvan dellos como fasta aquí lo an fecho, salvo que viendo los dichos yndios por su propia voluntad e pagandoles les xornales que xusto fuesen, sygun que por el dicho Nuestro Gobernador fueren tasados ’ (D.I.I. (i) 31, p. 159).

<sup>4</sup> Cartagena, March 29, 1503. D.I.I. (i) 31, pp. 174–179.

<sup>5</sup> ‘ Trabaxad que algunas de las poblaciones de los yndios que vos Mandamos facer, se fagan cerca de las dichas minas donde se falla el oro, porque faya lugar de se coger mas ’ (D.I.I. (i) 31, p. 176). It may be added that in the ordinance concerning the *pueblos*, it is also laid down



to labour by all possible means.<sup>1</sup> It was certainly not contemplated that they would cease to work, and perhaps no more was intended than that no extreme means of compulsion should be used and that the right of the natives to payment for work done should be more clearly emphasised. Isabella probably supposed that the natives would work willingly, if assured that they would receive wages.

This ordinance, however, seems never to have come into force, nor were the projected *pueblos* created. In the course of the same year, a report was received from Ovando that the Indians would not work voluntarily, and that they withdrew themselves from all association with the Spaniards, with the result that neither the work of conversion nor the production of gold could proceed.<sup>2</sup> On receipt of this report, a fresh ordinance was issued,<sup>3</sup> in accordance with which the Indians were to be compelled to work, the caciques being made responsible for supplying the requisite number of labourers to those to whom the governor might assign natives.<sup>4</sup> It was added that nothing

that the Indians are to be serviceable to the crown: 'para que fagan que los dichos yndios sirven en las cosas complideras a Nuestro servicio' (D.I.I. (i) 31, p. 157). It appears to be possible that the intention was merely to prevent forced labour for private persons.

<sup>1</sup> 'E porquen los capitulos de les hordenanzas Ymbiamos a mandar algunas cosas que comple para la buena manera del venir, e reximiento de los yndios, las quales cosas aunque sean buenas, por ser nuevas, a ellas podria ser que por agora non vyniese a ello con buena voluntad o que se les faga agravio, abeys de therner todas las maneras e templanzas que podiere ser, por atraer los dichos yndios a ello, de su gana e voluntad, e con le menos premisa que podria ser, porque non tomen rresabios de cosa alguna dello' (D.I.I. (i) 31, p. 179).

<sup>2</sup> The refusal of the Indians to associate with the Spaniards and their flight to the mountains have been regarded as proof of their ill-treatment. Such a conclusion is hardly warranted by the experience of modern observers of the attitude of primitive races towards Europeans.

<sup>3</sup> Medina del Campo, December 20, 1503. D.I.I. (i) 31, pp. 209-212. The ordinance is given in full by Las Casas, II, 14; D.I.E. 64, pp. 81-83.

<sup>4</sup> 'Compelays e apremieys a los dichos yndios, que traten e conversen con los cristianos de la dicha isla; e trabaxen en sus edificios, e coxer e sacar oro e otros metales, e en facer granxerias e mantenymentos para los cristianos vecinos e moradores de la dicha isla; e fagays pagar a cada uno el dia que trabaxare, el xornal e mantenymento que sygund la calidad de la tierra e de la persona e del oficio, vos paresciere que debiere aber, mandando a cada cacique que thenga cargo de cierto numero de los dichos yndios, para que los fagays trabaxar donde fuere menester' (D.I.I. (i) 31, pp. 210-211).

in this order should be taken to imply that the Indians were anything but free men, or to deny their right to receive wages.<sup>1</sup>

Upon these ordinances, the policy of Ovando towards the Indians was required to be based, nor is there any evidence that he departed either from their spirit or their letter. The suggestion that he did so, in so far as it is not the result either of apparent misreading of the documents or of undue insistence upon some isolated phrases in those documents, is based upon his use of the repartimiento system. Las Casas implies that, if the wishes of Isabella had been observed, the repartimientos would have been abolished.<sup>2</sup> Abolition, however, was an impossibility for various reasons. It would have entailed the economic ruin of the island. Native labour was a necessity, quite apart from any question of getting gold, for the raising of food-stuffs, and the Indians had shown that, left to themselves, they would neither sow nor reap.<sup>3</sup> Further, in the orders of Isabella, two cardinal points appear; the Indians were to be civilised and converted to Christianity, and they were to work, as free labourers, for such wages as the governor might determine to be reasonable.<sup>4</sup> The natives, however, endeavoured as far as possible to abstain from all labour and to avoid any intercourse with the Spaniards,<sup>5</sup> and hence a measure of compulsion was necessary if they were to be civilised, converted and trained to be 'reasonable beings,' according to the contemporary Spanish idea. On every ground, therefore, Ovando was obliged to find some means by which the natives might be controlled, and since the repartimiento system was already in existence, its

<sup>1</sup> 'Lo qual fagan e complan como personas libres, como lo son, e non como siervos,' etc. (D.I.I. (i) 31, p. 211).

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas does not expressly say that the repartimientos were absolutely contrary to Isabella's wishes, but he implies as much in various places, e.g. II, 12; 50; D.I.E. 64, p. 64 *et seq.*; 253 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> They had hoped to starve the Spaniards into leaving the island. Herrera, I, 5, xvii.

<sup>4</sup> D.I.I. (i) 31, p. 159. Las Casas rather slurs over Isabella's anxiety that the natives should work, insisting upon her desire that they should not be enslaved and should be converted.

<sup>5</sup> D.I.I. (i) 31, pp. 209-210. Las Casas says that this ordinance was based upon a false report from Ovando (II, 12; D.I.E. 64, p. 64; etc.), but there seems to be no reason to believe that the natives were willing to work voluntarily. Even their own chiefs had to use some compulsion (cp. Las Casas, II, 7; D.I.E. 64, p. 41).

retention was the most obvious, if not the only, course to be adopted.<sup>1</sup>

Ovando did retain the system, but he introduced into it certain modifications. Previously, both land and the Indians upon it had been granted to Spaniards, whose authority was exercised through the caciques. Ovando effected two important changes. Indians were assigned to Spaniards without the land upon which those Indians lived being also assigned. The immediate authority of the Spanish *encomenderos* was substituted for the authority of the cacique.<sup>2</sup>

These changes have been attacked as converting serfdom into slavery, and as depriving the natives of their 'natural lords.' The suggestion is that, so long as the Indians still lived in their own districts and under the control of their own chiefs, their lot presented some mitigating features. In this, there is a degree of truth, since it often happened that the natives were drawn away to a considerable distance from their homes and were thus unable to avail themselves of their intervals of leisure to visit their families.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the destruction of the authority of the caciques was serviceable to the cause of good order in the island and probably to the advantage of the natives themselves. It is certain that compulsion to labour was the rule prior to the coming of the Spaniards, and that the yoke of the caciques was no light one.<sup>4</sup> Putting the case against the Spanish settlers at its worst, the change was only from one tyranny to another, and while it may be true that the tyranny of the caciques was rather popular than the reverse with its victims,

<sup>1</sup> Repartimientos dated from the period of Bartholomew Columbus : they had been much increased by Bobadilla (cp. Moses, *op. cit.* p. 92 *et seq.*)

<sup>2</sup> The form of the grant of Indians under Ovando was as follows : 'A vos, fulano, se os encomiendan en el Cacique fulano, 50 ó 100 indios, para que os sirvais dellos, y enseñaldes las cosas de nuestra sancta fe católica,' or 'A vos, fulano, se os encomiendan en el Cacique fulano, 50 ó 100 indios, con la persona del Cacique, para que os sirvais dellos en vuestras granjerías y minas, y enseñaldes las cosas de nuestra sancta fe católica' (Las Casas, II, 13 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 71).

<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, II, 13, 14 ; D.I.E. 64, pp. 72, 77-79.

<sup>4</sup> D.I.I. (i) 31, p. 161. Las Casas, II, 7 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 41. In Mexico and Peru, slavery was practically the condition of the Indians prior to the conquest, and it may be supposed that conditions in Española were not essentially different (cp. Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, Introduction ; *Conquest of Peru*, Introduction ; and the authorities cited ; and Markham, *History of Peru*).



yet it can hardly be contested that it was to the advantage of the natives to be under the control of one whose misconduct could be punished, rather than under the control of a practically irresponsible master. To place the Indians under the direct orders of the Spaniards was, in a measure, to place them under the central government, and thus to render possible the punishment of any unduly severe masters. And Ovando did punish such misconduct, either by depriving the guilty of their Indians or, in more flagrant cases, by sending the offenders back to Spain.<sup>1</sup> If the condition of the natives were indeed one of slavery, it was at least of a mitigated slavery. There were means by which abuses could be remedied, and that they were remedied to some extent by Ovando would appear to be the fact, despite the invective of Las Casas.

Las Casas, indeed, seems to have been led by his sympathy for the cause of the Indians to award blame to Ovando where he should rather have awarded praise. He blames him for his action in the matter of such Spaniards as married the daughters of caciques,<sup>2</sup> declaring that Ovando was guilty of grave injustice, penalising conduct which should have been rewarded and depriving the Indians of their natural lords. But it is clear that had the Spaniards been allowed to secure a species of hereditary right over the natives, a number of feudal lordships would have arisen in the island. If the natives were to be protected at all, it was essential that the Spanish settlers should be under control; to control such feudal lords would have been difficult or impossible. Ovando seems rather to have merited in this case the praise bestowed upon him by Ferdinand<sup>3</sup> than the blame bestowed upon him by Las Casas, and perhaps to have saved Española from drifting into a state of anarchy analogous to that from which Isabella had so recently rescued Castille.

Nor was Ovando regardless of the physical unfitness of the Indians for severe labour. He wished at first to commit such labour to imported negroes, the sons of slaves born in Spain,<sup>4</sup> and only abandoned this idea when he found that the negroes merely added an element of disorder to the society of the island.<sup>5</sup>

Las Casas asserts that Ovando neglected the spiritual as well

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, I, 5, xii.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *supra*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> D.I.I. (i) 36, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> D.I.I. (i) 31, p. 23. Herrera, I, 4, xii.

<sup>5</sup> Herrera, I, 5, xii.



as the material interests of the natives, but there seems to be no basis for these charges. The encouragement of the Franciscan mission<sup>1</sup> indicates a desire to carry out the work of conversion, and at the same time schools were established in the monasteries to such effect that Ferdinand found it necessary to prohibit the importation of 'vain and scandalous books,' lest the Indians should read them in preference to devotional literature.<sup>2</sup>

But if the work of education made some progress, the picture of the Indians toiling day after day, without relaxation, for masters who cared no more for them than if they had been so many 'stocks or stones, cats or dogs,' would seem to be somewhat highly coloured. The actual truth may be suggested in the opposition of Ovando to grants to absentees.<sup>3</sup> In such cases, the repartimiento system was really pernicious to the Indians, and the more so since the punishment of misconduct was wellnigh impossible. But where the governor was able to exercise control, there is no conclusive evidence that the undue exploitation of the Indians was permitted. Stories of atrocities or of harshness of conduct which bordered on the barbarous are indeed told by Las Casas,<sup>4</sup> and have been repeated by later writers until they have become apparent facts, and until isolated acts of cruelty have been exaggerated into the uniform practice of all the Spanish settlers.

There is, indeed, a certain spirit of exaggeration and carelessness in very much which has been written as to the conduct of the Spaniards in the New World. For this, Las Casas must be held as largely responsible; moderation and judgment were not included among his many virtues. A striking example of his intemperance, an intemperance which borders upon absolute disregard for truth, is to be found in his account of the importation of the Lucayans into Española.<sup>5</sup> He greatly exaggerated

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *supra*, p. 10, and note.

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, I, 6, xx. The establishment of schools was ordered by the ordinance of March 29, 1503 (Zaragosa), see D.I.I. (i) 31, pp. 160-161. The Indians were to learn to read, write and make the sign of the Cross, and to repeat the Pater-Noster, Credo and Salve Regina.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *supra*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> An excellent example of these stories is to be found in Las Casas, II, 40; D.I.E. 64, p. 206.

<sup>5</sup> The story of the importation of the Lucayans is to be found in Las Casas, II, 43-45; D.I.E. 64, pp. 220-233.

the magnitude of the operation, stating that in four years 40,000 and in ten years 1,200,000 natives were brought to Española, in addition to such as were taken to Cubagua and Cuba. The present estimated total population of the Bahamas is 56,000, and it is incredible that in the early sixteenth century the adult population of those islands should have been anywhere near one million. Las Casas himself seems to have felt that his figures would be suspected, since he is careful to give Peter Martyr as his authority and to explain how well informed on this point Peter Martyr was.<sup>1</sup>

He further declares that the Lucayans were brought over in conditions of appalling barbarity, so that the route from the Bahamas to Española could be traced by the dead bodies of those thrown overboard.<sup>2</sup> He adds that no effort was made to care for the natives in any way. But he says also that he personally heard the confessions of many, and that they were most devout Catholics, which argues that the gospel must have been preached to them.<sup>3</sup>

But nowhere does the spirit of exaggeration appear more clearly than in the account which Las Casas gives of the decline of the native population of Española under the government of Ovando. He says that the governor was responsible for the death of some three million persons, since the original population of the island was four millions and at the close of Ovando's rule only sixty thousand natives survived.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere he says that the governor was responsible for the death of nine-tenths of the native population, which would reduce the

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas (II, 44 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 225) quotes Peter Martyr, Dec. VII, c. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Las Casas, II, 44 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> 'Yo confesé y comulgué, y me hallé á la muerte de algunos dellos, despues que fueron baptizados é instruidos, y digo que suplico á nuestro Señor, Dios, que tal devocion y tales lágrimas y contriccion de mis pecados me dé al tiempo quando su cuerpo y sangre rescibié, y de mi fin y muerte, como en ellos me parece que sentia y cognoscia' (Las Casas, II, 45 ; D.I.E. 64, pp. 232-233). It may be, of course, that Las Casas was here referring to such of the Lucayans as survived for a reasonable time in Española, but even so, on his own showing, they had received some religious instruction. Las Casas (II, 43 ; D.I.E. 64, p. 222) tells the story of the way in which the Lucayans were first deceived into embarking. It is hardly credible that a Spanish soldier of the sixteenth century should have had the wit to invent or the religious daring to tell the fable of the isle of the blessed.

<sup>4</sup> Las Casas, II, 18, 42 ; D.I.E., pp. 101, 219.

original total to some half a million.<sup>1</sup> It may be doubted whether even this last figure is not an exaggeration, as the first figures certainly were, when it is remembered that the natives were neither industrious nor provident, and that their only tools were stakes hardened in the fire and used with little diligence.<sup>2</sup>

That the number of natives declined, and that they ultimately became extinct, is certain, but this fact may be explained without assuming that the Spaniards were guilty of atrocities. More recent examples serve to suggest that a race in a lower state of civilisation is always likely to disappear before the coming of a race in a higher stage, and there would seem to be every reason for supposing that this would naturally occur in Española. At the moment of the arrival of the Spaniards, the Indians appear to have been living a relatively idle and easy life, such labour as they performed being that demanded in a state of society in which wants are few because desire has not been developed. This life was suddenly and rudely interrupted. The natives were brought into contact with a condition of things of which they had no previous knowledge, nor were their slow minds equal to the task of adjusting themselves to the new order. They became the prey of melancholy, which was the more fatal in a race of admittedly low physique, since it made them the more liable to disease, a ready prey to yellow fever and to measles which seem to have scourged the island.

And the progress of disease was aided by the action of the Indians themselves. When they found that the Spaniards intended to remain in the island, they attempted to drive them out by starvation, and for a while no crops were sown. The Spaniards did, it is true, presently compel them to resume cultivation, but land which had once been allowed to go out of cultivation cannot readily be brought back to its original

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Peschel, *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen* (p. 430), estimates the population of Española at the end of the fifteenth century at from 200,000 to 300,000. Lannoy and Vander Linden, *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale, Portugal et Espagne* (p. 371), regard this estimate as exaggerated. Las Casas reached his absurd figures by taking the original estimate of Columbus (one million), stating that Columbus only explored one-third of the island, and then arguing that if the population of one-third were one million, the total population must have been three millions, and then calmly stating that the total was three or four millions, and later four millions.



productivity, and this is especially true in the tropics. The natives who were growing to manhood during the first years of Spanish rule, were almost certainly under-nourished, less fitted than their fathers would have been to resist the attacks of disease and the strain of unwonted labour, however little excessive that labour may have been.

Nor does this exhaust the causes of the decline of the native population. From the very first, the Indian women were eager to become the mistresses of the Spaniards, and it was part of the policy of the Catholic kings to encourage intermarriage and the fusion of the two races.<sup>1</sup> With every increase in the European population, the supply of women for the natives became constantly less adequate. A half-breed race came into existence, and it may be suggested that it was not so much that the natives, strictly speaking, died out as that the mestizo replaced the Indian of full blood. In the estimates made of the numbers of the native population, no account was taken of the half-breeds, who were classed with the Europeans.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, there would seem to be some reason for thinking that in the greater part of the island the Indians were already a declining race. It was noted that the people of Higüey and Xaragua were more virile and more warlike than the inhabitants of other districts, and it is not improbable that they were invaders from the mainland who were gradually exterminating or subjecting the earlier race. The excellent service rendered by Indian auxiliaries in the second war in Higüey seems to suggest rooted hatred between the natives of different districts. The more warlike Indians fell before the Spanish attack, but the extinction of the more peaceful, already in progress, could not be arrested. Their day was past. The very softness and malle-

<sup>1</sup> The terms of the ordinance are noteworthy: 'Procuren como los dichos yndios se casen con sus mugeres en haz de la Sancta Madre Iglesia; e que ansí mismo procure que algunos cristhianos se casen con algunas mugeres yndias, e las mugeres cristhianos con algunos yndios, porque los unos e los otros se comuniquen e enseñen, para ser dotrinados en las cosas de Nuestra Sancta Fée Catholica, en si mismo, como labren sus heredades e entiendan que sus haciendas, e se fagan los dichos yndios e yndias, ombres e mugeres de rrazon' (D.I.I. (i), 31, p. 164).

<sup>2</sup> 'Et l'on peut dire que plus des trois quarts des Espagnols, qui composent aujourd'hui cette Colonie, descendent par les Femmes des premiers Habitants de l'Isle,' says Charlevoix (*op. cit.* p. 268), writing in 1730, of the results of Ovando's order compelling the Spaniards to marry their Indian mistresses (*cp. also* Fabie, *op. cit.* p. 1).



ability, which Las Casas so admired, appear to be indicative of decline, and decline appears still more clearly in the portrait of the Indian race, drawn by Oviedo.

'The Indian race,' he says,<sup>1</sup> 'is by nature idle and vicious, little inclined to labour, melancholic, abject, vile and evilly disposed, lying and little provident, inconsistent. Many of them, as a pastime, poisoned themselves to avoid work, and others hanged themselves. . . . If they have anything of good in them, it is while they are young, for no sooner do they come to puberty, then they give themselves up to abominable vices, and they are a people, such as those of whom the Gospel says, "By their fruits, ye shall know them."' "

It would be idle to contend that the Spaniards committed no acts of cruelty, or that they never exploited the natives for their own advantage. It would be still more idle to assert that evidence drawn from the history of one brief period in a single district can be applied to Spanish government throughout the New World during the three centuries of Spanish dominion. But, at the same time, a consideration of the administration of Ovando in Española does appear to supply ample ground for questioning whether the divergence between theory and practice was as great as has been generally supposed, and for suggesting that the denunciations of Las Casas should be far more liberally discounted than they have hitherto been. It is not too much to say that the charge of general, and still more the charge of deliberate, barbarity, which has been brought against the Spaniards, rests upon no satisfactory basis, and that these charges are at least non-proven.

CECIL JANE.

<sup>1</sup> 'Esta gente de su natural es ociosa é viciosa, é de poco trabajo, é melancólicos, é cobardes, viles é mal inclinados, mentirosos é de poca memoria, é de ninguna constancia. Muchos dellos, por su passatiempo, se mataron con ponçonia por no trabajar, y otros se ahorcaron por sus manos propias. . . . E si en ellos hay algun bien, es en tanto que llegan al principio de la edad adoleçente; porque entrando en ella, adoleçen de tantas culpas é vicijs, que son muchos dellos abominables. Assi que estos tales hombres, como diçe el Evangelio, en los frutos dellos los conosçereis' (Oviedo, III, 6).



## ARX CAPITOLINA

THE purpose of this short paper is to call attention to a number of real difficulties in Tacitus' account, as usually interpreted, of the circumstances which attended the conflagration of the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus in the year A.D. 70, during the rioting between the Vitellians and Flavius Sabinus, brother of Vespasian and city prefect. These events are recounted by Tacitus in cc. 69-73 of the Third Book of his Histories. Our main contention is that it was not the southernmost peak, the Capitolium proper, but the northern summit, the so-called "Arx,"<sup>1</sup> which was selected by the defenders as their stronghold, and that the current misconception on this point affects not only the major part of the topographical detail but something much more important, namely, the view which the historian expressed of the catastrophe, a view which the orthodox interpretation does not allow fully and precisely to emerge.

Two difficulties make this a complicated inquiry, firstly the scantiness of the detail to be found in ancient authors on the topography of this, the *umbilicus* of the Roman world, and secondly the fact that building, cutting away and levelling over an area relatively limited have undoubtedly altered the contour of the hill.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable nevertheless that the latter factor may easily be exaggerated and that the serious difficulties in the received account will *not* be found to be referable to it. We may, that is to say, proceed confidently upon the basis of the main features as they still exist *in situ*, whether as a whole or in part, whether actually or by substitution. These are (1) The

<sup>1</sup> Now covered by the church and precincts of S. Maria in Ara Coeli.

<sup>2</sup> 'Es gibt wenige Punkte im alten Rom, deren Topographie so im Dunkel liegt, wie die der Arx. Schon im Altertum fliessen die Nachrichten über sie spärlich, da das Capitolium mit seiner grossen Fülle von Tempeln sie überstrahlte. Im Mittelalter wurde sie durch den Bau der Kirche und des Klosters Araceli und die Anlage der zu ihnen führenden Aufgänge gänzlich umgestaltet.' Richter, *Topographie von Rom*, p. 119. Cf. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, p. 295.

Templum of Iuppiter Capitolinus. (2) The Arx. (3) Ascent to the Capitol on the l. side (along S. wall) of the Tabularium. (4) Ascent to the Arx on the r. side (along N. wall) of the Tabularium. (5) The Piazza del Campidoglio = *lucus asyli*, roughly.

Nor, be it said at once, is such a discussion concerned merely with the minutiae and hypothetical constructions of the topographer. It is our aim to show that the received account, which assumes that the Vitellian assault was directed against the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, besides doing violence to the Latin of Tacitus and exposing itself to serious objection on the topographical ground, further obscures part of Tacitus' moral reflection on the matter. The tenor of this was not merely that the Capitol, undevastated by Porsenna and the Gauls, was destroyed in the frenzied faction-fights of Romans, but also that its destruction was gratuitous, and unnecessary to the decision of the issue between Flavian and Vitellian. *Quibus armorum causis, quo tantae cladis pretio?* asks Tacitus. What point has this question if the Flavians had entrenched themselves in or at the Temple, and if the storm and destruction of that stronghold had thus become essential to the victory of their opponents? *ἄνδρες οὐ τείχῃ πόλιν* might in this case well be the answer. It was, however, the casualness, the wantonness of this destruction which is the keynote of Tacitus' narrative. Indeed he leaves us in no doubt on this point by concluding his description of its burning with the significant sentence, ignored or misunderstood by his editors,<sup>1</sup> *sic Capitolium clausis foribus indefensum et indireptum conflagrauit*.

The orthodox view has of necessity to content itself here and there with some degree of vague statement, but it at any rate conceives the object of the Vitellian attack as in some way or other the temple of Iuppiter itself. Let us first, then, recount the successive moments of occupation, attack and storm as told by Tacitus from c. 69 onwards.

(a) c. 69. Sabinus . . . arcem Capitolii insedit mixto milite, etc.

(b) c. 70-71. (Immediately upon the return of Sabinus' envoy

<sup>1</sup> Summers (who criticises preceding English editors) gives no help on any of the points here raised. Godley is admirably full on them and manfully faces most of the difficulties, with what success may be judged below. A good plan of the hill will be found in Platner, facing p. 292.



Martialis from his unsuccessful mission to Vitellius) furens miles aderat cito agmine, forum et imminetia foro templa praeteruecti erigunt aciem per aduersum collem usque ad primas Capitolinae arcis fores.

(c) *c.* 71. Erant antiquitus porticus in latere cliui dextrae subeuntibus, in quarum tectum egressi saxis tegulisque Vitellianos obruebant . . . faces in prominentem porticum iecere et sequebantur ignem ambustasque Capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus reuulsas undique statuas, decora maiorum, in ipso aditu uice muri obiecisset.

(d) Tum diuersos Capitolii aditus inuadunt.

(i) iuxta lucum asyli.

(ii) qua Tarpeia rupes centum gradibus aditur.

(iii) nec sisti poterant scandentes per coniuncta aedificia quae ut in multa pace in altum edita solum Capitolii aequabant.

(e) Fire first set to the houses (uncertain by whom), then spread to adjacent colonnades and then to the great temple itself.

(f) *c.* 73. An entrance is at last forced : irrumpunt Vitelliani, etc.

Now let us review these stages in the assault and consider their congruity with the notion that the main Vitellian attack was directed against the Temple. Nothing, one might have supposed, could be more explicit than the statement that Flavius Sabinus and his adherents occupied the Arx—the northern peak, and not the south-west summit, the Capitolium. The three expressions used by Tacitus in close succession, (a) *arx Capitolii*, (b) *ad primas Capitolinae arcis fores*, (c) *ambustasque Capitolii fores*, though they show the usual desire for variety of expression, yet all point the same way. How audaciously the supporters of the received view are prepared to manipulate the Latin language will best appear if we recite Godley's note on this point (p. 184 of his ed.). Says he :

'Ancient writers call the northern summit (where now stands the Araceli church) the Arx, the S.W. distinctively Capitolium. It was this latter height which was occupied by Sabinus. Tacitus describes it variously as *arx Capitolii*, *Capitolina arx* or *Capitolium* ; but he uses *arx* simply in the sense of height or summit, and we must not therefore suppose that he is referring to the Arx, properly so called, which occupied the Northern elevation. What he means is the S.W.

part of the hill, on which the principal building was the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (itself called Capitolium below).'

Forbearing to traverse these statements in detail, we would suggest that common sense would assign the following unforced meanings to the expressions Arx and Capitolium, and that common sense is powerfully reinforced by the actual usage of Tacitus. *Capitolium* is used of the hill as a whole, including both peaks, and also of the S.W. peak and its temple. If it is desired to distinguish the former from the latter, the expression *mons Capitolinus* would naturally be employed. There are certain cases where *Capitolium* might even be especially used of the Arx, provided that the context lends itself to this, and any ambiguity is removed in c. 71, *ambustas Capitolii fores*, by the fact that *fores* is a repetition<sup>1</sup> and its reference already indicated : but, we would urge, the expressions *arx Capitolii*, *arx Capitolina* cannot conversely be referred to the Capitolium proper to the exclusion of the Arx proper. If it can, then the Latin language is on the way to attain a distinction alien to it as a concealer of thought. It is true that our initial conception of the stronghold of Sabinus is the Arx and not the Capitolium may prove to yield no consistent narrative ; it is true, moreover, that we know next

<sup>1</sup> *Capitolium* occurs fourteen times in the Annals, eleven of these references are unmistakably to the Temple, two to the hill as a whole ; the remaining reference is XI, 23 (of the Gauls), 'quid si memoria eorum moreretur qui sub Capitolio et Arce Romana manibus eorundem perissent satis' (so Fisher's text). Thus in the only context in which the hill is regarded as the scene of a conflict, Tacitus is careful to distinguish between the Capitolium and the Arx by using the common expression for the whole hill, *Arx et Capitolium* (see Richter, p. 118, Platner, p. 292), with a characteristic variant. In the Histories, outside the passage now under discussion, *Capitolium* is used fifteen times, whereof twelve clearly refer to the Temple, one (III, 78, *Capitolii arcem*) refers to this passage and must be interpreted in the light of it, though the epithet *munitissimam* there certainly appears to strengthen our interpretation ; what 'fortifications' had the Capitol proper beyond a surrounding wall ? The other two (I, 39 and 71) might mean either the Capitolium proper or the whole hill. As to the *fores*, we do not understand whether the editors think of these as the gate of the Temple or as a gate giving access to the Asylum in general ; Richter l.c. supposes that it was a gateway by which the *clivus Capitolinus*, after reaching the level of the asylum or thereabouts, passed through the wall surrounding the Temple, 'etwa beim Ausgang zum jetzigen Bogen des Vignola.' He holds the orthodox view of the fighting, supposing apparently that only the Temple itself in the strict sense was defensible at that date.

to nothing of the nature of the Arx or of its relation to the temples on its site – Iuno Moneta (Livy VI, 20) and Concord (Livy XXII, 33; XXVI, 23). Yet we are not therefore exempted from beginning at any rate with the idea of Flavius Sabinus establishing himself in the Arx proper, the traditional refuge of assailants of the established government from Appius Herdonius onwards, and going on to examine whether this conception is in all details consistent with the account of Tacitus.

But before entering into detail, it should be noticed that *a priori* we would expect Sabinus, or anyone else in like case, to seize upon the Arx proper, alone or together with the Capitolium. For, though no great military knowledge or tactical skill was shown by either party, we have no grounds for imagining that the most obvious of all precautions was neglected and an absolutely untenable post taken up by the defenders. The Arx is to-day a trifle the higher summit of the two (some nine metres above the Piazza del Campidoglio, to the Capitol's eight); it then bore some considerable remnants at least of its ancient fortifications, on which artillery could surely have been mounted; and while this arm of the Roman service was not yet so elaborated as in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, still we have only to consult Vitruvius to perceive that the garrison of Rome must have had at its disposal the means of hurling missiles of considerable weight a much greater distance than the 250 metres or so which separated Iuno Moneta from Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. Had Sabinus really left the Arx unoccupied, and his opponents been anything better than madmen, a few hours' work at getting ballistae and catapults into position would have brought the Temple about his ears without the loss of a man to his assailants. As it was, the position had to be carried from below by an infantry attack, apparently rather costly.

But to return to topographical considerations, if the attack was made directly on the Arx, the Vitellians cannot have ascended, as Godley declares (p. 186) by

'the Clius Capitolinus, which very nearly corresponded with the present approach leading to the Piazza del Campidoglio from the south-west corner of the Forum, near the temple of Saturn and the shrines of the Di Consentes,'

*i.e.* approximately the Via di Monte Tarpeio. They must have ascended, not by the Clius, to the left (as one looks from the



Forum) of the Tabularium,<sup>1</sup> but by way of the Gradus Monetae,<sup>2</sup> assuming that they rose from near the temple of Concord to the gate of the Arx ; at all events, by some route leading uphill from the r. of the Tabularium. They would thus pass not only the temple of Saturn and the Porticus Deorum Consentium, but also the temple of Concord itself, that is all those temples which could be described as *imminentia foro*, i.e. near the Forum but on higher ground ; the phrase is that which Livy uses (I, 33, 8) to describe the situation of the Carcer. Their object was plainly to strike a sudden and decisive blow at the main body of Flavians on the Arx. Frustrated by the barricading of this route, they retrace their steps towards the Forum, and their main body attempts to reach the space between and below the two peaks by way of the Cliuus Capitolinus, which they had already passed.

(c) and (d). If our version is so far well founded, then the *porticus dextrae subeuntibus*<sup>3</sup> must be placed near the head of the route, whether the Gradus Monetae or not, which led immediately to the Arx and its gate. According to the orthodox account they would be situated at or near the gate of the modern Palazzo del Senatore. This point, however, is far below the Capitoline Temple, and Godley admits (p. 187) that in the expression *in Capitolii fores penetrassent* 'the proper meaning of Capitolium must be extended to the Tabularium.' The orthodox account must further accommodate itself to the necessity of supposing that 'the Flavians had occupied not only the Capitolium proper, but also the building now known as the Tabularium.' This may or may not seem a probable proceeding ; but we should not fail to notice that it is no more than an inference from the topography which the accepted interpretation requires. *Hypotheses non sunt multiplicandae praeter necessitatem.*

(e) Resuming and repeating, we contend that the Vitellians, baffled in their direct approach to the Arx—to the right (i.e.

<sup>1</sup> On the Tabularium, see Middleton, *Ancient Rome*, pp. 232, 236 ; Platner, p. 306, who gives further references to modern literature. It is curious that the former, who has been very generally followed, should label it 'so-called,' and the latter speak of it as 'not mentioned in literature,' in view of Verg. Georg. II, 501, *insanumque forum et populi tabularia uidit*, which so obviously refers to the view across the Forum from the Velia. See the remarks of Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Platner, pp. 295, 306.

<sup>3</sup> These colonnades have clearly no connexion with the *porticus adpositas aedibus* at end of c. 71.



along the N. wall) of the Tabularium—now descend again to the Forum and move westward. Their main attack is delivered at the earliest opening—*propior atque acrior (uis) per asylum ingruerat*—by way of the Clivus Capitolinus (along the S. wall of the Tabularium) which they had previously rejected as the less direct path to the Arx. A second body attempts an ascent at the Tarpeian rock, wherever that may be placed. But it was a third body clambering along the roofs of the houses who in their conflict with the defenders of the height brought about the destruction of the great Temple. On which side or sides of the Temple these houses were stationed it is difficult, and for our purpose unnecessary, to decide.

(f) *Irrumpunt Vitelliani, etc.* Where was this entrance effected? <sup>1</sup> Tacitus is clearly not here thinking of the Temple, for this, as cannot too often be repeated, although editors and commentators have not heeded the historian's plain words at the end of c. 71, *sic Capitolium clausis foribus indefensum et indireptum conflagrauit*, was never the main object of attack. But neither again are we to think of the Arx, since *prima irruptione* at the beginning of c. 74 must correspond to *irrupunt* in 73, and if it was possible to secrete Domitian in the lodging of the aedituus he cannot have been in the Arx. *Irrumpunt* here clearly refers to the moment when the Vitellians gained the space now covered by the Piazza del Campidoglio. Tacitus omits to tell us (explicitly, since *propior atque acrior per Asylum ingruerat* is a significant indication) at what precise spot on the circuit of the hill this entrance was effected, and this negligence or reticence is entirely in his manner. His interest as usual is engaged by the human, ethical, psychological aspects of a great happening, and information is in this way withheld from us which is indispensable to the barest summary of the facts. For Tacitus the burning of the Capitol eclipses all other moments of the great catastrophe and, as usual with him on so elevated a theme, Vergilian reminiscences surge up through every chink of opportunity to employ them. It is this bias of the historian to the emotionally significant core of the event rather

<sup>1</sup> Middleton's view (p. 240) that the Vitellians broke into the Capitol by way of the long staircase of the Tabularium which he describes, p. 239, has little in its favour. The staircase led apparently straight into the Tabularium itself and through it to the Asylum (Richter, p. 131, Platner, p. 308).

than to its hard facts which has misled his editors and commentators into giving to the Temple a more central position in the siege of the Capitoline Hill than it did as a fact occupy.

But this is not to say that the Capitol proper, or at least the walled precinct surrounding it, played no part in the fight. The Arx alone would be, not indeed quite as untenable as the Capitol alone, but exposed to very harassing fire from engines placed, as they might be if the other end of the hill were neglected, on the roof of the Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus or of one of the other shrines. It is incredible that Sabinus should not have had from the first some kind of outpost there, say a guard at each of the gates. Indeed by a little subtlety one might make out that Tacitus says so. The *Capitolina arx*, he says, was occupied, or elsewhere, the *arx Capitolii*. Now as Professor Postgate has pointed out with much ingenuity,<sup>1</sup> the combination of a substantive with an adjective or, what is much the same thing, a second substantive in the genitive case, results in a much more intimate blending of the ideas expressed by the two words in Latin than in our more analytical tongues. *Aganippis Hippocrene* is 'the pair of hippine springs, Aganippe-Hippocrene'; *Pelusiacus Canopus* may be taken to mean 'all Egypt from one end of the Delta to the other.' Tacitus furnishes us with examples of such a blend; *t tormenta seruorum* (Ann. IV, 29, 5) is not 'torments of slaves,' but 'slaves under torture,' i.e. the slave-torture complex. So we might say, *arx Capitolina* or *Capitolii* is 'the Arx-Capitol complex,' i.e. the Capitoline Hill. That the headquarters of the Flavians were on the Arx proper is, however, as we think, sufficiently shown.

Our view may be briefly resumed as follows. The Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus was neither a stronghold of the defenders nor an objective of the assailants. As Tacitus says: 'It was burnt down though ungarrisoned and unplundered.' Flavius established himself on the other peak—the Arx, and from that controlled the whole area of the hill—both peaks as well as the intermediate depression, the *lucus asyli*. The first attack of the Vitellians was directed from the Palatine against the Arx by way, probably, of the Gradus Monetae. Foiled here, they retreated to the Forum, and attempting the ascent by at least three points,

<sup>1</sup> *Flaws in Classical Research*, p. 9 sqq. Greek has the same usage, e.g. Aesch. *Septem* 348, βλαχαὶ αἱματόεσσαι τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων 'wails of murdered babes.'

broke into the area which is now the Piazza del Campidoglio along the road on the left of the Tabularium (the Clivus Capitolinus). Whether our view be well founded or not, we claim at least to have demonstrated that the received story of these events, both in point of clearness and consistency, stands in need of radical revision.

<sup>1</sup> G. A. T. DAVIES.  
H. J. ROSE.

[<sup>1</sup> *Note*.—It is with the utmost regret that the Editorial Committee learn of the sudden death of Prof. Davies. A good scholar, a good Welshman, and a good colleague, he leaves a gap which it will not be easy to fill.]





## JAMES HOWELL AGAIN<sup>1</sup>

“OF all literary hobbies nothing can compare with the pleasure of annotation.”

Canon H. Maynard Smith, ‘The Early Life and Education of John Evelyn.’

In the following notes the page-references, as in the previous instalments in Vols. III. and IV. of the *Studies*, are to Joseph Jacobs’s edition of ‘The Familiar Letters of James Howell,’ Vol. I., Text, 1890 ; Vol. II., Introduction, Notes, Index, 1892.

*The Vote, or a Poem-Royal*, line 76, p. 8 :

. . . my Prince (my sweet *black Prince*).

With this description of Charles II. in boyhood compare what Marvell wrote of him when a man :

Of a tall stature, and of sable hue.

‘An Historical Poem,’ l.1.

Queen Henrietta Maria, in a letter to Madame de St. George, described her baby as *noir*.

*The Vote, or a Poem-Royal*, lines 199–202, p. 11 :

May Justice still in her true Scales appear,

And Honour fix’d in no unworthy Sphere ;

Unto whose Palace all Access should have

Through *Virtue’s* Temple, not through *Pluto’s* Cave.

Book I., Sect. 3, ii., p. 146, When you go to *Rome*, you may haply see the ruins of two Temples, one dedicated to *Virtue*, the other to *Honour* ; and there was no way to enter into the last but thro’ the first.

We may compare ‘Hudibras,’ II., i. 801–803,

For as the *Ancients* heretofore

To *Honor’s* Temple had no dore,

But that which thorough *Virtue’s* lay.

There was more than one temple of *Virtus* and *Honos* at *Rome*, the most famous being that outside the *Porta Capena*.

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<sup>1</sup> For previous sections see *Aberystwyth Studies*, Vol. III., pp. 27–42. Vol. IV., pp. 39–48.

In l. 4 of the first passage of Howell the confusion between *Plutus* and *Pluto* is not unprecedented. It is just possible that Howell might have had some recollection of Spenser, F.Q. II., vii., where Mammon's cave adjoins the gates of Pluto.

*To the knowing Reader touching Familiar Letters*, ll. 19, 20, p. [13]:

Which made the *Indian Inca* think they were  
Spirits, who in white Sheets the Air did tear.

See Purchas's 'Pilgrimage,' part I., ed. 3 (1617), p. 907, "*Columbus* sent a Letter to reduce him unto peace by the Indians, who held the Letter in almost religious regard, thinking it had some Spirit or Deitie, by which they could understand one another being absent."

Howell speaks of this belief again in Book IV., l., p. 644, "When the *Spaniards* at their first Coalition in the *West-Indies* did begin to mingle with the *Americans*, that silly People thought that those little white Papers and Letters which the *Spaniards* us'd to send one to another were certain kind of Conjurers or Spirits that us'd to go up and down to tell tales, and make discoveries."

*To the knowing Reader touching Familiar Letters*, ll. 21-24, p. [13]:

The lucky Goose sav'd *Jove's* beleagred *Hill*,  
Once by her *Noise*, but oftner by her *Quill*:  
It twice prevented, *Rome* was not o'er-run  
By the tough *Vandal*, and the rough-hewn *Hun*.

Jacobs's note on "twice prevented" is "In ED. PR. a side-note gives an off-hand reference to Livy. Dr. Gow suggests that the second occasion may be that referred to, Pliny, N.H. 10, 22, 36, § 81, or Plut. *Camillus*."

The ref. to Pliny should be 10, 22, (26), 51, "Est et anseri vigil cura Capitolio testata defenso." Something, however, has gone wrong with the editor's note. The reference to Livy V. 47 has got attached to the preceding comment on "Prester John." Further, Dr. Gow's suggestion is surely misrepresented. The passages in Livy, Pliny, and Plutarch's 'Camillus' (ch. 27), all refer to the familiar story of Brennus's siege. Besides, Howell is not speaking of two occasions only. He says, apparently, that the geese saved Rome once by their gagging and twice by means of their quills used in treaties or negotiations.

Compare Bk. IV., i., p. 556, "You know also how the *gagging* of Geese did once preserve the Capitol from being surpriz'd by my Countryman *Brennus*. . . . But the *Goose-quill* doth daily greater things, it conserves Empires . . . the Quill being the chiefest instrument of Intelligence, and the Ambassador's prime Tool."

If "Vandal" and "Hun" were used by Howell with a very general application, the two occasions might possibly be the sieges of Rome by the Goths in 408 and 409, when agreements with Alaric preserved the city. Otherwise the "Hun" reference ought to be to the negotiations with Attila in 452 in which he was persuaded by Pope Leo I. to

spare Rome. Possibly the "Vandal" refers to the year 455, when Leo's intervention with Genseric, though failing to save Rome from being plundered, "again mitigated the fierceness of a Barbarian conqueror."

*To the knowing Reader touching Familiar Letters*, ll. 33, 34, p. 14 :

Lawyers, as *Vultures*, had soar'd up and down ;  
 Prelates, like *Magpies*, in the Air had flown.

For "Magpies," with reference to the episcopal chimere and lawn sleeves, compare 'The True Informer,' &c., Oxford, 1643, p. 12, as quoted in Z. Grey's note on 'Hudibras,' I., ii., 530, "... a dog with a black and white face was called *a bishop*." <sup>1</sup>

Book I., Sect. 1, i., p. [17], Indeed we should write as we speak ; and that's a true familiar Letter which expresseth one's Mind, as if he were discoursing with the Party to whom he writes, in succinct and short Terms.

Compare Seneca, 'Epist.' 75, 1, "Qualis sermo meus esset, si una sederemus aut ambularemus, inlaboratus et facilis, tales esse epistulas meas volo, quae nihil habeant accersitum nec fictum."

Book I., Sect. 1, i., p. 18 . . . insomuch, that it may be said of them, what was said of the *Echo*, *That she is a mere Sound and nothing else*.

Jacobs's note is "*Echo*, a reference to *Vox et praeterea nihil*, though the Greek original refers to the nightingale."

The Greek original of "*Vox es, praeterea nihil*" is in Plutarch, 'Apophthegmata Laconica,' 233A, *Φωνὴ τὸ τίς ἐσσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο*. But may not Howell have been thinking of Ovid, 'Met.' iii., 398 sq., where the metamorphosis of the nymph Echo is described ?

*Vox tantum atque ossa supersunt.*

*Vox manet. Ossa ferunt lapidis traxisse figuram.*

Book I., Sect. 1, ii., p. 19, I should be much wanting to myself, and to that Obligation of Duty, the Law of God, and his *Handmaid* Nature, hath imposed upon me, if I should not . . .

See Sir John Davies, 'Nosce teipsum,' 'Of the Soule of Man, and the immortalitie thereof,' lines 433-434,

But as *God's handmaid, Nature*, doth create  
 Bodies in time distinct, and order due.

Compare the 'ancilla Domini' of St. Luke, i. 38.

Book I., Sect. 1, iv., p. 22, I could not shake hands with *England*, without kissing your hands also.

<sup>1</sup> Grey's citation is inexact. It should run "a dog with blacke and white spots."

To the N.E.D.'s examples of shaking hands as a sign of leave-taking may be added that from Sir T. Browne, 'Religio Medici,' Part I., Sect. 3, "Yet have I not so shaken hands with those desperate Resolutions . . . as to stand in Diameter and Swords point with them."

It is Swinburne's

"Take hands and part with laughter,  
Touch lips and part with tears."

Book I., Sect. 1, iv., p. 23, The news that keeps greatest noise here now, is the return of Sir *Walter Raleigh* from his Mine of Gold in *Guiana*.

Book I., Sect. 1, v., p. 26, . . . that *Philosophical Problem* which keeps so great a noise in the Schools.

Book I., Sect. 1, xxvii., p. 63, We pass'd also by *Ætna*, by the *Infames Scopulos*, *Acroceraunia*, and thro' *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, about which the ancient Poets, both *Greek* and *Latin*, keep such a Coil.

Book I., Sect. 3, xi., 157, The late taking of *Ormus* by the *Persian* from the Crown of *Portugal* keeps a great noise here.

'Hudibras,' I., iii., 183, can certainly be quoted for to "keep a coil" :  
He rag'd and kept as heavy a coyl as  
Stout *Hercules* for loss of *Hylas*.

Still, when Howell wrote of "keeping a noise" he was apparently clothing a familiar Welsh idiom in an English dress. A Welsh undergraduate has been known to puzzle his professor by producing "Why are you keeping this noise here?" as a translation of "Quid tibi, malum, hic ante aedis clamitatio?"

To keep a noise, as Prof. T. Stanley Roberts informs me, is *cadw stŵr*. Howell, though confessing (Bk IV., xiv.) that "I am not vers'd in my *maternal Tongue* so exactly as I should be," says that "the old *British*" is not entirely driven out of his memory.

Book I., Sect. 1, v., p. 26, . . . the Ground here [in *Holland*], which is all 'twixt Marsh and Moorish, lies not only level but to the apparent Sight of the Eye far lower than the Sea; which made the Duke of *Alva* say, That the Inhabitants of this Country were the nearest Neighbours to Hell (the greatest Abyss) of any People upon Earth, because they dwell lowest.

This seems to have been a favourite gibe at the Dutch. We have it again in Owen Felltham's 'A Brief Character of the Low-Countries,' the second paragraph of which begins thus: "Says one, it affords the people one commodity beyond all the other Regions; If they die in perdition, they are so low, that they have a shorter cut to Hell than the rest of their Neighbours."

Book I., Sect. 1, viii., p. 31, For tho' you be in *Oxford*, and I at *Leyden* . . . yet those swift Postilions, my *Thoughts*, find



you out daily, and bring you unto me : I behold you often in my Chamber, and in my Bed ; you eat, you drink, you sit down, and walk with me ; and my Fantasy enjoys you often in my Sleep.

Compare King John, III., iv. 93 sq.,

Grief fills the room up of my absent child,  
Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me.

I have suggested elsewhere that Shakespeare may have been influenced by a recollection, unconscious or otherwise, of Baptista Mantuanus, Eclogue iii., 93,

Mea pectora imago

Virginis obsedit ; mecum est, mecum itque reditque.

Excubat et dormit mecum.

See also Gray's Letter to Richard West, Aug. 22, 1737, " Low spirits are my true and faithful companions ; they get up with me, go to bed with me, make journeys and returns as I do ; nay, and pay visits, and will even affect to be jocose, and force a feeble laugh with me ; but most commonly we sit alone together, and are the prettiest insipid company in the world." <sup>1</sup>

Book I., Sect. 1, xiii., p. 38, If you have gain'd such a place amongst the choicest Friends of mine, I hope you will put me somewhere amongst yours, tho' I but fetch up the rear, being contented to be the *infirma species*, the lowest in the Predicament of your Friends.

In his note Jacobs restores the correct reading of the earlier editions, *infima species*. Compare Owen's Epigram,

*Species infima.*

Sit licet humanum genus inter cætera summun ;

Jure tamen species infima dictus homo.

In coelo minima est hominum pars, maxima in Orco ;

Humanum infelix quis neget ergo genus ?

Lib. iv. (ad D. Arbellam Stuart), 185.

Book I., Sect. 1, xxxvi., p. 79, Before I conclude, I will acquaint you with a common Saying that is used of this dainty City of *Venice* :

Venetia, Venetia, *chi non te vede non te Pregia*,

*Ma chi t'ha troppo veduto te Dispreggia.*

Compare 'Love's Labour's Lost,' IV., ii.,

Venetia, Venetia,

Chi non ti vede, non ti pregia.

Malone quotes from Florio's 'Second Frutes' (1591),

Venetia, chi non ti vede, non ti pretia ;

Ma chi ti vede, ben gli costa.

<sup>1</sup> D. C. Tovey in his edition of Gray's letters suspected that Gray had latent in his mind Cicero, 'Pro Archia,' 7, 16, "pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur."

Book I., Sect. 2, xiii., p. 114, A Gentleman told me, that the Women of this Country, when they are deliver'd, there comes out of the Womb a living Creature besides the Child, call'd *Zucchie*, likest a *Bat* of any other Creature, which the Midwives throw into the Fire, holding Sheets before the Chimney lest it should fly away.

See 'Hudibras,' Part III., Canto ii., lines 145, 146,  
For Knaves and Fools b'ing near of Kin,  
As *Dutch-Boors* are t'a *Sooterkin*.

Zachary Grey prints this note on the passage, "It is reported of the Dutch women, that, making so great use of stoves, and often putting them under their petticoats, they engender a kind of ugly monster which is called a sooterkin. See Cleveland's Character of a London Diurnal, Works, 1677, p. 103."

The passage in Cleveland is quoted by the 'N.E.D.,' *s.v.* *Sooterkin*, "There goes a Report of the Holland Women, that together with their Children, they are delivered of a Sooterkin, not unlike to a Rat, which some imagine to be the Off-spring of the Stoves."

The 'N.E.D.' derives this word in the sense of Sweetheart from a Dutch or Flemish \*soetekijn (soet=sweet), and suggests a connexion with soot in the curious sense of the above passage, adding that there is apparently no similar term in Dutch. But Howell's *Zucchie* would seem to be the echo of some name that he had heard in Holland. Could midwives have used a word like soetekijn to avoid a more ill-omened name? Professor H. J. Rose has referred me to H. Ploss and P. Bartels, 'Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde.' Here, Vol. ii (9th edition), chap. liii, 'Die Ethnographie der Nachgeburtssteile,' is a wealth of information. In § 352 are parallels to the Dutch custom mentioned by Howell. For the stove part of the superstition which reminds one of Scott's note on Canto III., v. of 'The Lady of the Lake,'

"Of Brian's birth strange tales were told,"

Prof. Rose refers to Sir J. G. Frazer's 'Golden Bough,' 'The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings,' vol. ii., 195 sq. (3rd ed.), where the legends of the birth of Romulus, Servius Tullius, &c. are discussed.

Book I., Sect. 3, xxxiii., p. 205, With this miraculous Accident, he told me also a merry one; how a Captain that had a wooden Leg booted over, had it shatter'd to pieces by a Cannon-bullet: His Soldiers crying, *A Surgeon, a Surgeon*, for the Captain; No, no, said he, *A Carpenter, a Carpenter will serve the turn*.

Zachary Grey gives a somewhat different version of the story in his note to 'Hudibras,' I., iii., 538.

Book I., Sect. 4, iv., p. 216:

*To my Cousin, Mr. Rowland Gwin.*

Cousin,

I was lately sorry, and I was lately glad, that I heard you were ill, that I heard you are well.—Your affectionate Cousin,

J. H.

The *raison d'être* of this trivial letter, it should be noted, is that it reproduces in a prose form the *versus correlativi*. Numerous examples of the latter exist, among the most familiar being Pentadius's distich on Virgil,

Pastor arator eques pavi colui superavi,  
Capras rus hostes fronde ligone manu.

(There are varieties of reading in the above.)

A most fearsome specimen is to be found on p. 20 of Jakob Werner's 'Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters,'

Dilige luxuriam vicium cole destrue sanctos.

Virtutes fuge sperne deum sacra non venerare.

The curious reader may consult Reusner's 'Aenigmatographia,' Part ii (1601), pp. 181-187.

Book I., Sect. 4, v., p. 216, If you are in health 'tis well ;  
we are here all so.

See Seneca, Epist. 15, 1, "Mos antiquis fuit usque ad meam servatus aetatem, primis epistulae verbis adicere : 'Si vales bene est, ego valeo,'" and Cicero, Ep. ad Fam. XIV., xiv.-xvii., xxi.-xxiv., and elsewhere.

Book I., Sect. 5, ii., p. 248, I send you herewith a couple of red Deer Pies. . . . I pray let the *Sydonian* Merchant, *Jo. Bruckhurst*, be at the eating of them, and then I know they will be well soak'd.

Jacobs says "why Sydonian I know not." It might be suggested that Sydonian (= purple) is a reference to Bruckhurst's complexion, as that of a hard drinker. Compare K. Hen. IV., Pt. I., II., i., "none of those mad mustachio purple-hued malt-worms." If "Merchant" is merely figurative, meaning that Bruckhurst dealt in purple after this fashion, we might compare Dickens's description of the greasy-faced Chadband, laying about him prodigiously, as "a kind of considerable Oil Mills, or other large factory for the production of that article on a wholesale scale."

Book I., Sect. 5, ix., p. 256, To the nutrition of the Body, there are two essential conditions requir'd, *Assumption* and *Retention* ; then there follows two more, *πέψις* and *πρόστασις* [*sic*], Concoction and Agglutination, or *Adhæsiō*.

*Πρόστασις* is a *vox nihili*. The first edition has the impossible *πρόψις*. I conjecture the word meant to be *πρόσφνσις*, as in Aristotle, 'Probl.' ii. 3, *ἐν τῇ προσφύσει τῆς τροφῆς πρὸς αἷμα καὶ τὰς σάρκας*.

Book I., Sect. 5, ix., p. 257, But among these Studies you must not forget the *unicum necessarium* ; on Sundays and Holidays, let *Divinity* be the sole object of your speculation, in comparison whereof all other Knowledge is but Cobweb-learning ; *præ quâ quisquiliæ cætera*.

For the first Latin expression see St. Luke, x., 42, "Porro unum est necessarium. Maria optimam partem elegit, quae non auferetur ab ea." Wherever Howell picked up "præ qua" &c., it may be traced to Petronius, 75, "Corcillum est quod homines facit, cetera quisquilia [texts in Howell's time, and long afterwards had *quisquiliae*] omnia," which Friedländer translates in an ingeniously idiomatic style "Das Bischen Grütze im Kopf ist es, was die Menschen macht, alles übrige ist Quark." Howell uses the phrase again, Bk. III., iv., p. 519.

Book I., Sect. 5, xi., 261, Like *Sertorius's* Soldier, who when he could not cut off the Horse-tail with his Sword at one blow, fell to pull out the hairs one by one.

This is a perverted form of the story. In the original, told by Plutarch in his life of Sertorius, 16, the general teaches his Spanish followers that more is accomplished by perseverance than by force, by giving them the object-lesson of a strong man vainly attempting to pull out the tail of a broken-down horse, while a feeble man plucks the tail of a powerful horse, hair by hair.

Book I., Sect. 5, xi., p. 263, All your Friends here are well, *Tom Young* excepted, who I fear hath not long to live among us.

Jacobs makes an unlucky attempt at identification, remarking "perhaps the one whose initials formed part of the well-known SmecTYmnus. A letter to him later, p. 371."

In his note on this last Jacobs is more confident, as he then writes, "Probably Milton's friend." Probability is all the other way. The letter, dated 28 April, 1645, is addressed "*To Tho. Young, Esq.*" In 1645 Milton's friend the Rev. Thomas Young was Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and a member of the Westminster Assembly. The letter in which Howell suggests that Tom Young has not long to live is dated "York, the 1 of Aug. 1628." In March, 1628, the Puritan divine was presented to the living at Stowmarket, in Suffolk.

Book I., Sect. 5, xv., p. 266, My Lord President of the North hath lately made me Patron of a Living hard by *Henley*, call'd *Hambledon*; it is worth £500 a year *communibus annis*; and the now Incumbent, Dr. *Pilkinton*, is very aged, valetudinary, and corpulent.

"*Dr. Pilkinton*, perhaps the one mentioned Nichols's *Prog.* i. 172." Jacobs. There can be no dispute about the identity of this rector of Hambledon. Dr. Richard Pilkington, who held the living for 35 years, was a well-known controversialist of his day. There is an account of him in the 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' though Wood was not aware of all his preferments. He is noticed by the 'D.N.B.' The Pilkington in the 'Progresses' (King James's, not Elizabeth's) i., 172, is a "Mr. Pilkington" at whose house in Leicester the King's daughter lay (June 22, 1603)



on her journey from Scotland. Possibly *he* was the John Pilkington of Leicester in the 'Calendars of Wills and Administrations relating to the County of Leicester,' under the Administrations of 1625. See vol. 27 of 'The Index Library.'

Book I., Sect. 5, xv., p. 266, Dr. *Dommlaw* and two or three more have been with me about it, but I always intended to make the first proffer to you.

"It" is the living of Hambledon. Dr. Dommlaw one would naturally take to be a Doctor of Divinity anxious to obtain the preferment. Jacobs's note is: "*Dr. Dommlaw*, not mentioned in the *Athenæ*. Perhaps the Dr. Dorislaw afterwards murdered by the royalists abroad as a regicide (Wood, *Athenæ*, iii., 666)."

This guess entirely misses the mark. Joseph Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses' has an entry for "John Domelaw, M.A. of Cambridge, incorp. Ox. 15 July, 1617, rector of Hambledon, Bucks, 1631." Dr. John Venn and J. A. Venn's ed. of the 'Book of Matriculations and Degrees, 1544-1659' gives us his College, Christ's, and the date when he graduated as Doctor of Divinity, 1636. Domelaw is to be found, of course, in Peile's 'Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505-1905.' At an early stage of his Academic career his name appears as "Dumelaw." He was elected to a fellowship at Corpus in 1617, and there is more about him in Masters's History of that College.

The well-known Isaac Dorislaus was not a divine but a lawyer.

In 'Notes and Queries,' 12th Series, Vol. xii., pp. 194, 377, I have shown that the account of Dorislaus's father given by the 'D.N.B.' rests on some misunderstanding.

Book I., Sect. 5, xxii., p. 272, . . . yet I was hardly drawn to such a task at this time, in regard that many businesses puzzle my *Pericranium*.—*Aliena negotia centum per caput & circa saliant latus*.

Cp. T. L. Peacock, 'Headlong Hall,' chap. I., ". . . the various knotty points which had puzzled his pericranium."

"*Aliena . . . latus*." Horace, 'Sat.' II., vi., 33, 34.

Book I., Sect. 5, xxiv., p. 275, I have read of a King of *Navarre* (*Charles le Mauvais*) who perish'd in *strong waters*.

Accounts of his death vary. According to Froissart,

"He was an aged man aboute a threscore yere of age/and of vsage his bedde was wont to be chafed with a bason with hote coles/to make hym swete/whiche often tymes he vsed/and dyd hym no hurte. At this tyme his seruauites dyd the same/but outhen as god wolde or the deuyll/a burnynge flame toke in the shetes/in suche maner that or he coulde be reskewed he was brente to the bowels/he was so wrapped bytwene the shetes. So that he lyued fyftene dayes after in great payne and mysery/in so moche that physyke nor surgery coulde

helpe hym/ but that he dyed. This was the ende of the kynge of Nauerre."

Lord Berners's Translation, Pynson, 1523-1525,  
Part II., cap. cxvi. (cxii.), fol. cxxxi., recto.

The version of the story which Howell had read agrees with that in Robert Gaguin's 'Rerum Gallicarum Annales,' lib. ix., p. 178, in the Frankfurt ed. of 1577, "Cum longe senex esset, & calore defectus, lintheo illum insuendum, & aqua, quæ viua dicitur, perfundendum quidam suaserunt," &c. The king's attendant, we are told, whose business it was to stitch him up at night, tried to burn off the end of the thread in the candle and set fire to the sheet. By whatever way, Charles the Bad died in 1387.

Book I., Sect. 5, xxxii., p. 283, Because Mr. *Hawes* of *Cheapside* is lately dead, I have remov'd my brother *Griffith* to the Hen and Chickens in *Paternoster-Row* to Mr. *Taylor's*, as genteel a shop as any in the City.

Jacobs does not attempt to identify Mr. Taylor. He may reasonably be conjectured to be the man mentioned in Richard Smyth's 'Obituary,' p. 30, under June 13, 1651, "Mr. Wm. Taylor, at the Hen and Chickens in Paternoster Row, mercer, died." Howell dates the present letter 3 Dec., 1630. His Mr. Taylor was presumably a mercer, as the deceased Hawes to whom Griffith Howell had been apprenticed followed that business. See Bk. I., Sect. 5, xiv., p. 265.

Book I., Sect. 5, xxxix., p. 289.

*To Mr. Alderman Moulson, Governor of the Merchant-Adventurers.*

This letter is dated by Howell, in his second edition, 1 June, 1632.

It is not unlikely that this is Alderman Thomas Moulson, whose death on Dec. 6, 1638, and burial on Jan. 10 are recorded in the 'Obituary' of Richard Smyth, p. 15 (Camden Soc.).

Book I., Sect. 5, xxxix., p. 289, I understand by Mr. *Skinner* that the *Staple* hath some grievances to be redress'd.

"Perhaps Milton's friend," says Jacobs, "to whom one of the Sonnets is addressed."

Milton addressed *two* sonnets to Cyriack Skinner, the grandson of Chief Justice Coke, but Cyriack can hardly be the Skinner here mentioned. A. Wood (under *James Harrington*) in describing the Rota Club in 1659 speaks of Cyriack as "a merchant's son of London, an ingenious young gentleman, and scholar to Jo. Milton." The Mr. Skinner who was talking of the grievances of the Staple in 1632 was not likely to have been a boy. Cyriack's father died in 1627 (Masson's 'Milton,' iii., 657 sq.), but a Daniel and a Thomas Skinner were merchants in Mark Lane from 1651 onwards.

Book I., Sect. 5, xl., p. 289 :

*To Mr. Alderman Clethero, Governor of the Eastland Company.*

The date which Howell assigns to this letter too is June 1, 1632.

It does not seem rash to conjecture that the above may be the Sir Christopher Clitherow, Alderman, whose death on Nov. 11, 1641, is recorded in Richard Smyth's 'Obituary.'

Book I., Sect. 6, xxiii., p. 326, The old rotten D. of *Bavaria*, for he hath divers Issues about his body, hath married one of the Emperor's Sisters, a young Lady little above twenty, and he near upon four-score. . . . And if the *Bavarian* hath Male-Issue of this young Lady, the son is to succeed him in the Electorship.

At the date of his second marriage, 1635, Maximilian I. of Bavaria was 62 years of age. His niece and bride, Maria Anna, was not as yet the sister of an emperor, as her father, the Emperor Ferdinand II., was still living. Ferdinand III., her brother, was elected Emperor in 1636. There was male issue, and Max's successor was Ferdinand Maria, the elder of their two sons.

In 'Dodona's Grove' (p. 197, 1st ed., 1640) the Elder represents the Duke of Bavaria ("so called both from his age, and the ill favour he hath amongst us"), and we are told that "the *Elder* lifted up his hollow *boughs*, so high, that a little after he took heart of grace to court one of the *youngest* sprays of the Imperiall *Cedar* for his Consort, though in point of age he quadrupply exceeded her, being cauterizd in foure severall places about his body to have vent for his malignant humors."

We are reminded of the brutal references in Charles II.'s reign to Lord Shaftesbury's bodily condition.

Book I., Sect. 6, xxvii., p. 329 :

*To Mr. James Howard, upon his Banish'd Virgin, translated out of Italian.*

Jacobs has a note on "Mr. James Howard": "Probably the dramatist who wrote two comedies in which Nell Gwyn appeared and was seen by Pepys (D.N.B.)."

This is downright recklessness. "Probability," Bishop Butler tells us, "is the very Guide of Life," but Heaven alone knows where Jacobs's *Wahrscheinlichkeitslehre* would lead a man. 'The English Mounsieur,' which seemed to Pepys "a mighty pretty play, very witty and pleasant" when little Nelly acted in it on Dec. 8, 1666, was written by James, the ninth son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire, and a brother of Sir Robert Howard (the sixth son, 1626-1698). The 'Eromena' Englished by J. H., the subject of the second set of verses in the present letter, was published in 1632, when the above-mentioned James Howard could have been no more than a child. The James Hayward of Gray's Inn (for the name see Jacobs's own note) who translated 'Eromena,' and the 'Donzella desterrada' of Biondi, was thus an earlier and different author.



Book I., Sect. 6, xxxii., p. 337, Difference in opinion may work a *disaffection* in me, but not a *detestation*; I rather pity than hate *Turk* or *Infidel*, for they are of the same metal, and bear the same stamp as I do, tho' the Inscriptions differ.

In his introductory note to this letter, Jacobs mentions Prof. C. H. Firth's suggestion that its sentiments were inspired by Browne's 'Religio Medici,' which appeared in an unauthorised form in 1642 [but which had already been spread abroad to some extent in MS.] and adds "I confess I cannot see the resemblance." The above extract certainly recalls Browne's "Neither doth herein my zeale so farre make me forget the generall charity I owe unto humanity, as rather to hate than pittie Turks, Infidels, and (what is worse) Jewes."

'Relig. Med.,' Part I., Sect. i.

Book I., Sect. 6, xxxv., p. 341, In this work of generation, as there is *generatio unius*, so there is *corruptio alterius*.

The phrase is from Aristotle, 'Metaphys.' II., 2, 994b, 'Ἡ γὰρ θατέγον φθορὰ θατέγον ἐστὶ γένεσις,' and elsewhere.

Compare John Owen, 'Epigrammata,' Bk. IV. ('Ad D. Arbellam Stuart, Liber singularis,') 85,

*Generatio unius est corruptio duorum.*

Ut generent unam confuso semine prolem,

Corpora corrumpunt vir mulierque duo.

Also Middleton, 'The Roaring Girl,' III., i., "... would you know a catchpoll rightly derived, the corruption of a citizen is the generation of a sergeant."

It is one of the numerous Aristotelian phrases that became common property, usually in Latin forms. Swift, 'Polite Conversation,' Dialogue II., has "Well; but, sir *John*, they say, that the Corruption of Pipes is the Generation of Stoppers."

Book I., Sect. 6, xxxvi., p. 342, I deliver'd your Letter to Mr. *James Dillon*, but nothing can be done in that business till your Brother *Pain* comes to Town.

On James Dillon, Jacobs says, "probably related to the Lord Dillon who is one of the signatories in *Straff. Letters*, ii., 346, at Dublin in 1639." As Howell's letter is dated *Dublin*, 3 May, 1639, Mr. James Dillon would seem to be the same who is the subject of chap. x. in vol. i. of 'Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Seventeenth Century,' 2nd ed. 1904. Lady Verney was mistaken in calling him "the eldest son of Viscount Dillon, afterwards second Earl of Roscommon." The Dillons, Earls of Roscommon, must be distinguished from the Viscounts Dillon of Costello-Gallen, though the mother of Lucas the second Viscount was a daughter of James Dillon the first Earl of Roscommon. Our James Dillon's father, Robert, did not succeed to the peerage till March, 1641, and died on August 27 of the next year. At the time of this letter he was styled Lord Kilkenny-West. The document in ii. 346, which Jacobs



says was signed by a Lord Dillon, was naturally signed by Lord Kilkenny-West as "R. Dillon." It is dated 21 May, 1639.

His son James, presumably mentioned here, married Lord Strafford's sister Elizabeth and was the father of Wentworth Dillon, the fourth Earl and author of the 'Essay on translated Verse.' James (born c. 1605 and † in 1649) was the third Earl. We know from the Verney Memoirs that he was in Ireland at this time.

Book I., Sect. 6, xxxviii., p. 344, [in Howell's description of Edinburgh], . . . the Castle (call'd of old the *Castle of Virgins*, and, by *Pliny*, *Castrum alatum*).

See Camden, 'Britannia' (Francof. 1616), p. 663,

"Inferiùs propè fretum Scoticum EDENBVRGVS sedet, ipsis Hiberno-Scotis *Dun Eaden* id est oppidum *Eaden*, vulgò Edenborrow, quæ proculdubio ipsa eadem est, quæ Ptolemaeo *στρατόπεδον πτερωτόν*, id est CASTRUM ALATUM; *Edenborrow* enim idem planè significat, quod castrum alatum: nam *Adain* alam Britannis denotat, & *Edenborrow* (composito è Britannica & Saxonica lingua vocabulo) nihil aliud est, quàm *Burgus alatus*."

Camden describes the position of the "castrum firmissimum, quod Britanni *Castel myned Agned*, Scoti *Castrum Puellarum*, & *Castrum Virginum* . . ."

"Pliny" must be an error for Ptolemy: *Castrum alatum* is not found in Pliny, while Pape's 'Lex. der griech. Eigennamen' gives two references to Ptolemy (2, 3, 13; 8, 3, 9) for *Πτερωτόν τὸ στρατόπεδον*.

Those who know their Scott will remember how in the sixth chapter of 'The Antiquary' Sir Arthur Wardour's statement that "the Pictish maidens of the blood-royal were kept in Edinburgh Castle, thence called *Castrum Puellarum*" was rebuffed by his opponent. "A childish legend," said Oldbuck, "invented to give consequence to trumpery womankind. It was called the Maiden Castle, *quasi lucus a non lucendo*, because it resisted every attack, and women never do."

But Oliphant Smeaton in 'The Story of Edinburgh' writes "During the time it was held by the Britons they called it *Castel Mynedh Agnedh*, which means, not as some think, the Castle of the Maidens or Virgins, owing to the supposition that there the daughters of the reigning British monarchs were kept during the period of their education—but 'the hill of the plain' or 'the hill overlooking the plain,' a meaning implying that the fort was used for purposes of observation in times of war."

Book I., Sect. 6, xxxviii., p. 345, My Vintner replies . . . *Must the gentle Craft of Shoe-makers fall therefore to the ground?*

Compare Thomas Deloney, 'The Gentle Craft' and Dekker's 'The Shoemaker's Holiday, or a Pleasant Comedy of the Gentle Craft,' which is dedicated "to all Good Fellows, Professors of the Gentle Craft." In the *Times Lit. Supplement*, Dec. 29, 1921, a review of 'The Organisation of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts,' by Blanche Evans Hazard, was headed 'the "Gentle Craft" in Massachusetts.'

Book I., Sect. 6, xlv., p. 353, Certainly he [Cardinal Richelieu] is a rare Man, and of a transcendent reach, and they

are rather Miracles than Exploits that he hath done, tho' those Miracles be of a sanguine dye (the colour of his habit), steep'd in blood ; which makes the *Spaniard* call him the grand *Cagafuego* of *Christendom*.

Jacobs notes that "one of the Spanish ships captured by Drake was called *Cacafuego*." We are not to understand that the stately Spanish men of Philip II.'s days had solemnly christened by this unseemly name the galleon of which Drake made a prize in 1579. See Sir Julian Corbett's 'Drake and the Tudor Navy,' vol. i., 272, "The 'Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion,' as though unusually well armed for a South Sea ship, was nicknamed *Cacafuego*, a word that may be decently translated 'Spitfire.'"

Book I., Sect. 6, l., p. 358, *Nihil est infelicius eo cui nil unquam contigit adversi* : There is nothing more unhappy than he who never felt any adversity.

This "weighty saying in Seneca" is from 'Dial.' I. 'De Providentia' ('Quare aliqua incommoda bonis viris accidunt, cum providentia sit'), iii., 3, "Inter multa magnifica Demetri nostri et hæc vox est, a qua recens sum. Sonat adhuc et vibrat in auribus meis: 'nihil,' inquit, 'mihi videtur infelicius eo, cui nihil umquam evenit adversi.'"

Book I., Sect. 6, li., p. 360, When that doleful change was pronounced against *Israel*, *Perditio ex te Israel*, it was meant of the *concrete* (not the *abstract*), *Oh Israelites, your ruin comes from yourselves*.

*Perditio tua Israel: tantummodo in me auxilium tuum.* Hosea, xiii. 9.

The "change" of ed. 1737 should have been corrected to the "charge" of ed.<sup>1</sup>

Book I., Sect. 6, liv., pp. 365, 366, This put me in mind of one of your Predecessors (in your late Office), Marq. *Pawlet*, who it seems sail'd by the same compass ; for there being divers bandyings and factions at Court in his time, yet he was beloved by all parties, and being ask'd how he stood so right in the opinion of all, he answer'd, *By being a Willow, and not an Oak*.

Jacobs notes that by Marq. *Pawlet* "H. probably means W. Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, 1551-8." The identification is not merely probable, but certain, as may be seen from Sir Robert Naunton's 'Fragmenta Regalia,' p. 25 in Arber's Reprint of the 1653 edition (the book was first published in 1641, and again in 1642. Howell adds to the present letter the date 3 Sept. 1644), "*Paulet* Marquesse of *Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer, having served then four Princes in as various and changeable season, that I may well say, time nor any age hath yielded the like president. This man being noted to grow high in her favour (as his place and experience required) was questioned

by an intimate friend of his, how he stood up for thirty years together, amidst the changes and raignes of so many Chancellors and great Personages; Why, quoth the Marquesse, *Ortus sum ex salice, non ex quercu*, I was made of the plyable Willow, not of the stubborn Oak."

"No Oake, but an Osier" is the alliterative rendering in Fuller's 'Worthies,' under 'Hant-shire.'

Jacobs's statement that the Marquis was Lord Treasurer from 1551 to 1558 falls far short of the truth and weakens the story. He held the office for a much longer time, from 1550 till his death in 1572.

"By being a Willow, and not an Oak" is said by Jacobs to be "a reference of course to the fable of the *Oak and Reed*." But if this is so, why do we not find the Treasurer describing himself as a reed instead of a willow? The oak and the reed are contrasted in the 'Fabulae Aesopicae,' 179 (Halm), Babrius, 36, Avianus, 16, and Macrobius, 'Sat.' vii., 8, 6; but the willow figures in Claudian,

Incubuit numquam caelestis flamma salictis

Nec parvi frutices iram meruere Tonantis:

Ingentes quercus, annosas fulminat ornos.

'Deprecatio ad Hadrianum,' 38-40.

Book II., ii., p. 377, If your spirit will not let you retract, yet you shall do well to repress any more Copies of the Satire.

Jacobs supposes Ben Jonson's attack on Inigo Jones to be 'The Tale of a Tub,' in which Jones was satirised as Vitruvius Hoop. This must be wrong. The play, licensed in 1633, was not first published in that year, as Jacobs asserts, but in the folio of 1640. The "Satire" of this letter is surely, as Prof. Herford says in his life of Jonson in the D.N.B., 'An Expostulation with Inigo Jones.'

Book II., iii., p. 377, *Nemo sine crimine*.

See 'Catonis Disticha,' I., v.,

Si vitam inspicias, hominum si denique mores:

Cum culpant alios, nemo sine crimine vivit.

Book II., vi., p. 382, . . . you know what answer the Fox gave the Ape, when he would have borrow'd part of his Tail to cover his Posteriors.

See Jacobus Pontanus, 'Attica Bellaria,' p. 152 (ed. 1617),

"Hic vulpes, nihil se habere supervacuum, malleque humum sua cauda verri, quam ea simiæ nates operiri," and Appendix, Fab. i., in L. Müller's ed. of Phædrus, &c.

Book II., viii., p. 384, This made *Trismegistus*, one of the great Lords of Reason, to give this character of Man, *Homo est imaginatio quædam, & imaginatio est supremum mendacium*: Man is nought else but a kind of imagination, and imagination is the greatest lie.

For the Greek original see Stobæus, 'Florilegium,' xi., 23 (Meineke;



= 'Anthol.' III., xi., 31 in Wachsmuth and Hense's ed. of Stobæus) two-thirds through the extract headed, *Ἐρμού ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Τάτ., Φαντασία δὲ ἐστὶ τις ὁ ἀνθρώπος, ἣ δὲ φαντασία ψεύδους ἂν εἴη ἀκρότατον.*

Book II., viii., p. 384, . . . we are involv'd in a mist, and grope, as it were, ever since in the dark, as if Truth were got into some dungeon; or, as the old *Wizard* said, into some deep Pit, which the shallow Apprehension of Men could not fathom.

The Wizard is Democritus.

"Num nostra culpa est? Naturam accusa, quae in profundo veritatem, ut ait Democritus, penitus abstruserit." Cicero, 'Acad. Prior.' II., 10, 32. Diogenes Laertius, IX., xi., 8, 72, quotes as Democritus's *Ἐτεῇ δὲ οὐδὲν ἴδμεν· ἐν βυθῷ γὰρ ἡ ἀληθείη*, and Seneca at the very end of his 'Natur. Quaest.' (vii., 32, 4) has "At mehereule si hoc totis membris premeremus, . . . vix ad fundum veniretur, in quo veritas posita est, quam nunc in summa terra et levi manu quaerimus."

Prof. J. S. Reid, in his note on the above passage of Cicero, observes "the ordinary rendering 'well' for *βυθός* is far too weak; render rather 'abyss.'" But the choice of "well" would seem to be due to the use of "puteus." Lactantius, 'Inst.' III., xxviii., 13, writes, "Democritus quasi in puteo quodam sic alto, ut fundus sit nullus, veritatem iacere demersam." In Cognatus's 'Sylloge,' under 'Veritas in profundo' (p. 453 in J. J. Grynæus's 'Adagia,' ed. 1629), there is a reference to Turnebus's 'Adversaria,' lib. xv., cap. 3, where we have the apposite comment on Persius, iv., 21, 22, "In eo ferè profundo puteo, in quo demersam Democritus latere veritatem putavit, horum Persii satyr. 4. versuum sententia occultata videtur celari."

Book II., x., p. 395,

*Nullus in Inferno est Atheos, ante fuit.*

The author and reference have already been given ('Aber. Studies,' ii., p. 34). See, further, Thomas Brooks, 'London's Lamentations on the late Fiery Dispensation,' vol. vi., p. 62, in Dr. Grosart's edition of Brooks's 'Complete Works,' "To deny there is a God, is a sort of atheism that is not to be found in hell.

'On earth are atheists many,  
In hell there is not any.'

Book II., xiii., p. 404,—*Proprio laus sordet in ore.*

There are various forms of this mediæval aphorism. Several of them can be seen on p. 46 of Jakob Werner's 'Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters aus Handschriften gesammelt' (Heidelberg, 1912). For example:

Laus mea sordet eo, quod venit ore meo.  
Laus omnis vere proprio sordescit in ore.

Book II., xix., p. 411, It is as hard a task to reconcile the Fanes of *St. Sepulchre's* Steeple, which never look all four upon



one point of the Heavens, as to reduce them to any conformity of reason.

We meet with the same illustration in recent literature :

"In some of the Rotterdam canals the barges are so packed that they lie touching each other, with their burgees flying all in the same direction, as the vanes of St. Sepulchre's in Holborn cannot do."

E. V. Lucas, 'A Wanderer in Holland,' chap. i.

The restored or rebuilt tower has its four vanes like its predecessor before the Great Fire. The Sexton of St. Sepulchre's paid certain grim attentions to the condemned criminals in the neighbouring prison of Newgate.

Book II., xxi., pp. 412, 413, There was as much difference between them as 'twixt a *Scotch Pedlar's Pack* in *Poland* and the Magazine of an *English Merchant* in *Naples*.

See Dr. P. Giles's 'Manual of Comparative Philology, (1901), p. 32, "In Lithuanian the ordinary word for pedlar is *szātas*. If we did not know that till last century most of the trade of Lithuania was done by Scotchmen we should probably have some difficulty in recognising the word as 'Scot' (through the German *Schotte*)."

Book II., xxiv., p. 416, I wish a thousand benedictions may fall upon this your second choice, and that—*tam bona sit quam bona prima fuit*.

The quotation is adapted from Ovid :

Utendum est aetate : cito pede labitur aetas,  
Nec bona tam sequitur, quam bona prima fuit.

'Ars Amoris,' iii., 65 sq.

To apply the Latin words, in one form or other, to a second venture in marriage is very natural, and Howell was not the first to do so. In John Owen's 'Epigrammata,' Lib., IV. (Ad D. Arbellam Stuart, Liber singularis), no. 74, addressed 'Ad D. Henricum Goodyer Equitem, optima conjugis orbatum 1606,' ends thus :

O ter felicem, quater ô Goodyere beatum,

Si bona tam sequitur, quam bona prima fuit.

In the 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' Partition 2, Sect. 3, Memb. 5, we have "Another complains of a most sweet wife, . . . such a wife as no mortal man ever had, so good a wife; but now she is dead and gone, . . . I reply to him in *Seneca's* words, if such a woman at least ever was to be had, *He did either so find or make her ; if he found her, he may as happily find another ; if he made her, as Critobulus in Xenophon did by his, he may as good cheap inform another, & bona tam sequitur, quam bona prima fuit ;* he need not despair, as long as the same master is to be had." But this Latin was not inserted until the posthumous edition of 1651, which contained Burton's latest corrections and augmentations.

Book II., xxviii., p. 420, . . . all which Countries, I observ'd,

the *Spaniard* holds, as one would do a Wolf by the ear, fearing they should run away ever and anon from him.

See Terence, Phormio, 506,

Id quod aiunt, auribus teneo lupum, and A. Otto, 'Sprichwörter der Römer,' s.v. Lupus, 9.

Book II., xl., p. 432,

To Master J. H., at St. John's College in Cambridge.

Jacobs notes that this is "John Hall of Durham, not to be confused with Bishop Joseph Hall, the satirist. Probably the same mentioned in Worthington's *Diary*, 7, 10, 15, 17."

As the letter begins "Master Hall" and acknowledges the receipt of "your *Essays*," published, as Jacobs points out, in 1646 (the present letter is dated "3 Dec." and the preceding "2 Jan. 1646"), the first part of this identification is clearly justified. Why, however, anyone should want to confuse John Hall with the bishop, who had a different Christian name and was born over half a century earlier, is not apparent. But it is absolutely certain that our Hall is *not* the Hall mentioned by Worthington. John Hall, the author of 'Horæ Vacivæ, or Essays and some Occasional Considerations' was born in 1627 and admitted a pensioner of St. John's College in Feb. 26, 1645-6 (John Venn and J. A. Venn's 'Alumni Cantabrigienses'). The passages in Worthington's *Diary* (vol. I.) are of the years 1639-1642 and show clearly that the Hall there mentioned was a Fellow of Emmanuel. He was evidently Nicholas Hall of Newcastle-on-Tyne, who was elected Fellow in 1627 (Venn, *ut supra*).

Book II., xli., p. 433, . . . by calling to mind, that Afflictions are the proportion of the best *Theophiles*.

Cf. Revelation, iii. 19, Ἐγὼ ὄσους ἐὰν φιλῶ ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω. Prov. iii. 12; &c.

Book II., xlix., p. 443, For the Physicians have forsaken her, and Dr. *Burton* told me 'tis a miracle if she lasts a natural day to an end.

Jacobs informs us that by Dr. Burton is meant the "brother of the *Anatomy* Burton, and historian of Leicestershire." No evidence is offered for this hardy assertion. The Melancholy Burton's brother William who wrote the 'Description of Leicestershire' was never a Doctor in any Faculty.

Book II., liii., 448, So *Fear* begets *Love*, but it begets *Knowledge* first; for—*Ignoti nulla cupido*, we cannot love God, unless we know him before.

Quod latet, ignotum est: ignoti nulla cupido.

Ovid, 'Ars Am.,' liii., 397.

Book II., liv., p. 453, As they write of a River in *Bithynia*, whose water hath a peculiar virtue to discover a perjurer; for if he drink thereof, it will presently boil in his stomach, and put him to visible tortures.

See Pliny, 'Nat. Hist.,' xxxi., 2, (18), 23, "Amnis Alcas in Bithynia Bryazum adluit—hoc est et templo et deo nomen—, cuius gurgitem periuri negantur pati velut flammam urentem." But Howell may have been indebted to some indirect source for this legend. It is to be found, for instance, in Alexander ab Alexandro, 'Geniales Dies,' Lib. V., cap. x.

Book II., liv., p. 459, I heard of a company of *Low-Dutchmen* that had drunk so deep, that beginning to stagger, and their heads turning round, they thought verily they were at sea, and that the upper chamber where they were was a Ship; insomuch that it being foul windy weather, they fell to throwing the stools and other things out of the window, to lighten the Vessel, for fear of suffering shipwreck.

Howell has transferred a very old story to a modern setting. Burton tells it in 'The Anat. of Melancholy,' first inserting it in his 3rd edition (1628), 1, 2, 4, 7. "A company of yong men at *Agrigentum* in *Sicily*, came into a *Tauerne*" &c. His marginal reference is "Cœlius l. 17, cap. 2." L. Cælius Rhodiginus (Lodovico Celio Richieri of Rovigo) giving it in xvii., 2 of his 'Lectiones Antiquæ' mentions as his authority Timæus. The story is in an extract from Timæus in Athenæus II. cap. 5, 37b-e. It is the subject of chap. lxxiv. in Book IV. of the Jesuit Nic. Caussin's 'Polyhistor Symbolicus,' and Jeremy Taylor introduces it briefly in his second Sermon on 'The House of Feasting.'

Book II., lxii., p. 486, Who would have held it possible . . . That to avoid Superstition, some People should be brought . . . to term the white decent Robe of the Presbyter, the Whore's Smock; . . . the Liturgy of the Church, tho' extracted most of it out of the Sacred Text, call'd . . . by others raw Porridge . . . ?

See 'A Rent in the Lawne Sleeves or Episcopacy Eclipsed, By the most happy interposition of a Parliament Discoursed Dialogue-wise betweene a Bishop and a Iesuite,' &c., London, 1641. In this, the Bishop is made to say "The Surplesse is, like our power, scorn'd and slighted, disrespected generally, and termed by our nice Puritanes, the smocke of the whore of Rome," p. 4.

See also 'The Reformado, Precisely Charactered by a Transformed Church-warden, at a *Vestry*,' London, s.a. (or the date of the copy in the Thomason collection at the Brit. Mus. has been cut away), p. 8, ". . . lest the *Babylonian garment*, (the *Surplice*) be shouldered in



again among us; for, to Professors of our *Complexion*, no *smock* is more *odious*, than that of the *Whore of Rome*."

With respect to the Liturgy, see p. 6 of the same tract :

"The *Errata* of the *Book of Common prayer* (as some call it) or rather the *Lithurgy* of the *Church of England*, were they exprest at large, would *over-bulke* the *Bible*; yet the ravenous *Esau's* of the world, had rather lose all their *Liberties* and *Proprieties* (which are their *Birth-right*) then one *messe* of this *red* and *black Pottage*."

It was Zachary Grey's note on 'Hudibras,' I., i., 3, that sent me to these tracts.

Book II., lxii., p. 486, Which makes me call to memory a Saying of the Earl of *Kildare* in *Ireland* in the Reign of *Henry VIII.*, which Earl having a deadly feud with the Bishop of *Cassiles*, burnt a Church belonging to that Diocese; and being ask'd upon his examination before the Lord-Deputy at the Castle of *Dublin*, why he had committed such a horrid Sacrilege as to burn God's Church, he answer'd, *I had never burnt the Church unless I had thought the Bishop had been in't.*

Camden, 'Remaines concerning Britaine,' 'Wise Speeches,' had told the story in a different form: "The Earl of Kildare, being charged before King Henry the seventh for burning the Metropolitan Church of Cassiles in Ireland, and many witnesses procured to avouch the truth of the Article against him, he suddenly confessed it, to the great wondring and detestation of the Council. Then it was looked how he should justifie that fact. 'By Jesu,' quoth he, 'I would never have done it, if it had not been told me that the Arch-bishop had been within it.' And because the Bishop was one of the busiest accusers present, merrily laughed the King at the plainness of the man, to see him alledge that intent for excuse which most of all did aggravate his fault."

Book II., lxxiii., p. 500, I do not think that you fear Death as much now, tho' it be to some (*φοβερῶν φοβερώτατον*), as you did to go into the dark when you were a child.

See Aristotle, 'Eth. Nic.,' III., vi., 6, *Περὶ ποῖα οὖν τῶν φοβερῶν ὁ ἀνδρείος; ἢ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα; οὐθείς γὰρ ὑπομενετικώτερος τῶν δεινῶν φοβερώτατον δ' ὁ θάνατος.*

At first sight it looks as though we had an example in Howell's text of the old practice of indicating a quotation or emphasis by means of brackets (see Dr. McKerrow in vol. xii. of the Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*, p. 310), but the first edition of Book II., 1647, brackets the preceding words "tho' it be to some," and not the Greek. Ought from "tho'" to *φοβερώτατον* to be thus marked?

Book II., lxxvi., p. 506, *Dón* and *Hans*, I hear, are absolutely accorded; . . . If it be so, the People which button their doublets upward will be better able to deal with you there.



Jacobs points out that Howell mentions this distinction in 'Foreign Travel,' p. 31 [Arber's reprint]. On referring to this we find "... the one puts on his *Doublet first*, the other *last*; the *Frenchman* buttoneth always *down-ward*, the *Spaniard upward*." Yet by a strange piece of carelessness Jacobs quotes Howell's words in the present letter as "button their doublets *outwards*" and refers to Essay ii. in Grant Allen's "Falling in Love," &c., an essay in which an entirely different matter is dealt with, the distinction between men's and women's clothes, the former being buttoned towards the right, the latter (like the coat of O'Connell's statue in Dublin) towards the left.

Book III., v., p. 519, He is the happy man . . . who is before-hand with the world, and when he comes to *London* can whet his knife at the Counter-gate.

In Fuller's 'Worthies,' ed. 1811, vol. ii. p., 59, among London Proverbs, is "He may Whet his Knife on the Threshold of the *Fleet*." Fuller says "The Proverb is applicable to those who never owed ought; or else, having *run* into debt, have *crept* out of it, so that now they may defie danger and arrests, yea may *triumphare in Hostico*, laugh in the face of the Serjeants. Surely the Threshold of the *Fleet*, so used, setteth a good edge on the Knife, and a better on the Wearer thereof, acting him with a spirit free from all engagements."

The feeling of the man who is not "before-hand with the world" is expressed by Falstaff, 'Merry Wives,' III., iii., "Thou mightest as well say I love to walk by the Counter-gate, which is as hateful to me as the reek of a lime-kiln."

For the Counter prisons see Serjeant Merewether's note on p. vi. of Sir Henry Ellis's edition of the 'Obituary of Richard Smyth' (Camden Soc.), and the 'Enc. Brit.,' s.v. 'Counter,' "the 'compters' of the sheriff's courts of the city of London were, at various times, in the Poultry, Bread St., Wood St., and Giltspur St.; the Giltspur St. compters was the last to be closed, in 1854."

Book III., v., p. 519, Witness that Monster in *Scotland* in *James* the Fourth's reign, with two heads one opposite to the other; and having but one bulk of Body thro'out, these two heads would often fall into Altercations *pro* and *con* one with the other, and seldom were they of one opinion, but they would knock one against the other in eager disputes.

The monster is described by George Buchanan, 'Rerum Scotticarum Historia,' lib. xiii., under the year 1490, p. 444 in the Utrecht edition, of 1668,

"Circa hæc tempora, monstrum novi generis in Scotia natum est, inferiore quidem corporis parte specie maris, nec quicquam à communi hominum forma discrepans: umbilicum vero supra, trunco corporis, ac reliquis omnibus membris geminis, & ad usum & speciem discretis. Id Rex diligenter & educandum, & erudiendum curavit: ac maxime in musicis, qua in re mirabiliter profecit: quin & varias linguas edidicit, & variis voluntatibus duo corpora secum discordia discutiebant, ac

interim litigabant, cum aliud alii placeret : interim, velut in commune, consultabant.”

Buchanan's account is transcribed by Philipp Camerarius in lib. II., cap. lxxvii., of his 'Operæ Horarum Subcisivarum sive Meditationes Historicæ.'

Book III., viii., p. 525, The extravagant Humour of our Country is not to be altogether commended, that all Men should aspire to Book-learning : There is not a simpler Animal, and a more superfluous Member of State, than a mere Scholar, than only a self-pleasing Student ; he is—*Telluris inutile pondus*.

A quotation in Bk. II., lxxv., from Eobanus Hessus's version of the Iliad has already been noticed ('Aber. Studies,' iii., p. 37). We have here another. Iliad xviii., 104,

'*Ἄλλ' ἡμῶν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης*

being rendered by

Desideo ad naues telluris inutile pondus.

'Homeri Ilias,' ed. Basel, 1540, p. 464.

Book III., ix., p. 528, Now, *Truth* hath her degrees of growing and expanding herself, as all other things have ; and as Time begets her, so he doth the obstetricious Office of a Midwife to bring her forth.

For Truth being the Daughter of Time, and Time bringing Truth to Light, see the passages collected from Latin and Greek authors in A. Otto's 'Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörterlichen Redensarten der Römer,' p. 343, under "Tempus," 5. For example, A. Gellius, XII., xi., 7, Alius quidam veterum poetarum, cuius nomen mihi nunc memoriae non est, Veritatem Temporis filiam esse dixit, and Menandri Monosticha, 11,

*"Ἀγχι δὲ πρὸς φῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν χρόνος.*

We may compare the title of Michael Sparke's 'Truth brought to light by Time,' 1651, and 'Hudibras,' II., iii., 663 sq.,

'Tis not *Antiquity*, nor *Author*,

That makes *truth truth*, although *time's daughter*.

Book III., ix., 529, *He left the World to the disputations of Men*, as the wisest of Men saith, who in acquisition of natural Truths went from the Hysop to the Cedar.

On "wisest of men" our Editor notes "Solomon, but I cannot find the reference, which is probably from (*sic*) the Apocrypha."

Not so. See, in the Vulgate, Ecclesiastes iii., 11, "Mundum tradidit disputationi eorum" (the last word refers to "filiis hominum" in the preceding verse). The A.V. has "He hath set the world in their heart," but the A.V. was not the only source for Biblical quotations in 1647.

Book III., ix., p. 533, Now the Earth is the basest Creature which God hath made . . . 'tis the very sink of all corruption and frailty ; which made *Trismegist* say, that *Terra non mundus*

*est nequitiae locus*; the *Earth*, not the *World*, is the seat of wickedness.

See Mercurii Trismegisti *Pœmander*, Paris, 1554, p. 38, Dial. IX.,  
 τὴν γὰρ κακίαν ἐνθάδε δεῖν οἰκεῖν εἵπομεν τῷ ἑαυτῆς χωρίῳ οὔσαν. Χωρίον  
 γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ γῆ, οὐχ ὁ κόσμος, ὡς ἐνιοῖσποτε ἐροῦσι βλασφημοῦντες.

Book III., xiii., p. 536, I have known divers, and those of pregnant and ripe Capacities, who had spent more Oil and Time in those Countries, yet could they not arrive to that *double* Perfection which you have.

A recollection, immediate or otherwise, of Juvenal, vii., 98, 99,

Vester porro labor fecundior, historiarum

Scriptores ? perit hic plus temporis atque olei plus.

But Howell's copy would have given him *petit*.

Book III., xxiii., p. 549, The best historians have it upon record, how *Charlemain's* Mistress enchanted him with a Ring, which as long as she had about her, he would not suffer her dead Carcase to be carry'd out of his chamber to be buried; and a Bishop taking it out of her mouth, the Emperor grew to be as much bewitch'd with the Bishop; but he being cloy'd with his excess of favour, threw it into a Pond, where the Emperor's chiefest pleasure was to walk till his dying day.

The story may be read at greater length in Burton, '*Anat. of Melancholy*,' III., ii., 2, 5, "But of all others, that which *Petrarch epist. fam.* lib. I., 5. ep., relates of *Charles* the Great is most memorable . . ." Howell makes a poor thing of the tale when compared with Petrarch or Burton. "A Bishop taking it out of her mouth" becomes more intelligible when we find in Petrarch's letter (No. 3 of the first book '*De Rebus Familiaribus*') the Archbishop of Cologne offering fervent and continued prayer for his Lord's recovery from this infatuation, until "post devotissimas preces pectus et aram lacrimis implenti de cœlo vox insonuit: sub extinctæ mulieris lingua furoris regii causam latere."

Did Thackeray take a hint from Howell for 'The Rose and the Ring' ?

Book III., xxiii., p. 549, *Dancæus* writes of an enchanted Staff, which the Devil, Summoner-like, was us'd to deliver some Market-women to ride upon.

See Lambertus Danæus, '*De Veneficis, quos olim Sortilegos, nunc autem vulgò Sortiarios vocant, Dialogus*,' 1574, cap. III., p. 68, "Cum per suos discipulos & alios Sortiarios euocat, & locus & tempus præscribitur, ad quod in tam miseros cœtus & synagogas quas Satanica sabbatha vocant, veniant. Itaque euocati adsunt. Quòd si quis eorum itineris longitudinem causetur, aut corporis imbecillitatem & laborem, aut denique hominum metum & periculum, iis omnibus excusationibus satisfacit ipse. Nam pollicetur in eum locum eos se esse delaturum, qui



non possunt per vires corporis infirmas proficisci: sæpe ope auxilioque baculi & virgæ cuiusdam abs se datæ, aut etiam vi unguenti id se præstaturum et effecturum docet: sæpe denique equum illis offert quo vehantur."

The English version ('A Dialogue of Witches. . . .' Printed by R. W. 1575) renders "sæpe ope auxilioque baculi & virgæ cuiusdam," "by meanes of a staffe or rod."

Book III., xxiii., p. 551, King *James* a great while was loth to believe there were Witches; but that which happen'd to my Lord *Francis* of *Rutland's* Children convinc'd him, who were bewitch'd by an old Woman that was servant at *Belvoir-Castle*; but being displeas'd, she contracted with the Devil (who convers'd with her in form of a Cat, whom she call'd *Rutterkin*) to make away those children, out of mere malignity and thirst of revenge.

See 'The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts of *Margaret and Phillip Flower*, daughters of *Ioan Flower* neere *Beuer Castle*: Executed at *Lincolne*, *March 11*, 1618,' &c. Printed at London by *G. Eld* for *I. Barnes*, dwelling in the long Walke neere Christ-Church, 1619. And 'The History of *Belvoir Castle*' by the Rev. *Irvin Eller*, 1841.

Lord *Francis* of *Rutland* was *Francis Manners* who in 1612 succeeded his brother *Roger* as sixth Earl of *Rutland*. His sons whose deaths were set down to sorcery were *Henry* († 1613) and *Francis* († 1619).

King *James's* own 'Daemonologie' of 1599 is enough to show that his convictions on the subject of Witches were of earlier date than the *Belvoir* incident.

Book IV., iv., p. 559, Your Lordship knows that the κόσμος, this fair frame of the Universe, came out of a *Chaos*, an indigested Lump; and that this elementary World was made of millions of Ingredients repugnant to themselves in nature.

See *Ovid*, 'Met.' i., 5-9,

Ante mare et terras et quod tegit omnia caelum  
Unus erat toto naturae vultus in orbe,  
Quem dixere Chaos: rudis indigestaque moles  
Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners congestaque eodem  
Non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum.

Book IV., vii., p. 567, If the Lady *Barbara*, wife to *Sigismond* the Emperor, being advis'd by her ghostly Father after his death to live like a *Turtle*, having lost such a *Mate* that the World had not the like, made this wanton answer, *Father*, since you would have me to lead the life of a *Bird*, why not of a *Sparrow*, as well as of a *Turtle*?

*Aeneas Sylvius* (Pius II.) tells the story in his 'In libros *Antonii Panormitæ* Poetæ, de dictis & factis *Alphonsi* regis memorabilibus



Commentarius,' III., 5, p. 486D of his 'Opera quæ extant omnia,' Basel, 1551,

"Barbaræ quæ Sigismundi Cæsaris uxor fuit, ac fatis functo uidua superstitit, cum sibi diceret aliquis imitandum turturis exemplum, quæ mortuo marito perpetuam castitatem seruaret, Si me ratione carentes imitari uolueres iubes, Cur non columbas potius passerisque proponis?"

Book IV., vii., p. 569,—*Cornu ferit ille, Caveto.*

On this Jacobs observes that "H. was probably thinking of Horace, *Sat. I., iv., 34, foenum habet in cornu.*" Howell's thoughts might with more propriety have been employed on Virgil, *Eclogue ix., 25,*

*Occursare capro (cornu ferit ille) caveto.*

The connexion, however, in which the words are quoted makes it possible that he remembered Paul Thomas's epigram on p. 48 of Abraham Wright's 'Delitiæ Delitiarum,' Oxford, 1637,

*Antea mitis erat Titus; at nunc conjuge ducta*

*Occursare Tito, cornu ferit ille, caveto.*

Book IV., viii., p. 572, *To Mrs. E. B.*

Howell sends a "Hexastic" with the above heading to help his cousin Tom Vaughan to prevail with his inamorata. The letter may be compared with that in Book I., Sect. 4, ix., p. 219, where Howell speaks of T. V.'s being upon a Treaty of Marriage. The tone of the present communication, with its repeated mention of the lady's Portion, certainly does not suggest that Mr. Tom's pursuit was "strictly dishonourable"; and yet Jacobs ventures on this note: "Did Vaughan have aspirations after the wife of Benlowes; on whom see 489?" He adds, it is true, that "'Mrs.' does not necessarily imply a married woman at this period."

In his letter to E. Benlowes on 489 sq., II., lxiv., Howell professes himself "ready to correspond with you in the reciprocation of any other offices of Friendship" and signs himself "Your affectionate Servitor." It would be a singular office of Friendship to assist in the seduction of Benlowes's wife.

But Jacobs, I am afraid, had not studied the entertaining account in Wood's 'Fasti Oxonienses,' under July 11, 1676, of Edward Bendlowes "much noted in his time, but since not, for the Art and Faculty of Poetry, who had spent about eight Years in *Oxon*, partly in custody, but mostly in liberty and freedom in the public Library, and conversation with ingenious Scholars." We learn that "being a very imprudent Man in matters of worldly concern, and ignorant as to the value or want of Money, he did, after he was invested in his Estate at *Brent Hall* and elsewhere, which amounted to seven hundred, some say a thousand, Pounds *per an.* make a shift, though never married, to squander it," &c. Where's your Mrs. Benlowes now? But Jacobs's airy conjecture takes a substantial form in his Index, which gives us "Benlowes, Mrs. E., poems [*sic*] to, 572 *n.*"

There is a small view of Brent Hall, now a farm-house, near Finchingfield, Essex, in Miss E. Vaughan's Life of Stephen Marshall.

Book IV., ix., p. 573, Now, he is the really rich man who can make true use of his riches ; he makes not *Nummum* his *Numen*, Money his God, but makes himself *Dominum Nummi*, but becomes Master of his Penny. The first is the arrantest beggar and slave that is ; nay, he is worse than the *Arcadian* Ass, who, while he carrieth Gold on his back, eats thistles.

For the punning association of *nummus* with *numen*, cf. John Owen, 'Epigrammata,' II., ex., 6, 7,

Anne deam quia te, Regina Pecunia, mundus

Æstimat et nummo numen inesse putat ?

The Ass carrying Gold, &c., was proverbial. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* X., v., 8, has καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτός φησιν ὄνον σύγματ' ἂν ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ χρυσόν,

In 'Anthol. Palat.' xi., 397 (attrib. to Lucian) Artemidorus, a miser, is said to live a life like that of mules,

Πολλάκις αἱ χρυσοῦ τιμαλφέα φόρτον ἔχουσαι

Πολλὸν ὑπὲρ νότου, χόρτον ἔδουσι μόνον.

See 'Asinus stramenta mavult quam aurum' in Erasmus's 'Adagia,' ed. 1629, p. 402. Emblem 86 (85) of Alciatus depicts an ass laden with "pretiosa obsonia" and eating a thistle.

Book IV., xii., p. 578,

*To the Lord Marquis of Dorchester.*

According to Jacobs the Marquis was previously known to us as Sir Dudley Carleton. This is a mistake. Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632) was created Baron Carleton of Imbercourt in 1626, and *Viscount* Dorchester two years later. The *Marquis* of Dorchester, created in 1645, was Henry Pierrepont (1606-1680), second Earl of Kingston and first Baron Pierrepont.

Book IV., xiv., p. 582, Yet the old *British* is not so driven out of mine (for the Cask savours still of the Liquor it first took in) but I can say something of this elaborate and ingenious Piece of yours, which you please to communicate to me so early.

Howell is indebted to Horace, 'Epistles,' I., ii., 69-70,

Quo semel est inbuta recens, servabit odorem

Testa diu.

Book IV., xv., p. 582,

*To J. S., Esq., at White-Fryers.*

J. S. is identified by Jacobs with the J. Sutton, Esq., to whom IV., xi. is addressed. May not John Selden be meant ? John Aubrey, 'Brief Lives,' ed. A. Clark, 1898, vol. ii., 221, writes of him :

"He never owned the marriage with the countesse of Kent till after her death, upon some lawe account. He never kept any servant peculiar, but my ladie's were all at his command ; he lived with her in *Ædibus Carmeliticis* (White Fryers), which was, before the conflagration, a noble dwelling."

A comparison of the present letter to J. S. with Howell's letter to

Selden which Jacobs printed for the first time, 'Supplement,' p. 660, will show that both are marked by a deferential attitude towards the recipient, one praising his sound and magisterial judgment, the other the fullness and universality of his knowledge; both are accompanied by a present, books or a pamphlet, and it so happens that there is a point of resemblance in expression ("This new piece of Philosophy comes to usher in the New Year to you": "These small pieces come to introduce me to your knowledge").

Book IV., xvii., pp. 585, 586, . . . which convinceth two Errors, one of *Aristotle*, who affirms that the Country of *Gallia*, tho' bordering upon *Spain*, hath no *Asses*: If he were living now, he would avouch the greatest part of the Inhabitants to be all *Asses*, they lie under such an intolerable burden of taxes.

Aristotle's statement is made in his 'Hist. Animal.'; he assigns the climate as the cause: Πολλαχού δὲ καὶ ἡ κρᾶσις αἰτία, οἷον ἐν τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι καὶ τῇ Θράκη καὶ τῇ Ἠπειρῷ οἱ ὄνοι μικροί, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ Κελτικῇ ὅλως οὐ γίγνονται· δυσχέρμερα γὰρ ταῦτα. H.A. VIII., xxvii. (xxviii.), 5, 606b.

Book IV., xxiii., p. 600, I present you with the second part of the *Vocal Forest*.

In his note Jacobs says that the second part appeared in 1644. This is an error. He has given the date of the second edition of the first. On his own showing, 'Bibliographical List,' no. 35, the second part was published in 1650.

Book IV., xxiii., p. 601, We read that there being a high feud 'twixt *Cicero* and *Vatinius*, who had crooked bow-legs, *Vatinius* having the advantage of pleading first, took occasion to give a touch himself of his natural imperfection that way, that he might *tollere ansam*, that he might by way of prevention cut off the advantages and intention which *Cicero* might have had to asperse him in that particular.

Seneca writes of *Vatinius*, "In pedes suos ipse plurima dicebat et in fauces concisas: sic inimicorum, quos plures habebat quam morbos, et in primis Ciceronis urbanitatem effugerat."

'Dialog.' II., xvii., 3.

Book IV., xxvii., p. 605, Touching your Poet-Laureat *Skelton* . . . there be some Lines of his, which I think will never be out of date for their quaint sense: and with these I will close this Letter, and salute you, as he did his Friend, with these options:

*Salve plus decies quam sunt momenta dierum,  
Quot species generum, quot res, quot nomina rerum,  
Quot pratis flores, quot sunt et in orbe colores,*



*Quot pisces, quot aves, quot sunt et in æquore naves,  
 Quot volucrum pennæ, quot sunt tormenta gehennæ,  
 Quot cælo stellæ, quot sunt miracula Thomæ :  
 Quot sunt virtutes, tantas tibi mitto salutes.*

Jacobs notes that these lines are printed on the reverse of the title-pages of Skelton's *Workes*, ed. 1568. It might be added that their thought is not original. It is found, for example, in Theodulfus, 'Carmina,' iv., 687-690,

*Imber habet liquidas quot guttas, flumina pisces,  
 Emittit frondes quot nemus omne virens,  
 Area grana solet quot habere æstate, salutes  
 Tot tibi mitto, vale semper ubique pater.*

Book IV., xxviii., p. 606, *Strabo* makes it one of his arguments to prove the *Britons* barbarous, because they had not the Art of making *Cheese* till the *Romans* came.

The passage in *Strabo* is IV., 5, 2; C. 200, *Τὰ δ' ἔθη τὰ μὲν ὅμοια τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὰ δ' ἀπλούστερα καὶ βαρβαρώτερα, ὥστ' ἐνόους γάλακτος εὐπόρουντας μὴ τυροποιεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν.*

Book IV., xxix., p. 606,

*To W. Roberts, Esq.*

"Another letter to him, 487," says Jacobs, "Perhaps to be identified with the W. Roberts who afterwards became Bishop of Bangor."

There is no letter to any W. Roberts on p. 487. What we do find on that page is the following statement, in the course of a letter to Mr. T. V. at Brussels: "*William Ro* : is return'd from the Wars, but he is grown lame in one of his Arms, so he hath no mind to bear *Arms* any more; he confesseth himself to be an egregious fool to leave his Mercership and go to be a Musqueteer."

The letter just quoted bears the date of 1644. So that, if we accept Jacobs's suggestion, it was his bishopric, not his mercership, that William Ro : left to go soldiering, for the Right Rev. William Roberts was presiding over the diocese of Bangor as early as 1637!

Book IV., xxxii., p. 611, For myself, I am like an Almanack out of date, I am grown an unprofitable thing, and good for nothing as the times run; yet in your business I shall play the Whetstone, which tho' it be a dull thing of itself, and cannot cut, yet it can make other bodies to cut.

*Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum  
 Reddere quæ ferrum valet exsors ipsa secandi.*

Horace, 'Ars Poetica,' 304, 305.

Book IV., xxxv., p. 617, You know that once a *Stable* was made a *Temple*, but now a *Temple* is become a *Stable* among us. *Proh superi! quantum mortalia pectora Cæcæ Noctis habent.*



Jacobs includes the authorship of this quotation among his 'Queries,' p. 808, as one of the points "which, according to my plan, I should have liked to have found something about, but have failed."

The words are from Ovid, 'Met.' vi., 472 sq.

Book IV., xxxvi., p. 621, Some shallow-pated *Puritan*, in reading this, will shoot his bolt, and presently cry me up to have a *Pope* in my belly.

Macaulay, in his account of the trial of the seven Bishops, mentions that after their acquittal, Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, James II.'s supporter, who had come to Westminster to hear the verdict, "was recognised by his sacerdotal garb and by his corpulent figure, and was hooted through the hall. 'Take care,' said one, 'of the wolf in sheep's clothing.' 'Make room,' cried another, 'for the man with the Pope in his belly.'"

In a footnote Macaulay quotes his authority, a dispatch of the Dutch Ambassador, Arnold van Citters.

Book IV., xxxvi., p. 623,

—*Fas est & ab Hoste doceri.*

From Ovid, 'Met.,' IV., 428,

*Ipse docet quid agam (fas est et ab hoste doceri).*

Book IV., xli., p. 627,

*To Mr. T. C., at his House upon Tower-hill.*

On "T. C." Jacobs has the following note :

"Query T. Carew, who is referred to as meeting H. at supper at Ben Jonson's (*supra*, p. 403). . . . If authentic and addressed to Carew, it must have been in H.'s hands since before 1639, when Carew died. It might also be T. Carey, brother of the Earl of Monmouth, whom H. mentions *supra*, 193. . . . He died in 1648, so this identification implies a long period (seven years) between the writing and the publication of this letter."

But on p. 403, Bk. II., xiii., Howell does not mention the poet Carew by name. It is "*T. Ca.*," and on this Jacobs's comment is "Perhaps T. Carew, one of the 'Tribe of Ben.' There is a letter to T. C. in Book IV., *infra*, p. 627, but this cannot well be Carew, who died 1639, *ætat.* 50. . . . T. Cary is another and more likely candidate for identification. See on p. 627." But the note to p. 193 (Bk. I., Sect. 3, xxx.) informs us that the Mr. Thomas Cary of that passage was "related to Sir R. Cary to whom H. has a letter *infra*, p. 574" [Bk. IV., x., dated 1654], and the note on him refers us to Forster, 'Grand Remonstrance,' 99; Nicholls, iii., 804 n. [Nichols, iii., 604 is meant], and *pass.*

All this affords an interesting example of editorial opportunism. Had Jacobs any firm opinion on T. C.'s identity? It may be added that, while T. C. of the superscription lived on Tower-hill, Thomas Carew's house was in King Street, Westminster, a more convenient situation for one attached to the Court, and that he was not fifty at the time of his death.

Book IV., xlviii., p. 639,

*To the R.H. the E. of S.*

Jacobs's note is "*E. of S[underland]*." See on p. 251." But the note on p. 251 refers to "Emanuel Scrope, 11<sup>th</sup> Baron Scrope of Bolton" who "was created Earl of Sunderland 19th June, 1627" and "died 1630," while the present letter, though undated, besides mentioning Donna Olympia and the Pope [Innocent X. elected 1644], shows that the Earl had written about Howell's '*Lustra Ludovici*' (1646) and '*Survey of [the Signorie of] Venice*' (1651). The Earl then, if of Sunderland, must be Robert Spencer, the well-known politician (1640-1702), son of the second Earl, Henry (1620-1643), and Lady Dorothy Sidney ("*Sacharissa*"). But he could not have been more than fifteen years old when this (undated) letter was published.

Book IV., xlix., p. 641,

*To the R.H. the Earl Rivers, at his House in Queen-street,*  
... my Lord Marquis of *Winchester* (your Brother).

On "Earl Rivers" Jacobs notes, "Probably T. Savage, the sixth Earl to come to the title in 1654." (Taken literally this would imply a furious mortality in that noble house.) But the (first) wife of John Paulet, fifth Marquis of Winchester, was Jane eldest daughter of Thomas first Viscount Savage and sister of John Savage second Viscount, who succeeded in 1640 as second Earl of Rivers of that creation. His son Thomas succeeded as third Earl in 1654.

Payne Fisher's '*Encomium*,' lines 4-6, p. 688,

*Nempe novum Æonidum Proles Montaccola fontem*  
*Ostendit, sacrasq; aperit Tritonidis arces*  
*Howelli Generosa Domus.*

Jacobs's note on "Montaccola" is, "This should give the name of H.'s birthplace: unfortunately it is unknown to Record searchers (it is not included, *e.g.*, in C. T. Martin, *Record Interpreter*, list of Latin names of British localities). Mr. Martin suggests that the name must begin with *Pen*. It is equally likely to be *Bryn*, which is also a hill or mount."

Why all this pother? Has "Montaccola" any more specific meaning than "Welsh" or "highlander"? In '*Dodona's Grove*,' p. 46, ed. princ., "*Monticolia*" = "Wales."

The '*Encomium*' is fearfully and wonderfully misprinted by Jacobs. *Fontem*, l. 4, appears as *fortem*; *flebilis*, l. 87, which in the 1664 edition was *flebilis*, is now still further disguised as *stebiliis* (!); *delegit*, l. 100, is turned into *delecti*; and the absurd blunder of the 1664 ed. by which in line 154 *Oneriveque lacertos* appears as the end of a hexameter is repeated without comment.

That I am conscious of the infirmities of the late Mr. Jacobs as an annotator would be no unfair inference from some of my

remarks. I can honestly say that the further I go in my endeavour to trace Howell's multifarious and discursive allusions the more profoundly am I conscious of my own infirmity, but then I am not—so far—editing the *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ*.

EDWARD BENSLY.





## THE CAULDRON IN RITUAL AND MYTH

IN Dr. Farnell's *Hero-Cults* <sup>1</sup> an inscription is quoted which is perhaps unique among the epigraphs of ancient Greece. It is found on a monument erected in behalf of the safety of the Emperor Trajan by a certain Menneas. But the interest attaches in this instance not to the august emperor but to his humble worshipper, for of the latter it is said that he was 'apotheosized in the cauldron which is used for the ritual of the festivals.' <sup>2</sup>

Such apotheosis may be a legitimate development of certain aspects of Greek Religion. The cult of the dead, especially of the heroised dead, the eschatology of the Eleusinian Mysteries and of Orphism, and the divine possession of a devotee of Iacchus or of Cybele, all point to a tentative belief that it was possible to bridge over the gulf that separated mortal and immortal. This would seem to be man's main concern at certain stages of religious development. But of festivals in which apotheosis was actually conferred by means of a cauldron there is no trace in genuine Greek religion, and Menneas may have belonged to a riotous Oriental cult.

But there are a few references to the cauldron in Greek mythology, which, combined with parallels from other sources, may serve to show that this apotheosis in a cauldron is quite in keeping with certain features of early religion.

In ancient Greece the cauldron appears in the legend of Athamas and Ino Leukothea. The story followed by Euripides and his scholiast <sup>3</sup> makes Ino in her madness slay both of her sons Learchos and Melikertes and then leap into the sea. No mention is made of how she destroyed them or of what became of their bodies. Apollodoros, <sup>4</sup> however, while referring to only one of her sons, Melikertes, states that Ino plunged him into a

<sup>1</sup> p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Orient. Graec. Inscr. 611—ἀποθεωθέντος ἐν τῷ λέβητι δι' οὗ αἱ ἐορταὶ ἄγονται.

<sup>3</sup> *Medeia*, 1284.

<sup>4</sup> *Biblioth.* III, 28.

boiling cauldron. But here again both the motive and effect are absent. A Scholiast on Pindar <sup>1</sup> is more instructive, giving two accounts of the story. In the first account Ino rescues Melikertes from being plunged into the boiling cauldron by Athamas, who had already destroyed Learchos. But in the second account Ino places the slain Learchos in the boiling cauldron. The only effect, however, is her own madness and her leap into the sea. Evidently, therefore, the cauldron was not an essential part of the Athamas-legend in the view of the later Greeks. But the legend seems to have been distorted from its original form, for what is here a mere chance reference to the cauldron becomes in other legends an integral part of the story. It is by means of the cauldron that Rhea or Klotho restores to life the child Pelops after he had been mangled by his father.<sup>2</sup> Medeia renewed the youth of Jason by boiling him. This is the story as given by Dikaiarchos in his argument to the *Medeia* of Euripides: 'Pherekydes and Simonides say that Medeia made Jason young again by boiling him. Concerning his father Aison the author of the *Nostoi* says:

"Immediately she made Aison young in the flower of youth,  
Stripping off his old age by the cunning of her wit,  
By boiling many a magic drug in golden cauldrons." ' <sup>3</sup>

Dikaiarchos continues: 'Æschylus in his "Nurses of Dionysos" relates that Medeia renewed the youth of the Nurses and their husbands by boiling them.'

Finally, we have the legend of Medeia applying the same process to a ram.<sup>4</sup>

The means by which Aison was rejuvenated should be noticed. In the other legends rejuvenescence is conferred on the patient by putting him in the cauldron and boiling him. But Aison is restored to youth not directly by the virtues of the boiling vessel, but by certain drugs which have first been boiled in the cauldron, presumably either to impart efficacy to them or to increase the magical power already inherent in them. Anyhow, we seem to have here an idea that the very act of boiling was a magical

<sup>1</sup> *Ol.* I, 37, 40.

<sup>2</sup> See Bloch in Roscher's *Lexikon*, III, col. 1870.

<sup>3</sup> *Αὐτίκα δ' Αἰσωνα θῆκε φίλον κόρον ἡβώνοντα,  
γῆρας ἀποξύσασα ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι,  
φάρμακα πόλλ' ἔφουσ' ἐπὶ χρυσείοισι λέβησιν.*

<sup>4</sup> Apollodor. I, 144; Pansanias, 8, 11, 2; Hygin. *Fab.* 24.

process. Such an idea may lie at the root of an Indian tale concerning Nadir Shah.<sup>1</sup> This potentate refused to eat the 'masur dal' (lentils) which his cook had boiled for him in a pot. Thereupon the cook threw the contents of the pot on a dry log which happened to be lying near. Next morning, when Nadir arose, he saw that the dry log was covered with green leaves, wherever the boiled lentils had fallen on it.

Dr. Frazer<sup>2</sup> compares the use of the cauldron with the use of fire in certain Oriental and Greek legends, *e.g.* the burning of Sardanapallos and Kroisos<sup>3</sup> and the stories of goddesses like Isis, Thetis, and Demeter trying to confer immortality on the infant sons of kings by burning them. He takes the words of Plutarch<sup>4</sup> 'to burn out the mortal parts of the body' as supplying the key to these strange legends. The sacredness of fire is a well-known fact in primitive religion. Being itself sacred it can clean man of his defilements and is constantly found in rituals of purification, while its use as an 'ordeal,' which was known to the Greeks,<sup>5</sup> may be connected with the same belief. Or the idea may be that fire infuses new life into those subjected to its heat. As therefore, in Plutarch's words, the mortal parts of man can be burnt away, so in the cauldron-legends old age can be driven off and youth restored by boiling, a process which is the result of 'negative' and 'positive' magic combined. On this assumption, whatever virtue is conferred by boiling is due to the fire which is the cause of that phenomenon. If the cause is sacred and full of magic, so is the effect.

This comparison of the cauldron and fire seems to receive some confirmation from the fact that they respectively play a part in two different versions of the story concerning Thetis. In Apollodoros<sup>6</sup> and Apollonios Rhodios<sup>7</sup> fire is the element by means of which she endeavours to bestow the gift of immortality on her sons. But the scholiast on Apollonios<sup>8</sup> quotes the unknown author of the 'Ægimios' epic as saying that 'Thetis

<sup>1</sup> Balochi Tales, XXI, in *Folklore*, vol. VIII, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> G. B.<sup>3</sup> IV, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Bakchyl, III, 28 foll.

<sup>4</sup> *Os. et Is.* 16—περικαίειν τὰ θνητὰ τοῦ σώματος.

<sup>5</sup> *Soph. Ant.* 264—ἤμεν δ' ἔτοιμοι καὶ μνδρὸν αἶρεν χερσίν, καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεὸς ὀρκωμοτεῖν κ.τ.ε.

<sup>6</sup> 3, 13, 6.

<sup>7</sup> 4, 865-879.

<sup>8</sup> 4, 876—ὁ τὸν Αἰγίμιον ποιήσας φησὶν, ὅτι ἡ Θέτις εἰς λέβητα ὕδατος ζέοντα ἐνέβαλε τοὺς ἐκ Πηλέως γενομένους αὐτῇ παῖδας, βουλομένη εἰδέναι εἰ θνητοὶ εἶσιν ἔτεροι δὲ εἰς πῦρ, ὡς Ἀπολλωνίως φησι. Cf. Lykophron, 1782.

threw her sons by Peleus into a cauldron of boiling water, wishing to know if they were mortal.' Then he gives another version that the children were thrown into the fire. Here the cauldron and the fire are interchangeable, both being regarded as a test for immortality. But it is evident that the same notion of magical efficacy lies behind these stories as gave rise to the other stories of Isis and Demeter, where it is explicit that the object of the ordeal by fire was to confer immortality. Demeter had come to the house of Keleus in the disguise of a nurse. Wishing to make requital for the hospitality she received, the goddess set about roasting her host's son with the view of making him immortal. Frustrated by the infant's mother, the goddess replies 'Iste quidem mortalis erit.'<sup>1</sup>

If Medeia's cauldron can restore lost youth and even life itself, the story of the same utensil being used as a test for, or a means of conferring, immortality, is quite a logical development. In fact the story of Thetis may be a distortion, by way of creating an interesting and exciting fiction, of a ritual of pretty much the same kind as Menneas underwent at his apotheosis.

A like magical potency belongs to the cauldron in certain legends of Celtic mythology, as for example in the history of Taliesin.<sup>2</sup> Kerridwen had an ugly son named Avagddu. To compensate for his ugliness she determined to make him an adept in science. For this purpose she boiled a cauldron of poesy and science, which was to boil for a whole year, and in charge of which she put Mordar and Gwion. Accidentally three drops of the boiling liquid fell on Gwion's hand, putting which to his mouth he became omniscient. Being in wrongful possession of this gift he was pursued by Kerridwen. With the aid of certain metamorphoses Gwion succeeds in evading capture for a time. At last Kerridwen, herself metamorphosed into a black-crested hen, catches him in the form of a grain of wheat and eats him. He is reborn, placed in a hide and put out to sea. When picked up at Aberdovey, he is the precocious babe Taliesin. Truly a wonderful series of effects from the boiling of the cauldron.

Again, in the Welsh poem on 'The Harrying of Hades,'<sup>3</sup> the invaders found the cauldron of the Head of Hades, which was

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 559. Cf. Hom. *Hymn. Cer.* 256 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 544 foll.

<sup>3</sup> v. Rhys, *op. cit.*, p. 256.



kept ever boiling and from which voices issued. Then there is the cauldron mentioned in the *Mabinogi* of Branwen. One of the properties of this cauldron brings it into close resemblance with that of Medeia. For, if a dead warrior was placed in it over night, in the morning he would be alive and well, though unable to speak.

Teutonic mythology, too, has its cauldrons.

‘Once upon a time the *Æsir* and *Vanir* made a covenant of peace, and in token of it each stepped up to a vessel and let fall into it his spittle. Out of this token of peace the gods shaped a man named *Kvāsir*, who travelled far and wide and taught men wisdom. But when he came to the dwelling of two dwarfs, *Fialar* and *Galar*, they slew him and let his blood run into two vats and a cauldron. Then they mixed the blood with honey, and of this was made a costly mead, which imparted to all who tasted it the gift of poesy and wisdom.’<sup>1</sup>

It is to be noted that in the last example there is no mention of boiling the contents of the cauldron. The other legends make boiling an essential part of the wonder-working of the cauldron. In the bubbling and seething of the liquid man might see something at work as strange, as mysterious, as full of an unknown force as fire itself. But where there is no mention of boiling the problem is different. Either the substances placed in the cauldron were sacred and full of magical power in themselves, or they derived these properties from contact with the material of which the cauldron was made. When we read that the *Cimbri* employed bronze cauldrons in divination,<sup>2</sup> it is allowable to ask whether the virtue lay in the vessel as such or the material of it?

But from the frequency with which blood is found in the cauldrons, at least in Teutonic legend, it is permissible to suppose that the vessel owed its magic-working properties to constant association with this vital fluid. Blood is everywhere regarded as having the highest degree of ‘mana,’ the unseen force of which life in all its forms is the manifestation, and of which early man is remarkably conscious. The *Cimbri* performed a ritual in which a huge cauldron was filled with the victim’s blood. Then the prophetess stood over it and made her divination. In a cauldron of the *Suevi* mentioned in the life of *St. Columba*<sup>3</sup> the ritual liquid is ale, and Grimm suggests

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 3, pp. 902 foll. (Trans.).

<sup>2</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* I, p. 55; Strabo, 7, 3 (p. 294 C., 244 Didot).

<sup>3</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* I, p. 55.

that the ceremony described may have been that of a drink-offering. On the other hand, it seems to have been a more or less general practice to have huge cauldrons made for the purpose of catching the victim's blood.<sup>1</sup>

But there is one serious difficulty in the way of this solution, and that is the prominence of women in cauldron-ritual. If the cauldron originally owed its religious or magical force to its typical use as a receptacle for 'holy' blood, it is difficult to see how women could have played so large a part in the supervision of such ceremonies. In the early stages of religious thought it seems that women were believed to vitiate by their presence anything religiously symbolical of virile growth. At Rome, for example, women were excluded from the worship of Hercules, the personification of virility.<sup>2</sup> This taboo is seen with even greater force and more directly connected with blood among the Arunta tribe of Central Australia. There, the blood that is let during the circumcision of a male initiate is poured into the earth at a spot where a sign is afterwards put up to warn women against approaching.<sup>3</sup>

Besides, a cauldron is more natural as a boiling utensil than as a receptacle for blood. Sacrifice by boiling was fairly common,<sup>4</sup> and women would appropriately superintend this task. Hence we may explain the predominance of that sex in Teutonic divination. 'While history has not preserved the name of one German vates, it has that of several priestesses.'<sup>5</sup> Strabo,<sup>6</sup> it is true, states that the Cimbrian women divined over the blood in the cauldron, but he immediately shows that this was not an indispensable element for divination.<sup>7</sup> What early imagination may have seen in the phenomenon of a boiling liquid may perhaps be guessed from Grimm's explanation of an old German word for magician. 'Seidmadr is magician, seidkona, seydkona, a wise woman that skills to seethe and work magic.'<sup>8</sup> Any fluid can be made to seethe, and Kerridwen's magic cauldron, containing not blood but magic herbs, has the property of conferring

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* I, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 102, 194.

<sup>3</sup> Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* I, p. 55; Herodot. 4, 61.

<sup>5</sup> Grimm, I, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, *l.c.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*—ἀλλαι δὲ διασχίσασαι ἐσπλάγγνεον ἀναφεγγόμεναι νίκην τοῖς οἰκελοῖς.

<sup>8</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* 3, p. 1046.

the gift of wisdom, which in early religion is hardly separable from the gift of divination. Woman is universally regarded as more susceptible to the divine afflatus, and this, perhaps, is another reason for the predominance of women in cauldron-ritual. In ancient Greece and Rome divination by women fell into disrepute, except where, as at Delphi, the female became subordinated to a higher god. In Western Europe, however, it would seem that female soothsayers were cast outside the pale of respectable society only with the advent and growing strength of Christianity. But the witches' cauldron died hard. Its widespread use and its persistent survival seem attested by a Salic law, which mentions gatherings of witches for cooking <sup>1</sup> and by another, which accounts it the greatest insult to call a man a 'witches' kettle-bearer.' <sup>2</sup>

If, therefore, we assume that the starting point of the cauldron's career in myth and ritual was its use for boiling the sacred victim, there are widespread instances to show how often an instrument or utensil used for sacred purposes gradually acquires a sacred or magical character itself. Such a religious phenomenon is by no means rare. Indeed it would seem that it is inevitable in religion for the end to be forgotten in the means, for the distant object of worship to be neglected in favour of the near and tangible image, symbol or instrument. The Arval Brethren of Ancient Rome actually made offerings to the pots they used in their ceremonies.<sup>3</sup> Similarly in the ritual of the Todas of the Nilghiri Hills worship has been transferred from the gods to the material used in their service. Perhaps the *reductio ad absurdum* of this tendency is afforded by a custom among the Indians of the hill country south of the Ganges. In the village shrines there is commonly found an implement known as the 'Gurda.' This is an iron chain with a heavy knob at the end to which a strap like a Scotch tawse is often attached. It hangs from the roof of the shrine, and is used by the priest to thrash himself in the ceremony of exorcising a disease ghost. Among the more primitive Gonds this chain has become a godling and is regularly worshipped.<sup>4</sup>

The cauldron figures in a curious piece of Lincolnshire folklore.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1045.

<sup>2</sup> Grimm, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> 'In mensa sacrum fecerant ollis' and 'in aedem intraverunt et ollas precati sunt,' v. Fowler, *Roman Religious Experience*, quoting from Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>4</sup> Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 99.



In the cellar of a farm in that county was an old iron cauldron full of sand and bones. If the latter were disturbed, 'Hobthrust,' a sort of Robin-Goodfellow, or Brownie, would show himself at noon.<sup>1</sup> To people who believe that they are surrounded by spirits and daemons of all sorts, a capacious cauldron would naturally seem to be a lurking place for such disturbers of the domestic peace. Indeed, much smaller vessels can serve such a purpose. In many parts of the world when a death takes place all the vessels are inverted to prevent the dead man's ghost finding a refuge.<sup>2</sup> In India<sup>3</sup> we have many instances of sacred jars or pots being used for storing the image of a god. So common is this practice that the pot itself becomes the symbol of the god, and is accordingly worshipped, and there is a Grâma-devata or village deity who fulfils the functions of a pot-goddess. A similar phenomenon is found in Ancient Egypt.

'According to some accounts Canopus was worshipped in the shape of a jar with small feet, a thin neck, a swollen body and a round neck. On the Egyptian monuments we find a number of jars with the head either of some animal or human being at the top. It may be that some deities were symbolically represented in this manner.'

If, therefore, as the Lincolnshire folk-tale might suggest, the cauldron could, like these sacred jars, be the dwelling-place of a spirit, we have another contributing cause of its power in ritual and myth. Primarily it may have owed its power to its use as a sacred utensil, but we must not rule out the other possible factors, the magic nature of the contents generally found in it at sacred rites, and a belief that it was the resting-place of spirits.

J. J. JONES.

<sup>1</sup> *Folklore*, Vol. VIII, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Jevons, *Plutarch's Rom. Quest.*, p. xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Crooke, 'The Binding of a God,' in *Folklore*, Vol. VIII, p. 324.



## CONDUCT AND THE EXPERIENCE OF VALUE

### PART II.

IN my last article<sup>1</sup> I described shortly the relation between the particular values (goodness, beauty, and truth) and the more ultimate thing that we can only call Value, into which they must sink if they are to be full and complete. I now propose to show a little more fully how this happens and how a recognition of the interdependence, the interpenetrability, the cognateness of the values must affect our notions of morality. It is quite essential that we should pass from the particular experience of value to a universal one, that we should realise through values Universal Value itself. For example, the particular value realised in the æsthetic experience is beauty, beauty appearing in, embodied in, some concrete object. This beauty seems to one who contemplates it to be self-sufficing and self-contained, to lead in itself to nothing but itself, although afterwards it may, as we said, lead to the desire for art creation. The emotion evoked is intense, but in its balance so satisfying that there seems no need to supplement it by thinking or doing. Beauty is enough. Yet while this is within its own limits undoubtedly true, and whilst the man who insists that we should think significant thoughts whilst we delight in beauty is a fool as well as a prig (for to analyse and to think significant thoughts is the very contradiction of the beauty experience), yet beauty cannot mature to its full fruition until it fulfils itself, until it *reveals* its universal value; for the feeling for beauty is just the feeling for universal value *par excellence*. That is to say, although beauty must be experienced through particular ways, must reveal itself in particular objects, this revelation must be a learning through beauties of what Beauty itself is, an increasing understanding of the universal beauty that is everywhere, in everything good, in everything true. To say this is not to make any easy identification of Beauty with Goodness or Truth; it is rather to assert that the universe is one,

<sup>1</sup> See *Aberystwyth Studies*, Vol. IV, pp. 145-152.

and that if we dig deeply enough into the heart of any particular, we come upon one of the three fundamental values ; and, exploring this, we at last touch what we can only call Value itself. Beauty comes to us through the senses in particular ways, but it is necessary that we should either, intensively, by vision and reflection, understand the universal through the particular, or that we should be able, extensively, to understand beauty in several of its recognised forms, such as nature, music, sculpture, painting, architecture, poetry. Furthermore, we must broaden our understanding so that we can know and distinguish beauty in ideas and in character and conduct. This is what I mean when I maintain that beauties must become Beauty, and Beauty must become Universal Value. The particular experience of beauty is self-contained and although, if it is truly felt it never fails to penetrate beyond mere particularity, and to yield the feeling of universality, it yet tends, in its completeness and self-containedness, to retain the impress of its particular form, and to lead to a false idea of the importance and the uniqueness of that form. It leads the lover of sculpture, for example, to think of beauty as somewhat exclusively wedded to solid form, to imagine the universal tied in a particular way to a particular thing. It is true, as I have said again and again, that beauty must appear thus particularly, but the feeling of universality in the mature intense æsthetic experience is a testimony that, though felt through the particular, yet it is *through* it, and not really *in* it ; whilst a broader æsthetic training in all forms of beauty, not excluding beauty of ideas and character, further teaches us, by revealing it to us from different points of view, that beauty is a true universal value. Further, this broader training modifies and enriches, I think, the actual particular experiences of beauty. And further still, the breadth and meaning of beauty must be made clearer, if the beauty experience is to be a truly universal one, by reflection and thought – not at the moment of the experience itself (for that, as we saw, would destroy it, and would be a priggish attempt to introduce a wrong kind of moral self-consciousness at a moment when it is out of place) but afterwards, and in order that the particular experience may be able to penetrate, and to penetrate with more meaning, *all* sides of our nature. If training in beauty of all kinds has its effects not only on the emotional experience itself, making that a deeper and a richer thing, but stimulates thought

and reflection about the universal nature of beauty ; so must thought and feeling themselves independently point out of what universal import is this value of beauty and of how it must, if it is to have its full meaning, be appreciated by all sides of our nature. I do not mean that in order to realise the universal import of beauty it is necessary to construct a complete philosophy of it—though all knowledge must of necessity help to enhance its meaning—but I do maintain that if it is to make its necessary mark upon character, mind must use all the powers it possesses to grasp its meaning.

I thus stress the importance of reflection and breadth of outlook for the fruition of the beauty experience, because this is itself primarily a feeling experience concentrated on a particular object of a particular kind ; and feeling without thought tends at least to be blind. Beauty, just because it is so intrinsic, so self-contained, and because it is revealed in certain sensuous objects, might, however universal it *feels*, be thought to end in itself, and to be the only reality in the world. Whilst I believe that the fact of beauty is one which has been too much neglected by morality and religion, and that it is in reality of a far higher importance in life than is usually supposed, yet it would obviously not be true to say that beauty *is* reality or even the most important thing in reality. It is just because æsthetic sensibility tends to lead to æstheticism, the notion that the *only* passage to reality is through beauty, and sometimes the notion that Beauty is itself the reality to which beauty leads—it is because of this that reflection is needed as a counter-agent.

Just the opposite counter-agent is needed by those who find value in truth. Truth, unlike beauty, is its own corrective, in the sense that it reveals its own universality. The philosopher, if we may take him as the type of thinker *par excellence*, is less likely than others to err by excessive particularity. Indeed his tendency may be, in his desire to make knowledge systematic and a whole, to underestimate the particular, and to render explanation of fact by what are popularly called ‘vague generalities.’ It is, then, the danger of the philosophic thinker that he may see things in an artificially simple way, that he may be tempted, for the sake of symmetry, to postulate unities where there are really differences. But this is not the danger which I was referring to when I said that the pursuit of truth needed a counter-agent. The danger of too great generality, too great and



too exclusive an emphasis on the universal, can be avoided through a discipline within the sphere of the intellectual life itself, by a resolve to treat facts as they are, to combine with the *a priori* method of reasoning a healthy empiricism. No, as the supplement to the beauty experience, which is mainly one of feeling, must be reflection, so it is in feeling that we must find the supplement to the life of reflection itself. That truth is a value, an intrinsic and not an instrumental value, as the pragmatist would have it, is no doubt an assumption to those who live the intellectual life, and the realisation of the existence of that value a motive to it. But it must be more than this, if as a value *experience* it is to affect character and conduct. The intellectual life, as we know, can be a very pleasant sort of game, indulged in (at least if you are a certain kind of philosopher) after dinner in an armchair as an equivalent of chess or some more or less absorbing pastime. Such a pursuit of thought can end in quite often important results for knowledge, but that knowledge, for those who have found it, has not been in any sense a passion. To realise truth as value it must be so. Truth must be felt to be intrinsically a fine thing, and to find it a noble pursuit. It must take hold of its devotees and stab them alive to its own necessity. I do not mean that truth is itself an emotion—that would be nonsense—but that the value of truth must be emotioned, that the reality which truth reveals must stir us with ever-deepening wonder in the unity which, even but as in a glass darkly, we are able to discover through all reality. That emotion which we experience in the knowledge of universal unity which comes sometimes in our pursuit of knowledge, may have in it an æsthetic element, although not æsthetic if that means ‘of the senses.’ It must, whatever it be, penetrate beyond the merely intellectual life; it must, if we go deep enough, reveal beauty because (although if we were able completely to realise Value itself, that Value would be simply Value, and could not be called by one of the names ‘beautiful’ or ‘good’ or ‘true,’ though it would contain all three in dissoluble unity) beauty and truth are yet approaches to one Value, converging, though still distinguishable, as we approach it, and inseparable in any fullest experience of any value. It is one of the tests that we really have approached Value itself if beauty and truth seem to be inseparable aspects of the one experience, however separate they may seem in their less exalted moments. That is just



another of life's irreducible paradoxes, and that is why Keats was right when he said 'Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty,' and why Professor Sorley (and others) are equally right when they deny that identity. Reality is a unity and yet it is a many : so if values meet in Value, and seem to meet sometimes in finite experience, they are values, a plurality, none the less, certainly for the finite mind, and perhaps for the infinite.

The truth of the universe, then, must be *felt* as a value, just as on the other hand the value of beauty which is felt, must also be thought, if it is to have full human meaning for us. Feeling must save reflection from mere coldness : reflection must save feeling from being merely blind. The reason why this must be so is because, on the objective side, it is essential to get through from particular values to Value, whilst on the subjective side the experience of that Value must be a whole, and not one-sided : it must penetrate all sides of our nature.

It may be noticed that for the present I seem to ignore goodness as a value. The reason is that we are about to see that the main source of human goodness that is a living goodness is derived from the value experienced in these two ways, and that the self is the agency by which they are transformed and transmuted into specifically moral value.

I maintained, until a few pages ago, that value was to be discerned equally in moral conduct as in any other source. I pointed out there, however, that although it is perhaps easier to be good through example, than to be good 'originally,' yet the very simplicity of it would prove a danger, in tending towards a mere imitationism, not based at all upon a felt-knowledge of the value of which it was the expression. It is easier, too, just because there is no transition in principle from one value to another. Indeed to say that we can be good by the inspiration of goodness in others, really begs the question which is, just, 'what is this goodness ?' That is to say, goodness in character and conduct, and the value that is seen there, depends upon something other than itself. What is that other ?

The answer, which has been already hinted at, is that goodness in conduct, living goodness, depends upon and is the expression of a character illuminated, guided, and inspired by the Value experience. To discover reality in all the ways in which it is given to man to discover reality, and not merely by intellectual activity, to find Value in reality, and to feel that Value until,

being in harmony with it, knowing and feeling it in this way, we seem to experience it vitally in our own lives. To do this is to fulfil man's function in the cosmos, is to discover the springs from which all moral goodness must flow. To do this is not goodness, but it is the 'good, and this good means a transformation through the self of values into terms of the moral life.

To have the Value experience is not goodness, although the efforts which attain it are the fulfilment of man's function, but it is the good in the sense of the end towards which man must strive. It is not goodness, just because goodness must be a function of character, or, if predicated of acts, of acts regarded as an expression of character. Although, then, the experience of value is the inspiration of the moral life, and in that sense may be its end, yet it must be worked into the web and fibre of character itself, if character is to have, as a whole, moral value, if the acts proceeding from it are to be good, and the will self-determining.

Of the way in which the value experience affects character, of its effect in sustaining a real freedom of will, I cannot here treat. It is necessary, however, to remark that it is mainly through feeling that the value experience is able to make itself felt in character and conduct. No 'mere' knowledge (if that *in abstracto* were possible) would be sufficient to determine conduct, and although it is strictly speaking true that, just as all knowledge involves striving, so does it give rise through feeling to some conation, yet this feeling must be particularly intense and strong if the conation is to be strong in a realm where it is likely to encounter resistance. Even in the intellectual life itself, interest of some sort, bound up with feeling, must be strong, in order to overcome the natural inertia of the mind. And this is far more strikingly true in the sphere of the moral life, where an ideal impulse must indeed be reinforced strongly by feeling, if it is to make any headway against, or to form any guidance for, the mass of the 'coarser,' more elemental instinctive impulses and emotions. The question of the nature and origin of 'psychic energy' is obscure, and the conception of 'psychic energy' itself an hypothesis, but, accepting it as an hypothesis, I may say here tentatively,<sup>1</sup> that although human nature is grounded in, and is a development from, instinct; that although the desire of man to

<sup>1</sup> The following thesis is worked out more fully in an article (*British Journal of Psychology*, July, 1923), *Instinct, Emotion, and the Higher Life*.

discover reality through all channels, may be energised by the instinct of curiosity and the emotion of wonder, as well as by others ; yet in the successful discovery by man of reality, there emerges a *new* force, which, turned back upon character, reinforces it with new energy, an energy quite as real as that derived from instinct and primary emotion. In the Value experience we *feel* as if the universal Value were expressing itself through us, as if through the open flood-gate of the cosmos were flowing into us cosmic energy. Whether this is so literally or not (if Value is objective, and man is the child of the universe, there is at least no *a priori* reason why it should not be so), there is undoubtedly a real re-inforcement, a real energising by the new intense emotion, which would not have existed, which would not have been created, without the value experience. It is the development of this new psychic force, born, as an emotion, of the union between a finite seeker and an infinite universe that has value, which must be, I maintain, the real energising force of the moral life as such, something which, new each time the value experience rewards our efforts to understand, is the source of man's real freedom, freedom, that is, from total determination by the past forces of heredity, instinct, environment. It is the source of goodness which is new and vital : it is the source of conduct which, energised by this new emotion reacting upon present forces in character, is the expression of a truly individual character, a character which has for itself achieved the supreme thing, has discovered and felt the Value that is in the world. It is the source of conduct with, as the popular phrase goes, the stamp of personality upon it. If we realise this, a new meaning is given to the old ethical saw, ' be a person.'

LOUIS ARNAUD REID.





## SIR HENRY JONES AND THE CROSS COMMISSION

THE Royal Commission over which Viscount Cross presided is a landmark of some importance in the history of elementary education in England and Wales. Following upon the publication of the Commission's Reports in 1887-8, came a period of substantial advance in the direction of a more liberal curriculum in the schools. The Final Report<sup>1</sup> also contains recommendations of interest to the student of the history of education in Wales. The peculiar difficulties and opportunities presented by linguistic conditions in Wales are recognised. Not only is Welsh included henceforth as a specific subject, but the teaching of English in Wales is also regarded as a special problem, demanding special study and treatment.

The evidence presented to the Cross Commission by Sir Henry Jones is of considerable value for the study of Welsh educational development in the nineteenth century. References to Henry Jones' own education, as represented by the day school, the Sunday school, and the general environment of his boyhood days, may be found in his recently published autobiography<sup>2</sup>; and these references throw much light on the standpoint taken by him in his evidence.

In the *Old Memories* we have a valuable contribution to Welsh social and educational history. The picture of the cultural influences at work during Henry Jones' boyhood conforms to that already given in Welsh in such works as Sir Owen Edwards' *Clych Adgof*. Like Owen Edwards, Henry Jones acknowledges his debt to the Sunday school and the Eisteddfod. To him, the lowly Sunday school teacher who taught him in rural Llangernyw seems

<sup>1</sup> *Final Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales, 1888.* Pp. 250-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Memories*: autobiography by Sir Henry Jones, C.H., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Edited by Thomas Jones, M.A., LL.D. Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, London, 1922.

worthy of a place as a 'great teacher' along with Sir Richard Jebb and Professor John Nichol (*Old Memories*, p. 132). It was, in his view, his 'rare good fortune' to have sat at the feet of these three men.

His tribute to the Welsh Sunday school must be quoted in full :

'The Sunday School in Wales is an institution for adults as well as for children ; and the sanest of all educational institutions in that respect, for it rests on the assumption that the care of the soul, like the care of the body, should be life-long' (p. 13).

The Eisteddfod also played its part in the environment of Henry Jones' early days, as the following passage shows :

'Every now and then there were competitive meetings or little Eisteddfods, whose influence by-the-by is admirable. So that, somehow or other, there was always something "intellectual" going on amongst us. We had our aspirations in fact, and they did not quite "come to nothing" ' (p. 55).

In sharp contrast to these tributes is the tone of his allusions to the day-school.

'I am sorry to say that I cannot speak well of the village school, or at least, of the village schoolmaster. He was very cruel and very ignorant. . . . The answer to the sum is wrong, the boot is not exactly at the chalk-line, a child has turned his head round . . . a lad has spoken in Welsh—any of these might be a reason for a whacking. . . . I must not forget the master's attitude towards the Welsh language, the only habitual language of the village and country. The speaking of it was strictly forbidden, both in the school and in the playground' (pp. 30-32).

The sentences that follow need hardly be quoted, for they deal with a feature of Welsh school life that is only too well-known—the 'Welsh note,' whereby the pupils were forced to play the spy on one another in the effort to suppress the use of the home-language.

Summing up, the picture drawn here, as in Sir Owen Edwards' *Clych Adgof*, is one of two opposed forces at work in Welsh education. On the one hand, there is the Welsh peasant culture expressing itself through various agencies—the Sunday school, the pulpit, the Eisteddfod, the 'cyfarfod llenyddol,' the Cymanfa, the Press, and the village smithy-senate. This culture is vigorous and effective, being inspiring and—to borrow the word used by

the 1846-7 Commissioners—'congenial.' As it is national and characteristic, it expresses itself through the medium of the Welsh language.

On the other hand, the day school was in direct antagonism (in effect, although not necessarily in intention) to Welsh life and development. Be it noted, however, that the main reason for banishing the Welsh language from the school was the attitude of the Welsh parent. With the legitimate desire of the parent that his child should learn English in the school, no reasonable person would quarrel. The error lay in the supposition that it was necessary to sacrifice the home-tongue before the learning of the other could be achieved. The Welsh parent failed to appreciate, as Matthew Arnold appreciated, the fact that

'to preserve and honour the Welsh language and literature is quite compatible with not thwarting or delaying for a single hour the introduction, so undeniably useful, of a knowledge of English among all classes in Wales.'<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the result of the policy above described on the teaching of English was unfortunate, and the mechanical verbalism which it promoted was one of the many regrettable features of the situation.

It should be borne in mind that the 'Welsh note' was not an instrument of external oppression. On the contrary, the home-language was excluded from the school because the Welsh parents demanded its exclusion, as a general rule. But the educational effect was no less tragic on this account. Whereas school, home and church should have co-operated in the child's development, they were working at cross-purposes. Professor MacCunn in his book, *The Making of Character*, deplors the fact that too often

'the great moralising social influences . . . work in . . . partial independence of each other, and not under the unifying influence of one all-dominating moral plan and purpose' (p. 136).

In Wales during the nineteenth century (and still to some extent) these forces are found not merely working in 'partial independence,' but in direct conflict. During the last century, the day school in Wales as a rule ignored everything that was typical of the life of the nation—and the tradition still survives in backward schools. One may reasonably doubt whether anyone who has

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature* (Everyman's Library), p. 4.

not suffered from such a system can fully appreciate the havoc wrought. Sir Owen Edwards, gentlest and most scholarly of men, describes it as an 'accursed old system.'<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing exploration of the background will, it is hoped, help to explain the attitude adopted by Sir Henry Jones and his fellow-witnesses from Wales in their evidence before the Cross Commission. The witnesses included Mr. Dan Isaac Davies, Dr. (later Sir) Isambard Owen, Mr. Beriah Gwynfe Evans, Mr. (later Sir) Marchant Williams, Mr. Lewis Williams, and the Venerable Archdeacon John Griffiths. It is of interest to add that Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., was a member of the Commission.

The evidence offered by Sir Henry Jones was summarised by the witness himself under two heads, in his reply to the Rev. Dr. J. H. Rigg.<sup>2</sup> In the first place, he urged the desirability of adding Welsh to the curriculum in the schools: and secondly, he advocated the adoption, in England and Wales, of the Scotch system with regard to the use of the universities.

To justify his demand for the recognition of the vernacular in the schools, he gave the Commissioners some account of linguistic conditions in Wales.<sup>3</sup> In the course of his evidence, he emphasises the prevalence of Welsh as the habitually spoken language of a large number of homes. He agrees with Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., that the Welsh people exhibit a

'very strong attachment . . . to their own language, but that with that there is very generally an earnest desire to acquire the English language.'<sup>4</sup>

Sir Henry Jones was quite convinced that the fate of the Welsh language would not depend upon the schools—'the real forces that keep Welsh alive are social and religious.'<sup>5</sup> He described to the Commissioners some of these powerful forces operating outside the schools. In his view, the use of the language in worship and in the Sunday schools has contributed largely, perhaps predominantly, to the preservation of the Welsh language.<sup>6</sup> Next in order of influence in this direction, he places the Eisteddfod.<sup>7</sup> In his evidence, as in the *Old Memories*,

<sup>1</sup> Owen Edwards, *Clych Adgof*, p. 18 (1906).

<sup>2</sup> *Cross Commission Report* Vol. III, 1887, p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales*, Vol. III, 1887, p. 320 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.



he makes it his business to pay tribute to the small local Eisteddfodau, in particular.<sup>1</sup> Henry Richard recalls the well-known words of Dr. Connop Thirlwall, former Bishop of St. Davids :

‘ It is a most remarkable feature in the history of any people, and such as could be said of no other than the Welsh, that they have centred their national recreation in literature and musical competitions.’

The quotation was obviously new to Henry Jones, who replies :

‘ I was not aware of those words, but it has often struck me as odd that the Welsh seem to have inherited the literary side of the Olympic games, if one may say so.’

He refers to the many futile predictions that have been made with regard to the end of the Welsh language.<sup>2</sup> His own view seems to have been that there was a very slow transition ‘ from an exclusive knowledge of Welsh to an exclusive knowledge of English.’<sup>3</sup> He does not appear to have envisaged the possibility of a community becoming and remaining permanently bilingual until the Chairman (Viscount Cross) reminded him of cases like Belgium. The witness then refers to the case of England after the Norman Conquest as that of a people who failed to be permanently bilingual. He further admits the difficulty of explaining how Wales, with its proximity and closer contact with England, and its smaller area, has retained its language whereas Ireland in apparently less difficult circumstances has so largely lost the Irish tongue. The religious revival of the eighteenth century seems to him to be the only possible explanation.

On one point, however— although he speaks with much caution on many points in his evidence, as will be shown later— Henry Jones is quite emphatic ; and it may fairly be held that subsequent events from 1887 to 1923 have justified his attitude. He maintains definitely that

‘ the practical question just now can only be solved on the supposition that both [languages] are permanent.’<sup>4</sup>

English had gained ground, but Welsh had scarcely lost ground at all.

<sup>1</sup> *Cross Report*, Vol. III, 1887, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> *Cross Commission Report*, Vol. III, 1887, p. 322.

Before proceeding to deal in detail with Henry Jones' evidence, it may be explained that the Commission had been expressly directed to consider certain aspects of Welsh education. In the 'Syllabus of Points for Inquiry'<sup>1</sup> there are several allusions to Welsh problems and conditions. Thus in connexion with the working of the law, the Commission is required to examine the provision made for the inspection of Welsh schools.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the inquiry into the efficiency of the present machinery, central and local, in the matter of secular instruction, the following Welsh questions are specifically mentioned<sup>3</sup>: 'How far is the bilingual difficulty met in Wales?' and 'The Welsh language.' In section 6, under the heading 'Special schools and their difficulties,' the following are mentioned:—(a) Rural, (β) Half-time, (γ) Welsh and (δ) Work-house schools.

There appears to have been a difference of standpoint between Henry Jones and the witnesses who gave evidence on behalf of the 'Society for the utilisation of the Welsh language in Education.' They advocated the use of the Welsh language to aid the teaching of English. To him, the guiding principle seems to have been the need of the great proportion of Welsh people who would spend their lives in Wales.<sup>4</sup> He is not in favour of a policy of compulsory Welsh.<sup>5</sup> In this respect, he finds himself on common ground with the Welsh Language Society witnesses. Moreover, they agree in stressing the importance of the teaching of English in the schools of Wales. As he puts it:

'the majority, [of the parents] especially the more intelligent, would feel the importance of teaching Welsh as well' (p. 327).

Briefly, the demand was that Welsh should be introduced into the schools in addition to, not as a substitute for, the English language.

In his desire to maintain the teaching of English, he would regard it as

'the foundation of education, and as practically the only medium of communication between teachers and taught.'<sup>6</sup>

English is to remain the medium of instruction. He expresses

<sup>1</sup> *Cross Commission Report*, Vol. I, Appendix A, p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> Section 3, sub-section C (iv).

<sup>3</sup> Section 4, A, II (a) iii, γ and δ.

<sup>4</sup> *Cross Commission Report*, Vol. III, p. 325.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

a fear lest the teaching of English grammar might be dropped in Welsh schools.

The introduction of Welsh as a specific subject, on the other hand, does not appear adequate to him.<sup>1</sup> His view is that it should be taught as a class subject, because the teaching would go further down into the body of the school. One detailed suggestion of his has to do with the teaching of Welsh composition.<sup>2</sup> This he regards as important from the point of view of spelling and letter-writing. He cites the case of a Welsh servant girl, who has been to an English day school, and who spells English better than she spells Welsh, although on the other hand she would appreciate Welsh literature much more than English literature. The reason for this anomaly is, of course, that she had been taught to read Welsh (but not to write it) in the Sunday school : whereas in the day school she had learnt to spell English words, without learning to appreciate English literature.

With regard to the pupil teachers, Henry Jones would give them extra credit for their knowledge of an additional language, making the demands in Welsh correspond through and through with the demands made in English.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. R. W. Dale, in cross-examination, presses the witness to describe his own experience of Welsh elementary schools.<sup>4</sup> This brings out some features of the story of Henry Jones' association with the elementary school—as pupil at Llangernyw, Denbighshire, and as master at Bryn Aman, Carmarthenshire. He testifies that at both these schools the pupils usually thought and spoke in Welsh—as he himself did during his school life ‘and long after.’ The schoolmaster at Llangernyw was not a Welshman, and although he was a long time in Wales he never learnt his pupils' language. This gives us one side of the picture. The other appears in his statement that more than half of the professors in Bangor College, at the time when he gave his evidence, were learning Welsh.<sup>5</sup> Answering Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., he bears testimony from his own experience that young children who come from homes where Welsh alone is spoken are placed at a very serious disadvantage because the day school, at that time, carried on its work solely in English.<sup>6</sup> The effect on the child's education is also described. One result is that the teaching of English itself was unintelligent. He himself has seen people who were

<sup>1</sup> *Cross Commission Report*, Vol. III, p. 325.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 322.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

‘able to read and pronounce English pretty correctly, and still not understand a single word, not even such a word as “and.”’<sup>1</sup>

By way of contrast—and, incidentally, to show the vigour of the peasant culture that flourished independently and in spite of the day school—we turn to a passage which foreshadows the modern development of adult classes. To prove the adaptability and intelligibility of literary Welsh for the purpose of popular lectures on abstract subjects, Henry Jones draws once more on his own personal experience.<sup>2</sup>

‘I have each year, in connexion with the Bangor College, conducted courses of lectures on philosophy in Welsh to Welshmen; some of the courses were on Greek philosophy, and some on modern ethics; and more admirable classes I have never had.

‘Of whom did they consist?—They consisted chiefly of Welsh working men.’

Another manifestation of the traditional culture that appears in the course of Henry Jones’ evidence is the *Gwyddoniadur*—a Welsh Encyclopædia, published by Gee of Denbigh. This appeared in ten large volumes, with nearly 10,000 articles. It cost more than £20,000, and its reception by the Welsh public made the venture a financial success.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Dale invited the witness to compare the *Gwyddoniadur* with a Popular Encyclopædia like Chambers’. The characteristic reply was, ‘I am not able to compare Encyclopædias.’

The caution here shown was repeatedly revealed in his answers, and is not the least valuable feature of his evidence. Another good example is his reply to Mr. Thomas E. Heller (page 328), ‘No, I do not trust the complaints of teachers without examination.’

Henry Jones’ convictions on the bilingual problem may perhaps be summed up, in the best possible way, by the following quotation from his evidence in reply to Viscount Cross<sup>4</sup>:

‘The good of Wales is dependent to a considerable extent upon meeting it, because no community I think was ever improved, except by developing the forces, intellectual and otherwise, that it possesses; and Wales will never be made richer by neglecting its language; nor do I think that English will be known better.’

JOHN HUGHES.

<sup>1</sup> *Cross Commission Report*, Vol. III, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> *V. The Welsh People*, Rhys and Jones, London, 1906, p. 609.

<sup>4</sup> *Cross Commission Report*, Vol. III, p. 322.



## NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF CARDIGANSHIRE LEAD MINES

THE antiquity of some of the lead-workings in this district is of other than purely archæological interest, as only such antiquity can account for the very thorough pollution and consequent barrenness of local rivers, while some knowledge of the recent history of the mines is necessary for the understanding of present conditions. An attempt has therefore been made, in connection with biological investigations, to trace in outline the history of the rise and decline of the mining industry in Cardiganshire, with reference to printed works and also to unpublished manuscripts preserved in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth.

The most interesting manuscripts bearing on this topic are those of Lewis Morris, who, by his own account, resided 'at Aberystwyth and Cysymlog' during the first half of the eighteenth century. His *Account of the Cardiganshire Lead and Silver Mines*, dated 1744 (6),<sup>1</sup> contains several references to the general belief that the mineral wealth of the district was to a certain extent exploited in prehistoric times, probably by men of a Neolithic culture.<sup>2</sup> A passage dealing with the Cwm y Darren (Cwm Daren) mine is especially interesting, as here the writer adduces what he considers to be direct evidence of the truth of this belief, as follows :

' This Mine seems to have been wrought in the beginning of Times, and before the use of Iron was found out, and when Mankind knew the Use of no Toole but Stones. I have seen this work opened and the Stone wedges and Charcoal taken up with which they split the

<sup>1</sup> For the opportunity of consulting these MSS. I am indebted to the kindness of the chief librarian, Mr. J. Ballinger.

<sup>2</sup> Professor H. J. Fleure writes : There seems a reasonable probability that lead-working is of old standing in this district, but the finds made thus far are not now held to establish a Neolithic date for this ; all that can be said with safety is that the working of lead began here in prehistoric time.

rocks. Their method seems to be this. They made a Great Fire of wood in the bottom of their Rakes which were always open upon that Account, and When the Rock was sufficiently Hot, they cast Water upon it, which shivered it ; and then with Stone wedges which they drove in with other Stones, they worked their way through the hardest Rocks, tho' but slowly. The wedges were Sea Stones, with one End nipped off to an Edge, and there is an Impression on the other end where they used to strike on them.'

The same writer considers that at Cwm Symlog (not many miles from Cwm Daren, in the Clarach Valley)

'the Antient Britons (and perhaps after them the Romans) first discovered Ore at the Day, about the Middle of the present Works, and (as appears at this time) brought it in an Open Rake according to the Antient Manner. But being in a Low Situation the Water Overcame them before they could get above 8 or 10 yards deep, though in some other High Grounds they have gone 50 yards.'

As Lewis Morris was present at the opening of the levels of which he writes, his evidence may at least be accepted in proof of the existence of previous workings of great antiquity, although the earliest *authentic* reference to Welsh mines is that of Sir John Pettus, who, writing in 1670, gives an account of the establishment by King Henry VII in the year of his accession (1485) of commissioners and governors of all his mines of gold, silver, tin, lead and copper in England and Wales (2).

Probably but little attention was paid to the Welsh mines until the time of Queen Elizabeth, who early in her reign imported a band of trained miners from Germany. A great impetus was thus given to British mining activities in general, and in 1568 the 'Society for the Mines Royal' was incorporated under Royal auspices : by their enterprises the following mines were opened—Cwm Symlog, the Darren, Cwm-erfin, Goginan, Tal y Bont, Cwm-ystwyth, Thruscott, Rhos-fawr, and Tre'rddol, all in 'the Parish of Llanny Hangell Genne Glynne' (Llanfihangel-geneurglyn).

In these days a fair amount of silver, as well as lead, seems to have been obtained from these mines, whose value is demonstrated by the rent of £400 per annum paid for mining rights to the Society of the Mines Royal by Sir Hugh Middleton. The latter seems to have made a fortune by his management of the mines during the latter half of the sixteenth century, for Sir John Pettus reports that 'he cleared Menethly the summe of 2000L.'

Sir Owen Wynne of Gwydir, writing in 1665 (3), gives directions in his *Remembrancers of the Lead Mines* to

‘enquire if there be amongst the miners at the lead works any outlandish man (as a Dutchman or High Dutchman) that hath skill in mines’;

also

‘to bring a lump of the rich ore out of every work, each by itself, and state in writing how much silver each of them contains per ton—Tale y Bont (Tal y Bont), Kegyne (Goginan), and Kwm Sumloche (Cwm Symlog)’ (3).

These pioneer mines continued to yield ore under changing systems of management, and in 1690 the discovery of easily workable ore on the estate of Sir Carberry Pryse (at Gogerddan) gave a further stimulus to mining enterprise in Cardiganshire. Ten new mines were opened at once, and glowing accounts of the possibilities of the scheme known contemporaneously as ‘the Mine Adventure’ were written for publication by William Waller, Sir Carberry’s steward, who went so far as to predict the foundation of ‘a Welsh Potosi’ (4), (5).

Although the silver became exhausted, the lead-workings were still maintained with enthusiasm. Lewis Morris, in a very full Account of the Mines above mentioned (6), enumerates the workings in Pervedd (which included the Plinlimmon slopes and a portion of North-East Cardiganshire) as ‘in all threescore and one,’ besides thirty-six ‘Discoveries and Prospects of Lead and Silver Ore on the Common of Pervedd (but never tried).’

By this time, serious consequences of the pollution of the rivers were making themselves felt: the last-mentioned writer, in his *Commonplace Book* (1), records the death, in 1747, of ‘an excellent little working Horse, which began to be ill in the Spring. . . . He had often ye Colicke. . . . He grew worse and I gave him gunpowder, soote, etc., but to no effect, then I concluded he had been poysoned by the water of the mines, which kills abundance of Horses . . . but makes a quicker dispatch with mares than Horses. It doth not hurt Black Cattle nor Sheep (they say), nor any beast that hath Tallow.’ (This is not confirmed by modern experience!) ‘But destroys all Foul. See Hen.’

Under the heading ‘Hen,’ he recounts the case of ‘a Breeding old Hen,’ which for a twelvemonth had been ‘*ill of the Bellon, by swallowing Lead ore, very few fowl escape it in ye mine-*

country.' The symptoms detailed seem somewhat peculiar, but the writer makes it clear that lead-poisoning was a common occurrence among domestic animals, and further remarks that '*no wild-fowl will frequent those Mineral Mountains and Rivers, as if they foresaw the danger.*'

No references to destruction of river-fisheries have been found, though it may be significant that Lewis Morris, evidently a man of very varied interests and a keen student of natural history (as witnessed by many annotated sketches), makes no allusion to fishing in the local streams.

No information has been obtained of local mining activities during the fifty years subsequent to 1747, but Sir Samuel Rush-Meyrick, writing in 1810 (7), mentions only thirty-seven active mines in Cardiganshire, indicating the closure of some.

The following thirty-five years must have been a period of development followed by decline of activity, as Robert Hunt, in a Memoir published by the Geological Society (8), gives a list of 120 lead-mines in Cardiganshire, 64 of which he states to be inactive.

The influence of foreign competition during the nineteenth century was responsible for the abandonment of many of the lead-workings, which may be traced in the records of the Home Office: a publication of the latter dated December 31st, 1919 (9), records the abandonment of thirty-seven Cardiganshire lead-mines since the year 1872. The East Darren (Cwmsymlog) Mine, the last of those affecting the Clarach Valley, was closed in 1901.

By 1914, Cardiganshire mining was practically a dead industry, but the European War gave it a new stimulus, though a feeble one, and a list of mines in the United Kingdom, published in 1921, mentions thirteen in Cardiganshire. Of these only seven are lead-mines affecting the rivers Rheidol and Ystwyth, and among these seven, one is recorded as 'suspended' and four as 'about to open.' By 1922 the last two lead-workings affecting the Rheidol (Melindwr, near Goginan, and Rhiwfron, near Devil's Bridge) had closed down, while of those affecting the Ystwyth there remained only a station at Grogwynion, near Pont-Rhyd-y-groes, where zinc-blende (not lead-ore) from the old dumps of Fron-goch was brought down to be crushed. The barren condition of these two rivers is thus no recent development, but rather a heritage of the past.



Since the cessation of mining activities, a rapid improvement in the condition of our rivers has been observed, and is marked by the incursion of green water-weeds (Algæ and flowering plants) and of Invertebrate animals, which commonly serve as 'fish food,' although as yet the rivers contain no fish, beyond occasional stray trout from the tributaries or sewin from the salt waters. It seems reasonably probable that, if the mines continue to be inactive, our streams may in time be fully re-populated.

K. CARPENTER.

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